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General Direct

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An Editorial

On December 2, 1949, The Historical Society of Pennsylvania celebrated its one hundred and twenty-fifth birthday. In formulating the plans for this occasion, the Council of the Society felt that the more serious aspects of our work should be stressed, rather than the large functions and ceremonies that accompanied our One Hundredth Anniversary. A centennial is an appropriate time for such festivities, but this off-anniversary year called for a more practical celebration. The Council's main consideration, therefore, was to do something of more than passing interest, something that would focus attention on the Society's primary functions. Our Founders recognized these functions clearly, and incorporated them in the Charter of the Society by stating that our purpose was threefold: to "collect," to "preserve," to "elucidate."

Our success in the field of "collecting" is evidenced by the fact that we have one of the largest, if not the largest, manuscript collection in the country outside Washington. The recent air conditioning of the storage vaults is practical proof that the Society is fully aware of its responsibilities to "preserve" its fine collections. The question of "elucidation," however, is the most difficult of our functions. In its broadest sense, the word suggests arranging and indexing, thus making the collections usable, and then, through the medium of publication, bringing them to the attention of the student. Source material, even though ready to use, is of little value unless known. In 1929, our late President, Hampton L. Carson, Esq., clearly realized this fact when he wrote: "No activity of the Society is more deserving of

support than its MAGAZINE. The usefulness of this Society as an educational institution largely rests on making known the labors of those who bring to light the exhaustless stores with which the liberality of men and women of the past and present have enriched and are enriching our archives." This, then, is the idea which has been the general editorial policy of THE MAGAZINE for some years.

In order to accomplish the anniversary purpose of the Council so as to insure the greatest benefit both to the Society and the student, we concentrated our efforts in the publishing field. THE PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY is an old historical publication, probably the oldest in continuous existence in the United States. Through the ability and painstaking work of our predecessors, it was placed on the highest of scholarly levels. This synthesis of age and distinction has made for us a host of friends eminent in the world of history. Our task, therefore, in the preparation of this special issue of THE MAGAZINE was an easy one. In reply to our requests for articles, old friends of the Society generously provided papers which, we feel, constitute a significant contribution to our field. To the authors we express our sincere appreciation for their assistance in helping us commemorate our birthday in such a constructive way.

The wisdom of our Founders, who felt that source material should be made easily available, was further recognized by the compilation and publication of the second edition of our *Guide to the Manuscript Collections of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania.* We believe this to be a noteworthy contribution for the Society to make at this time. This enlarged and revised edition of the *Guide* reflects not only the growth in our collections as a whole, but the tremendous increase in the arranging of both old and new collections for ready use by students. The first edition of the *Guide* stated that only thirty per cent of the collections had been arranged in some specified order; we are pleased to report that today almost ninety-eight per cent are so arranged. In addition, the index to this publication has been improved to expedite greatly the location of materials, particularly those for a given period. We sincerely hope that this new *Guide,* which the Society issued on its one hundred and twenty-fifth anniversary, will prove to be an important implement in the hands of scholars working in the field of history.

R. NORRIS WILLIAMS, 2D
Director and Editor

Thomas Hutchinson and the Framing of the Albany Plan of Union, 1754

THE importance accorded by students of American history and government to the abortive Albany Plan of Union, the chief product of the Albany Congress of the year 1754, lies in the recognition that it was by far the most significant among various proposals for an American union that, taken together, form a background for the Articles of Confederation and our present Constitution of the United States. The evolution of the document itself has not, however, been given the attention on the part of scholars that it deserves.[1] Perhaps this arises from the fact that Benjamin Franklin's "Short Hints towards a Scheme for Uniting the Northern Colonies" —apparently prepared in New York and there submitted to the criticism of some of his friends—is very properly accepted as the chief source of many of the leading ideas embodied in the Plan.[2] Therefore, there seemed to be no problem to settle. But there are questions that may be raised as to the possible relation of the latter in style, structure, and content to other plans that apparently were presented for the consideration of the Commissioners, and, in particular, one that seems to have been drafted by Thomas Hutchinson of Massachusetts Bay.

It was on June 24 that the Albany Congress voted that a committee consisting of one representative of each of the colonial delegations be selected "to prepare and receive Plans or Schemes for the Union of the Colonies, and to digest them into one general plan for

[1] In the fifth volume of *The British Empire before the American Revolution* (New York, 1942), Chapter IV, "Join or Die," I have dealt with some of the problems that confront the student in dealing with the origins of the Albany Plan.

[2] A. H. Smyth, *The Writings of Benjamin Franklin* (New York, 1907), III, 197–199; John Bigelow, *The Complete Works of Benjamin Franklin* (New York, 1888), II, 345–347; Jared Sparks, ed., *The Works of Benjamin Franklin* (Boston, 1840), III, 26–28.

the inspection of this Board."[3] This vote would seem to indicate that more than one plan of union was ready to be submitted to the Congress and that it was the desire of this body that the Committee should be free to prepare other plans and finally to weld the various proposals into a general plan. Franklin, when later referring to the placing of his "Short Hints" before the Commissioners, confirms this to be so in his statement: "It then appeared that several of the Commissioners had form'd plans of the same kind."[4]

The question may now be raised as to the plans other than the "Short Hints" that were ready to be presented to the Committee for study. Franklin indicates that there were "several." Among these was doubtless that of his colleague, the Rev. Richard Peters, Proprietarial Secretary of Pennsylvania, which carried the title "A Plan for a General Union of the British Colonies of North America."[5] This provided for the organization of a "Union regiment" to be formed by the contribution of a company of one hundred men from each colony, to be supported by colonial excise taxes and commanded by officers appointed by the Crown; according to this project, likewise, there was to be not only a "Union Fund" but also a "Fort Fund"; it also visualized the grouping of the continental colonies into four unions for defensive purposes, based upon geographical propinquity and other considerations. In searching for light on other union proposals available for the Committee one must omit, it would seem, that by Thomas Pownall, who was not a commissioner and who only at the last session of the Congress submitted his "Considerations toward a General Plan of Measures for the Colonies."[6] While there were perhaps other plans ready to be digested by the Committee, knowledge of which is lacking, there remain to be considered two surviving plans of union that are so closely related that they may be

[3] E. B. O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York Procured in Holland, England and France* (Albany, 1855), VI, 860. This will subsequently be referred to as *N. Y. Col. Doc.* The proceedings of the Congress as here printed were copied from the Board of Trade Papers in the Colonial Office; the reference to this is C. O. 5:6, folios 116–120. The student in America should consult the Library of Congress Transcripts for corrections of the text as printed.

[4] Smyth, *Writings of Franklin*, I, 387.

[5] For this see Hampton L. Carson's *The Constitution of the United States* (Philadelphia, 1889), II, 472–474; a manuscript copy of this plan in the handwriting of Peters is in the Pennsylvania Archives at Harrisburg, No. 677.

[6] *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, VI, 893–896.

considered as essentially one—that is, one is clearly an amended form of the other. The first is entitled "Plan of a proposed Union of the several Colonies of Massachusetts-Bay, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Rhode-Island, New York & New Jersey, for their mutual Defence, & Security, & for extending the British Settlements Northward & Westward of Said Colonies in North-America"; the second, "Plan of a proposed Union of The Several Colonies of Massachusetts-Bay, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Rhode Island, & New York, for their Mutual Defence & Security & for extending the British Settlements Northward & Westward of Said Colonys in North America."[7] Outside of incidental differences in capitalization and spelling—with here and there a clause added or omitted as the case may be—one of the chief things that distinguishes the two plans is that in the first, New Jersey is included in the amendment of the text, and in the second, it is excluded. Were these two plans for a union of northern continental colonies in existence at the time that the Committee on a Union was appointed? Were they among the "several" presented to it by the Commissioners? No one can answer with certainty upon the basis of the evidence now available. In fact, the only thing that can be said with absolute certainty is that Franklin's "Short Hints" came before the Committee. By June 28 this group arrived at its first decision: that was to favor the Franklin project of union as a basis for the final scheme. Therefore, in reporting to the Congress, the Committee "presented short hints of a scheme for that purpose of which copies were taken by the Commissioners of the respective Provinces."[8] On June 29, according to the Journal of the proceedings

[7] These two plans have been printed in Volume XVII of the *Collections* of the Connecticut Historical Society (Conn. Hist. Soc. *Coll.*), and are included in the *Fitch Papers* (Hartford, 1918), I, 20–29. They were taken from copies, doubtless of the original documents, made by Jonathan Trumbull (Trumble). Albert C. Bates, the editor of the *Fitch Papers*, indicates that the first of the plans reproduced in the *Collections* of his society was taken from the same manuscript utilized by the Massachusetts Historical Society in presenting the plan in Volume VII of its *Collections* (Boston, 1801, and reprinted in 1846). The student is recommended to use the Connecticut Historical Society printing of the plan. The manuscript copies of the two plans are among the Trumbull Papers (Trumbull Papers, M.H.S., I, 93–94) now in the Connecticut State Library. In appearance they are faithful transcripts, with deletions from and additions to the text in the handwriting of Trumbull, and made either from the originals or, more likely, from copies of the two plans of union under discussion. This may well indicate that he felt that the efforts at this period of American history to evolve some workable plan of union would be of interest to future generations.

[8] *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, VI, 863.

of the Congress, "The hints of a scheme for the Union of the Colonies were debated on, but came to no conclusion."[9] In other words, no mention is made in the Journal of the Congress of other plans of union that were considered by the Committee.

It should now be made clear that, unlike the plan that Peters seems to have presented—a plan that was apparently ignored by the Congress and, therefore, not connected with its final proposals on a union—the two plans for a union of northern continental colonies, to which reference has already been made, have a most important relation to the adopted Albany Plan. As will be emphasized, in language and structure they are identical with it, except with respect to those features that show fundamental differences as to the type of union of the colonies envisaged. The student must, therefore, choose between two hypotheses: one is that these two plans were drafted in the course of the proceedings of the work of the Committee on Colonial Union, or after its termination, and were a by-product, as it were, of the logical expansion by Franklin of his "Short Hints" in the direction of the finished Albany Union Plan finally adopted by the Congress; the other is that one at least of the two was in existence at the time that the Committee began its work and was one of the "several" plans that needed to be digested by the group in welding various union proposals into a final harmonious plan. These alternates have the most vital implications with respect to the authorship of the latter, and each must be carefully weighed.

In favor of the first hypothesis the following arguments may be advanced in line with the traditional view that Benjamin Franklin alone was the master architect of the Albany Plan, and that only here and there was he impelled to make modifications in it as the result of the discussions in Committee or in those carried on by the whole body of Commissioners. To begin with, Franklin at no time stated that the Albany Plan was really a composite thing. On the contrary, he seemed to imply that the Plan was entirely his own and only modified here and there against his better judgment by the Congress. Writing to his New York friend Cadwallader Colden on July 14, 1754, at the close of the Congress he says:[10]

> The Commissioners agreed on a Plan of Union of 11 Colonies . . . the same with that of which I sent you the Hints, some few Particulars excepted.

[9] *Ibid.*, VI, 864.

[10] New-York Historical Society *Collections* (N. Y. Hist. Soc. *Coll.*), LIII (1920), 458.

In a letter to Peter Collinson, dated December 29 of the same year, he enclosed a copy of the famous "Motives," which he had drawn up in support of the Albany Plan, and with reference to the latter stated:[11]

For tho' I projected the Plan and drew it, I was oblig'd to alter some Things contrary to my Judgment or should never have been able to carry it through.

Again in that part of his *Autobiography*, written as late as 1788, he refers to the interest of the Albany Congress in a colonial union and to his own contribution to that end in the following words:[12]

A Committee was then appointed, one member, from each colony, to consider the several plans and report. Mine happen'd to be preferr'd, and, with a few Amendments, was accordingly reported.

Reinforcing Franklin's own testimony is that of Thomas Hutchinson, also one of the Commissioners. He writes many years later in his *Diary* about the work of the Congress:[13]

The same famous Dr. Franklin was one of the Commissioners from Pensilvania. He with Mr. Hutchinson, were the Committee who drew up the plan of Union, and the representation of the state of the Colonies. The former was the projection of Dr. F., and prepared in part before he had any consultation with Mr. H., probably brought with him from Philadelphia; the latter [that is, the "Representation of the Present State of the Colonies"] was the draught of Mr. H.

The first hypothesis would therefore seem to rest upon a firm foundation: to wit, that whatever other plans of union may have survived, they were but a projection either of the final draft of the "Short Hints" or at least of an intermediate draft made by Franklin. Jared Sparks supports this conclusion. In referring to the plan of union designed to comprehend only colonies lying north of Pennsylvania, he writes:[14]

Another plan was proposed in the Convention, which included only New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York and New Jersey. . . .

11 Smyth, *Writings of Franklin*, III, 243.

12 *Ibid.*, I, 387. This committee was as follows: Thomas Hutchinson for Massachusetts Bay, Theodore Atkinson for New Hampshire, William Pitkin for Connecticut, Stephen Hopkins for Rhode Island, William Smith for New York, Benjamin Tasker for Maryland, and Benjamin Franklin for Pennsylvania (*N. Y. Col. Doc.*, VI, 860).

13 P. O. Hutchinson, ed., *Diary and Letters of Thomas Hutchinson* (Boston, 1884), I, 55.

14 Sparks, *Works of Franklin*, III, 36. It should be borne in mind by the student that in using the words "Northern Colonies" in his "Short Hints towards a Scheme for Uniting the Northern Colonies," Franklin was using a term frequently, if not customarily, employed by British officials to designate the North American continental colonies in contrast to the Caribbean island colonies.

It is a rough draft of the above Plan [the Albany Plan of Union], with some unimportant variations. It would seem, by the *Hints* communicated to Mr. Alexander that Franklin himself did not at first contemplate any thing more than a union of the northern colonies.

Sparks, therefore, leaves one with the impression that this limited plan of union may well have been the work of Franklin himself—in other words, an early redraft of the "Short Hints" before the idea of a general union of all the continental colonies but Nova Scotia and Georgia was finally accepted and was set forth in the Albany Plan of Union.

The alternative hypothesis, in taking into consideration all of the above facts and the Sparks assumption, must accept the burden of showing the inadequacy of these to explain all other known facts respecting the activities of the Albany Commissioners.

To begin with, Franklin himself in referring to his "Short Hints" declared in his *Autobiography*, as has already been indicated, that "several of the commissioners had form'd plans of the same kind. . . . A committee was then appointed . . . to consider the several plans and report."[15] There were, therefore, if this statement is correct, "several" plans of the "same kind" that came before the Committee at the time that the "Short Hints" was submitted. The Journal of the Congress, as also previously indicated, leaves the same impression when it voted for a committee "to prepare and receive Plans or Schemes for the Union of the Colonies, and to digest them into one general plan for the inspection of this Board."[16] There will be little objection, doubtless, among those holding most closely to the traditional interpretation, to including the Peters project among the "several" submitted at the time of the setting up of the Committee, but great objection, because of the wide implications involved, to including either of the two plans for a limited union of northern continental colonies. Yet it is logical enough to suggest, unless valid arguments can be advanced against the inclusion of one or both of these plans, that an assumption can fairly be made that one or both were among the "several" plans submitted before the actual work of evolving a final Plan of Union was begun. The Peters plan, it must be made clear, does not comprehend the idea of "several," nor was this plan "of the same kind," as the "Short Hints."

[15] Smyth, *Writings of Franklin*, I, 387.

[16] *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, VI, 860.

The attention of the student is again called to the fact that up until the evening of June 29, the Commissioners as a body, insofar as they concerned themselves with the question of colonial union, were apparently engaged in discussing the merits of the original Franklin plan. The Journal records for the afternoon of that day: "The hints of a scheme for the Union of the Colonies were debated on, but came to no conclusion."[17] It would therefore appear that the copies of "the short hints of a scheme," distributed the afternoon of the preceding day, still had the attention of the Congress. As to the Committee on the Union, from its appointment on June 24 until July 1, it had but a single duty: that of preparing a unified project of union. On the latter date the Congress determined, however, to call upon this body to prepare, in addition, "a representation of the present state of the Colonies." The Journal for July 1 also records, perhaps not without some significance, "The Plan of Union of the Colonies was debated but the Board came to no resolves upon it."[18] In other words, from July 1 onward no further reference is made in the Journal to "Short Hints towards a Scheme for Uniting the Northern Colonies," but, instead, to "the Plan of Union." Is one to assume, therefore, that between June 29 and July 1, a period of some forty-eight hours, Franklin transformed the rather crudely drafted "Short Hints" into something approximating the final highly finished draft of the "Plan of a proposed Union of the several Colonies of Massachusetts Bay, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, New Jerseys, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina, for their mutual defence and security, and for extending the British Settlements in North America"—to give the exact title of the Albany Plan of Union? One may be reasonably sure that if the two plans providing simply for a union of the more northern colonies stemmed, in language and form, from the Franklin drafting process, they must have come into existence sometime after July 1 and also after the debates that had already taken place in the Congress on June 29 and on July 1. But this possible easy solution of the problem faces difficulties. To begin with, Franklin, who either at Albany or soon after leaving that city, drew up the "Reasons and Motives on Which the

[17] *Ibid.*, VI, 864.
[18] *Ibid.*, VI, 868.

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[illegible] hypothesis that at least one of the [illegible] promulgated before the Committee [illegible] on June 24, and was one of the [illegible] further, it should be pointed out [illegible] committed to the formation [illegible] Massachusetts Bay.[26] The Assembly of the [illegible] called upon its Commissioners to work [illegible] union & confederacy, for mutual [illegible] such, in peace & in War."[27]

[illegible] the delegates of the dynamic Bay colony [illegible] weeks after receiving their instruction on [illegible] Albany Congress would convene and some [illegible] appear who could guide their faltering [illegible] same project of union that would fulfill the [illegible] Assembly? The whole idea seems utterly pre- [illegible] has followed closely the activities of the men of Massachusetts Bay of the eighteenth century and has noted the [illegible] that they consistently brought to bear upon [illegible] affairs. In fact, it is hard to imagine that they did not [illegible] Albany not only a project, but a most carefully worked out [illegible] colonial union that would give the Province what it had [illegible] the Commissioners to secure. That this project was not the above stated Plan of Union with minor modifications, or at least a carefully worked out draft of this plan, can hardly, it would seem upon the basis of what information is at hand, be seriously asserted.

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relative to the establishment of a union; in the case of the former, his western Massachusetts Bay background and outlook would, if for no other reason, be at least *prima facie* evidence against his authorship of the Plan. In contrast, Hutchinson, who, for reasons best known to himself never acknowledged in any of his writings an interest in colonial union, was deeply involved in the work of the Assembly in the direction of creating a colonial union after his return from Albany. It is not without significance that he favored a partial union and voted accordingly and then framed a general plan of union to be submitted to the Assembly. (See *The British Empire before the American Revolution*, V, 154–157). His inclusion on the Albany Committee on a Colonial Union by his colleagues would also seem to argue that, if anyone among the Massachusetts Bay delegates had drafted a project of union, he had done so.

26 For powers vested in the various delegations by the respective Assemblies, see *The British Empire before the American Revolution*, V, 114–117.

27 See the instructions drawn up for the guidance of the Massachusetts Bay delegation, Massachusetts Archives, 4:471.

Indeed, on the last page of the manuscript copy of this plan among the Trumbull Papers in the Connecticut State Library is penned on the margin the notation in a hasty scrawl: "plan of Union opposed N 1." This would seem to mean that not only in the mind of the unknown person who inscribed it was the plan not a mere exercise and that it was up for consideration before some group and was opposed even in the amended form given in the transcription of it by Trumbull, but that it enjoyed as "N 1" plan a certain precedence over a second plan that follows it in the Trumbull Papers. Moreover, contrasting it with the roughly drafted Franklin "Short Hints," there is a logical precision, a clearness, a grasp of complicated details, an all-in-all maturity of treatment that sets it quite apart from the latter and argues strongly against the assumption that it could possibly have been thrown together on the spur of the moment by any individual. In this respect it may be compared with the "Plan of a proposed Union of The Several Colonies of Massachusetts-Bay, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Rhode Island, & New York, for their Mutual Defence & Security & for extending the British Settlements Northward & Westward of Said Colonys in North America." The latter would seem to represent a revision of the former unamended "Plan" by some delegate or delegates from one of the colonies other than Massachusetts Bay after the Commissioners of the latter had arrived in Albany and had perhaps distributed their proposal.[28]

As to the second more limited plan of union, embracing but New England and New York, it shows hostility to the idea of combining automatically the office of Governor of Massachusetts Bay with that of President General of the Union and provides instead: "That The Said General Government be administred by one President General to be Chosen & Appointed by a Grand Council to be Chosen by the Representatives of The people of The Said Several Colonies met in their Respective Assemblies. . . ."[29] It then goes on to indicate that when the Grand Council shall first meet, at such a time as shall be indicated by "The Governor of Boston," the latter would preside and

[28] Conn. Hist. Soc. *Coll.*, XVII, 25–29. That the second New England plan was based upon the first is rather clearly indicated by the hurried and only partial copying of the paragraph relating to the establishment of a general treasurer and a particular treasurer in each colony. It reads: "That the President & Grand Council may Appoint a General Treasurer & a particular Treasurer in Each Governmen' When Necessary, etc. etc." *Ibid.*, XVII, 23–24, 28.

[29] *Ibid.*, XVII, 26.

"Lead The Members of The Grand Council To the Choice of a President General."[30]

The organic connection between the two plans is, in spite of these differences, nevertheless obvious; equally obvious is the organic connection of the two with the final Albany Plan. The second hypothesis might, therefore, appear to be on even firmer ground than the first, set forth earlier in this paper. But just as there are manifest difficulties in establishing firmly the first, in view of existing facts, so there are manifest difficulties in establishing firmly the second, in view of other existing facts. Among these that do not yield easily are certain similarities, even identities between the "Short Hints" and the so-called Hutchinson Plan of union and the other more limited plan. The similarities include such features as proportional representation on the Council, the payment of its members, its powers to make western settlements, as well as those that it would possess for raising and paying soldiers;[31] more embarrassing than these similarities, however, is the identity of the name of the Council—the "Grand Council"—employed in all three of the plans. Unless the student resigns himself to the fact that he is face to face with a remarkable coincidence that two of the three plans drafted quite independently of one another contained these things in common, he will be compelled to admit that, with every assumption in favor of the fact that the Massachusetts Bay delegation came with a carefully formulated plan, any plan that it brought was doubtless modified, at least in details, after the author of it had had access to the Franklin "Short Hints," particularly with respect to the name of the Council; or, if not, that Franklin had had access to the former plan before he completed his "Short Hints."

Indeed, one may well advance the hypothesis that the surviving copy of what was the original northern plan of union that has come to light in the handwriting of Jonathan Trumbull (Trumble), as already indicated, is a copy of a copy of it secured by one of the Connecticut

[30] *Ibid.* This second New England plan does not include, it may be noted in passing, any reference to a second and southern colonial union.

[31] *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, VI, 889–891; Conn. Hist. Soc. *Coll.*, XVII, 20–29. The question may be raised, to which at present there is no answer: Could Franklin before the completion of his draft of a plan of union—perhaps upon arriving in New York—have received information as to the details of a plan that had already been prepared by a member of the Massachusetts Bay delegation to the Albany Congress?

Commissioners only after the original plan had been submitted to some revision; further, it is likely that this commissioner, perhaps in consultation with his colleagues from the colony, also made those additional alterations in it to form the second New England plan—including the elimination of the organic connection between the chief executive of the union and the governorship of Massachusetts Bay—to conform more closely to a project of union that Connecticut might be counted on to support; and, finally, with this accomplished, he may well have presented this revision of the revised New England plan for the consideration of the Committee of the Congress. The above broad hypothesis at least avoids many difficulties in reconciling facts otherwise difficult to reconcile. One test of its validity should be that it must not do violence to all pertinent facts that are beyond controversy; on the contrary, it must be in harmony with some valid interpretation of them.

As was previously indicated in quoting from Hutchinson's *Diary*, Franklin was given the chief responsibility on the Committee on the Union for the drafting of the final plan that would emerge out of the "several" presented to it. The work of the Committee, also, as previously indicated, came before the whole conference for discussion on June 29 and on July 1. On July 2 it was again considered and, after some debate, "the question was then put, whether the Board should proceed to form a plan of union of the Colonies to be established by Act of Parliamt which passed in the affirmative."[32] Again on July 4 the "Plan for a Union" was the subject of further deliberations, "but no resolves were made thereupon," and the day following, it was still further discussed without arriving at any decision. Other matters called now for the attention of the Congress and it was not until the 8th that the project for a union was again subject to consideration. However, on the 9th the outlines of the Plan were "agreed upon, and Mr. Franklin was desired to make a draught of it as now concluded upon."[33] The next day it was presented as drafted for final action and adopted.

To what extent the project was modified at any stage after Franklin had carried through his redrafting feat, in the process of which both the title and form of the "Short Hints towards a Scheme for

[32] *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, VI, 868.

[33] *Ibid.*, VI, 875, 877, and 885.

Uniting the Northern Colonies" disappeared in favor of the "Plan of Union," cannot be indicated by any information now available. We are in the dark even as to when the formal title—"Plan of a proposed Union of the several Colonies of Massachusetts Bay, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina, for their mutual defence and security, and for extending the British Settlements in North America"—was adopted, and equally so as to the extent to which the Committee, in the process of evolving the final plan, carried out its mandate to consider, according to Franklin, the "several Plans or Schemes" laid before it "and to digest them into one general plan for the inspection of this Board."

That the final Albany Plan of Union may, nevertheless, be accurately described as a composite plan, there can be little doubt; and yet there is even less doubt that it contained in a new and dignified dress the essentials of the "Short Hints." In the latter Franklin favored a single union for all the colonies on the continent not in receipt of special protection from the King; this union, he also felt, should rest on nothing less than an act of Parliament so that the colonies might not join or leave it simply at will. A loyal Englishman at this period, he moreover saw such a union strengthened in the appointment by the Crown of its executive head and in the giving of this executive the right of veto; he further contemplated the setting up not only of a powerful union legislative council, that would possess the authority to tax, but a union treasury. Finally, he thought that the union should promote western settlement. All these features, fundamental in nature, reappeared in the final project of union. He could therefore feel, and with good reason, that his major original proposals had survived all debate and had become the foundation of the Albany Plan of Union.

On the other hand, the extent to which the final Albany Plan represented a welding together, as the Congress contemplated, of the "several" proposals laid before it would seem to be indicated by the following features not embodied in the "Short Hints," but set forth in the New England plans—assuming that these were among the "several" projects that came to the Committee:

1. The length of service of the members of the Council and the specific payments guaranteed for these services by the *Union government* and not by the respective colonies.

2. The rights of the Council with respect to the dissolution, prorogation, and the length of sessions of that body.
3. The provision for annual meetings of the Council.
4. The method of summoning the members to special meetings of the Council.
5. The introduction of the idea of a quorum for the transaction of business of the Council.
6. The principle that in establishing western settlements, the quitrents levied upon the lands of these settlements should go into the general treasury of the Union.
7. The appointment of a union treasurer for each colony in addition to a general union treasurer—therefore providing for a complete fiscal union system.
8. The provision for an annual settlement of the accounts of the Union government with the reference of these accounts to the colonial assemblies.
9. Finally, the title that the Albany Plan carried.

Beyond all the above features, some of which are exceedingly important and none of which are trivial, in view especially of their implications with respect to the broad outlines of the new central government to be created, there is also to be considered the formal structure of the final plan.

If one is to assume that at least one of the two plans for a limited government of the northern continental colonies was among the "several" submitted to the Congress and rejected by the Committee on the Union; if one is also to assume, in this connection, that the Massachusetts Bay Commissioners took seriously their assignment by the Assembly to strive to set up "a general, firm & perpetual union & confederacy," the proposals that they brought must have been, as was earlier suggested in this article, worked out with great care as to details as well as to fundamentals. One may, therefore, hazard the opinion that this is reflected in the structure and language of the Albany Plan of Union. Indeed, it is remarkable that at no point in the latter is the phrasing of the "Short Hints" used as a model. In contrast to this, either the verbatim or carefully paraphrased language of one or the other of the two surviving plans for a limited union is employed—except in those portions out of keeping with the Franklin conception of a general union of the colonies, to the government of which he would give great powers, including the right to levy directly upon the property of citizens of the colonies, and to possess its own armed forces, forts, and a navy. Those who would brush away lightly the above assumptions are, it may be pointed out, caught on the horns of a dilemma. For they are in-

evitably compelled to make an assumption even less tenable: to wit, that the Massachusetts Bay delegation, in spite of its instructions, came to the Congress with empty hands and that no plan of theirs was among the "several" presented to that body.

At first thought the possibility, if not the probability, that the Albany Plan of Union drafted by Franklin was finally arrayed in borrowed clothes would seem to bring some discredit upon America's most distinguished citizen of the eighteenth century. On the contrary, if the essentials, the flesh and bones, of Franklin's project as set forth in the "Short Hints" survived in it, the adoption of the dress of another competing plan that was repudiated was not an unfair concession, if such were the case, and fully carried out the spirit of the injunction of the Congress "to digest" the various projects for a union in formulating a final proposal. Seen in this light, such a concession in no way reflects upon the work of the distinguished chairman of the Committee. This is in harmony with the views later expressed by Hutchinson in his *History of Massachusetts*, in which, in summarizing "the capital parts of the plan," he states:[34]

> The plan for a general union was projected by Benjamin Franklin, Esq., one of the Commissioners from the province of Pensilvania, the heads where of he brought with him.

The foregoing analysis of the origin of the Albany Plan of Union may now be summarized. A choice must be made between two hypotheses. One, the traditional hypothesis, assumes that this famous document, submitted by the Committee on Colonial Union to the Albany Congress and amended in some particulars by the latter,

[34] Thomas Hutchinson, *The History of the Colony and Province of Massachusetts Bay*, ed. by Lawrence S. Mayo (Cambridge, Mass., 1936), II, 16.

The problem of the authorship of the Albany Plan of Union is not the only one connected with the work of Franklin. Students of his life are well aware of the controversy respecting the authorship of *The Interest of Great Britain Considered, With Regard to her Colonies, and the Acquisitions of Canada and Guadeloupe* that appeared anonymously in 1760. What portions of it, if any, were supplied by Richard Jackson of Inner Temple? Is it true, as asserted in 1780 by Baron Francis Maseres, also of Inner Temple, in a letter to Franklin's publisher, Vaughan, that certain specific portions of the pamphlet there indicated were actually contributed by Jackson? What is to be made of Vaughan's reply: "The affair of the *Canada Pamphlet* has now become too delicate for the editor again to intermeddle in it. He observes that Mr. Jackson's present claim goes to about ⅔ of the pamphlet" (Carl Van Doren, *Letters and Papers of Benjamin Franklin and Richard Jackson, 1753–1785* [Philadelphia, 1947], 10–13)? Dr. Van Doren's conclusion is: "The voice speaking through these passages may be Jackson's but the hand that wrote them is Franklin's." *Ibid.*, 16.

is quite independent in origin from any other project of union than that of the "Short Hints" and possibly certain drafts that were made by Franklin, chairman of the Committee, in the process of its evolution. The other hypothesis assumes that the Plan is a composite one, in the sense that it preserved the leading ideas of the "Short Hints," but utilized the structure and language of another project of union—or other projects—that came into existence quite independent of either the latter or of the Albany Plan of Union, and was submitted to the committee for consideration at the same time that this body secured the "Short Hints." The first hypothesis rests upon reading into the language employed by both Franklin and Hutchinson to describe the part that the former played in working up of the final project, a meaning that would credit him with furnishing not only its ideas, but its structure and language. The second hypothesis rests upon reading into these same remarks no more than that all of the larger principles embodied in the "Short Hints" were re-embodied in the Albany Plan of Union. Each hypothesis would, therefore, accept the fact that the plan finally approved was the Franklin plan—but with a difference in meaning.

The second hypothesis, since it breaks with the traditional interpretation, must be prepared, if it is to be accepted, to carry, as was stated, the burden of proof. The latter takes the form, as it were, of a chain of evidence, some of it positive and some of it circumstantial in nature, but all of it so mutually consistent as to combine to argue strongly for the validity of the hypothesis. This chain is composed of the following links:

1. The Province of Massachusetts Bay was the only colony in the spring of 1754 definitely committed by its Assembly to the idea of a colonial union, and the only colony that instructed the delegates to work for a permanent union or confederation.

2. To argue that it was unlikely that the Commissioners of this colony brought any plan with them in harmony with their instructions to press upon the Congress would seem to shift the burden of proof upon those who would not hesitate at the same time to admit that, although not instructed to do so by their Assembly, two Pennsylvania delegates drew up plans independent of other plans for the Congress.

3. There exists a plan that conforms to the ideas that the Massachusetts Bay Commissioners stood for at the Congress before they were persuaded to change their views. According to De Lancey these delegates had sought to combine the office of President General of the Union with that of the Governor of Massachusetts Bay; according to the Massachusetts Bay Commissioners themselves, they had sought at the Congress at first to create two unions rather than one union. There is evidence supported by both Franklin's testimony and the Journal of the Congress that "several" plans other than the "Short Hints" were presented to the Congress and referred to the Committee on Colonial Union to be studied and utilized by the latter in the framing of a comprehensive plan to be submitted to the Congress. It would be logical to suppose that under the circumstances this New England project was one of the plans submitted.

4. The surviving copy of the New England plan in the handwriting of Jonathan Trumbull (Trumble) appears to show the influence of Franklin's "Short Hints," as does the second New England plan, also in his handwriting, which seems based upon the first. This might imply that any such plan for a northern union that was worked out independently before the Congress convened was modified, probably after it was brought to Albany and before the second New England plan took shape. However, the surviving amended copy of what was the original shows that in the drafting of the latter much care was expended on the details of the proposals it contained, which would fit in with the theory that the person responsible for the original draft and presumably a member of the Massachusetts Bay delegation took his assignment from the Assembly seriously after being commissioned in April.

5. Evidence of an indirect nature points to Hutchinson—a member of the Council, and in 1761 to become Chief Justice of the Province—as the author of the New England plan: there is positive proof that in December, 1754, he favored a partial rather than a general union; it is reasonable to believe that he would have favored the identification of the head of this union of the more northern continental colonies with the office of Governor of Massachusetts Bay; his designation to the Congress Committee

on Colonial Union by his colleagues from the Province would lend weight to the theory that whatever plan was evolved for carrying out the mandate received by the delegation from the Assembly was worked out by him; further, he was the only one among those delegates who later manifested an active interest in any project for colonial union.[35] Therefore, any failure on his part in his *Diary* or his *History of Massachusetts Bay* to disclose an active interest in promoting a colonial union does not invalidate the established fact of that intense interest in 1754, but might well argue that at the time the *Diary*, as well as the *History*, was being prepared for publication his cautious mind reacted against making any disclosures that conceivably, by misinterpretation, might react unfavorably against him—first as a high official of the British government and then later as an exile living on the bounty of the British treasury.

6. The chronology of events at the Albany Congress provides a strong presumption against the theory that the New England plan was an offshoot of the final Albany Plan or some plan intermediate between the "Short Hints" and the latter that Franklin drafted. On June 28, four days after its appointment, the Committee on the Union decided to submit to the Congress the "Short Hints" as the basis for the union to be evolved; this would indicate that a decision in the Committee was taken in favor of a general union, such as Franklin had in mind. The decision of the Congress itself that same day to have copies of the "Short Hints" made for the members would likewise seem to indicate that this body accepted the recommendations of its committee; for had there been serious indecision on this point, one might reasonably conjecture that the Congress would have requested copies of other plans submitted to the Committee. In other words, there is an indication that debate, at least over rival plans, had by this time ceased within the Committee and in the Congress. Both the Massachusetts Bay delega-

[35] For Hutchinson's later interest in 1754 in plans of union, see *The British Empire before the American Revolution*, V, 152–157. As C. F. Mullett has pointed out in his article, "Tory Imperialism on the Eve of the Declaration of Independence," *Canadian Historical Review*, XII (1931), 267 (note), Hutchinson, before the open break between the colonies and the mother country, "did advocate the founding of several unions of the colonies with separate governments for each group. He favoured small unions rather than one large one, as making for less independence."

tion on its return from Albany and Franklin in his "Reasons and Motives" indicate that the demand for two unions rather than one was dropped, after debate, by those who made it. Further, a notation on the margin of the manuscript of the so-called Hutchinson Plan also indicates that it was opposed by some group.

7. If the point just made be accepted as sound, in what respects would it have been rational for any delegate to have given his efforts to setting forth a plan in the last days of Congress that was completely out of touch with the decision of that body? Again, Hutchinson during these last days of the Congress—that is, from July 1 onward—was deeply involved in the preparation of the elaborate "Representation on the Present State of the Colonies," and would hardly have had time to waste on a laborious exercise in planning a union project that did not interest the Congress after the decision of June 28. Nor is this in keeping with his approach to public affairs or the position that he was led to take in the "Representation"—after the decision of the Congress in favor of a single union—in which it was recommended:[36]

   that there be a Union of His Maj$^{ty's}$ several Governt^{s} on the Continent, that so their Councils, Treasury and strength may be employed in due proportion agst their common enemy.

   That he later reverted to his preference for a partial union can be accounted for by the fact that he was doubtless led to realize that the Albany Plan was being buried in the colonies under an avalanche of criticism.

8. If the above chain of evidence is valid in establishing the probable date of origin of the New England plan of union to be prior to the gathering of the Congress, it would follow that the Albany Plan of Union must be a composite document blending the ideas of the "Short Hints" with the general form and elaboration of the so-called Hutchinson Plan, except at those points where divergencies in fundamentals would require departure from it.

It is now desirable, before bringing this paper to a close, to place in contrast and comparison what may be called the primary New England plan as it has survived and the Albany Plan, to test the

[36] *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, VI, 885–889.

validity of the proposals of each in light of their applicability to the American scene in the year 1754, and the sensitiveness of each to what may be called the American "climate of opinion." Both the "Short Hints" and the Albany Plan with respect to the latter possessed a fatal weakness: neither took sufficiently into consideration the extreme particularism of the colonies to be comprehended within the projected union—especially their jealousy of sharing with another and superimposed government the precious rights of raising and disbursing taxes. The framer of the New England plan must have realized this danger—in skillfully adhering to political procedures that had already found expression, if not full acceptance, in the colonies.

New England, as is well known, maintained for a period of forty years in the preceding century its "Confederation."[27] This had functioned fairly effectively under the acknowledged primacy of the government of Massachusetts Bay, in the requisitioning of men and money upon the member colonies when action was required. In reviving the confederation in the project under consideration, so as to comprehend not only all of the New England colonies but the two rather weak colonies of New York and New Jersey—thus re-establishing the geographical limits of the old Dominion of New England—it might well have been thought that the advantages to be gained by all the colonies included and in particular by New York (by this means enabled to depend upon the ample resources of men and money of the populous and highly prosperous colonies to the east in defending its exposed frontiers) would go far to overcome any natural reluctance of any one of them toward union. Moreover, the Plan adhered scrupulously to the requisition principle—a principle that Franklin himself later acknowledged that the colonies were devoted to when he appeared before the British Minister, George Grenville, in 1764, to urge the continuance of requisitions as a substitute for the proposed stamp tax—and in its scope scarcely went beyond the New England concert of King George's War, which under the primacy of Massachusetts Bay had to its credit the capture of the great fortress of Louisbourg.

[27] This was formed between 1643 and 1686 by Massachusetts Bay, Plymouth, Connecticut and New Haven, and between 1686 and 1686 by the first three with New Haven now a part of Connecticut.

In thinking in terms of the bitter hostility expressed by both the New Jersey Assembly and that of Connecticut toward the Albany Plan, as well as its ultimate unanimous rejection by the assemblies of Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and Massachusetts Bay—not to refer to the contemptuous indifference of other colonial governments toward it[38]—it is hard to avoid the conviction that the influence of Franklin's infectious enthusiasm upon the Congress in favor of the immediate establishment of a powerful union government was unfortunate from the viewpoint of the immediate outcome of its labors. He sought to take a leap, not, apparently, realizing that one halting, reluctant step at a time is, after all, the characteristic tempo of the English-speaking world in moving ahead with political change, no matter how desirable. It may indeed be stated that every major modification that he made and secured of the Congress in departing from the basic features of the New England plan—outside of freeing the President General from identification with the office of Governor of Massachusetts Bay and the extension of the scope of the plan to include most of the more southern colonies—to that degree lessened its chance of popular approval and acceptance in America. It is clear that for the moment he lost touch with the one group that he was supposed to understand so well—the common people of the colonies,[39] something that the architect of the New England plan did not. If one were to accept Thomas Hutchinson as the architect, which a good deal of indirect evidence would seem to indicate was the case, how far is it possible, therefore, to accept the thesis of Frothingham when, in referring to the work of the Albany Congress Committee on a Colonial Union, he wrote that

> two political schools were about equally represented in the committee. . . . In Hutchinson it was the vision of a clear intellect distrusting the capacity and intelli-

[38] For an extended discussion of this see Chapter V, "The Fate of the Plan of Union" in the fifth volume of *The British Empire before the American Revolution*.

[39] On only one other occasion does it seem that Franklin temporarily lost touch with the common people of America. In writing from England in 1765 to his friend John Hughes of Philadelphia, for whom he had secured the stampmastership for Pennsylvania, regarding possible tumults in America as the result of the Stamp Act, he says: "In the meantime, a firm Loyalty to the Crown & Faithful Adherence to the Government of this Nation, which is the Safety as well as Honour of the Colonies to be connected with, will always be the wisest Course for you and I to take, whatever may be the Madness of the Populace or their blind Leaders, who can only bring themselves and Country into Trouble and draw on greater Burthens by Acts of rebellious tendency." Smyth, *Writings of Franklin*, IV, 392.

gence of the people. In Franklin it was the insight of a philosopher . . . determined to labor for the liberties of his Country?[40]

Surely, unless one accepts the unhistorical method of reading into a period the attitudes and positions of people that are characteristic only of a subsequent period of history, there is something incongruous, to say the least, in this generalization of the ground occupied respectively by these two distinguished American colonials at Albany in 1754.

But there are other considerations to be kept in mind in bringing into contrast and comparison the two plans of union. Granting that the New England plan would have stood a much better chance of adoption had the Albany Congress accepted it and modified it in certain particulars, than would the Franklin plan; granted that it was more in tune with the thinking of most colonials of this period and that Hutchinson, if he were the author of it, was at this juncture more closely in touch than was Franklin with what one may call the realities of the colonial political situation, one may at the same time affirm that while the America of 1754 was in the keeping of those who thought with Hutchinson, in spite of the apparent repudiation of the New England project by the Committee of the Congress, the future was to be in the keeping of those who thought with Franklin, in spite of the hostility evoked against his ideas in all the colonies that

[40] R. Frothingham, *Rise of the Republic of the United States* (Boston, 1872), 140–141. Equally superficial is the characterization of Hutchinson by V. L. Parrington in his *The Colonial Mind, 1620–1800* (New York, 1927), 194–206. This distinguished writer would hardly have written in the vein that he did had he studied with care the activities of Hutchinson during the 1750's and particularly his championship of the cause of those distressed Acadians, who in 1755 and 1756 were dumped on the shores of Massachusetts Bay. His humaneness, his really tender solicitude for the orphan children of the stricken widow Benoit (who passed away in his home), his willingness to carry to the Crown itself a demand for the compensation of the Acadians for the loss of their possessions (provided only that these exiles would sign a memorial asking for reimbursement as those who had pledged fidelity to the King of England) and his unsuccessful contest with the Assembly over his right to continue to offer asylum to some of these distressed people in his Boston home, is about the only really bright page in an otherwise very sombre chapter in the history of Massachusetts. His cold, calculating aloofness from people other than fellow aristocrats, as pictured by Parrington, does not harmonize with the rôle he played at this period. For not only was he the friend of the Acadians, but the champion of those distressed, impoverished frontiersmen living on the upper Connecticut at "No. 6," who came under New Hampshire jurisdiction much against their will. It was to Hutchinson that they appealed for aid, it was he who went to England to plead their cause, and in 1757, in the midst of the war between the French and the English, it was to him that they successfully appealed again to persuade General Loudoun to provide them with a military guard.

gave any serious consideration to his Albany Plan of Union. Indeed, one may further affirm that it was better, when thinking in terms of the future of America, for Franklin to have pressed ideas that were much too advanced to find favor in the rather frigid atmosphere of colonial isolationism and to have failed, than for the more practicable New England plan to have prevailed for the useful purpose of meeting the grave crisis in international affairs in North America. For while the project of the former looked to a developing political unity among all the people within the older colonies on this continent, that of the latter with its proposals for two unions might have confirmed and hardened a sectionalism that existed even in 1754 and that continued to be an ominous force in the history of the American people for the next century; it might have fastened upon this country what the South sought to bring to realization in 1861—two nations, rather than one "indivisible" American union.

Lehigh University LAWRENCE HENRY GIPSON

PLANS OF UNION, 1754

A NEW ENGLAND PLAN OF UNION

(Connecticut Historical Society *Collections* [*Fitch Papers* Vol. 1], XVII, 20–22. Trumbull Papers, I, Doc.93, ConnecticutStateLibrary.)

[Par. I]
Plan of a proposed Union of the several Colonies of Massachusetts-Bay, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Rhode-Island, New York & New Jersey, for their mutual Defence, & Security, & for extending the British Settlements Northward & Westward of said Colonies in North-America.

[Par. II]
That humble application be made for an Act of the Parliament of Great-Brittain, by Virtue of which one General Union may be formed, including all the said Colonies, within and Notwithstanding which Union, Each of said Colonies shall & may hold and maintain its present Constitution, except the particulars wherein a Change or alteration may be directed by said Act, as hereafter Follows, viz[t].

[Par. III]
That in the said General Union, The Ordering & Direction of the Affairs y[e] of be administred by one President General, who shall be The Governour of The Province of the Massachusetts-Bay for The Time being; and a Grand Council to be chosen by the Representatives of the People of the Said Colonies met in their respective Assemblies.

[Par. IV]
That within———months after the passing such Act, The House of Representatives in the Several Assemblies that happen to be Setting at that time, or that shall be specially convened for that purpose may & shall Choose Members for the Grand-Council in the following proportions. That is to say

A SECOND NEW ENGLAND PLAN OF UNION

(Connecticut Historical Society *Collections* [*Fitch Papers*, Vol. 1], XVII, 25–29. Trumbull Papers, I, Doc.94, ConnecticutStateLibrary.)

[Par. I]
Plan of a proposed Union of The Several Colonies of Massachusetts-Bay, New Hampshire, Connecticutt, Rhode Island, & New York, for Their Mutual Defence & Security & for extending the British Settlements Northward & Westward of Said Colonys in North America.

[Par. II]
That humble Application may be made for an Act of The Parliament of Great-Britain, by Virtue of Which one Government may be Formed In America, including all The Said Colonies, within & under which Government Each of Said Colonies may retain its present Constitution, except The particulars wherein a Change may be directed by said Act, as hereafter follows viz.

[Par. III]
That The Said General Government be administred by one President General to be Chosen & Appointed by a Grand Council to be Chosen by the Representatives of The people of The Said Several Colonies met in their Respective Assemblies, and The Support of Such President General to be made by The Said United Colonies.

[Par. IV]
That within———months after the passing Such Act, The House of Representatives in the Several Assemblies that happen to be Setting at That Time, or That Shall be Specially for That purpose Convened may & Shall Choose Members for The Grand Council in The following proportions. That is to say

THE ORIGINAL FRANKLIN PLAN OF UNION

(Smyth, *The Writings of Benjamin Franklin*, III, 197–199.)

SHORT HINTS TOWARDS A SCHEME FOR UNITING THE NORTHERN COLONIES.

A GOVERNOR-GENERAL.

To be appointed by the king. To be a military man. To have a salary from the crown. To have a negation on all acts of the Grand Council, and carry into execution whatever is agreed on by him and that Council.

GRAND COUNCIL.

One member to be chosen by the Assembly of each of the smaller colonies, and two or more by each of the larger, in proportion to the sums they pay yearly into the general treasury.

MEMBERS' PAY.

———shillings sterling per diem, during their sitting, and milage for travelling expenses.

PLACE AND TIME OF MEETING.

To meet———times in every year, at the capital of each colony, in course, unless particular circumstances and emergencies require more frequent meetings, and alteration in the course of places. The governor-general to judge of those circumstances, &c., and call by his writs.

GENERAL TREASURY.

Its fund, an excise on strong liquors, pretty equally drunk in the colonies, or duty on liquor imported, or———shillings on each license of a public house, or excise on superfluities, as tea, &c. &c. All which would pay in some proportion to the present wealth of each colony, and increase as that wealth increases, and prevent disputes about the inequality of quotas. To be collected in each colony and lodged in their treasury, to be ready for the payment of orders issuing from the governor-general and grand council jointly.

THE ALBANY PLAN OF UNION

(*Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, VI, 889–891, with corrections from the manuscript in the Public Record Office transcribed for the Library of Congress.)

[Par. I]
PLAN of a proposed Union of the several Colonies of Massachusetts Bay, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, New Jerseys, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina, for their mutual defence and security, and for extending the British Settlements in North America.

[Par.II]
That humble application be made for an Act of the Parliament of Great Brittain, by virtue of which, one General Govern[t] may be formed in America, including all the said Colonies, within, and under which Govern[t] each Colony may retain each [its[1]] present constitution, except in the particulars wherein a charge [change[2]] may be directed by the said Act, as hereafter follows.

[1] Public Record Office manuscript reading.
[2] *Ibid.*

[Par. III]
That the said General Govern[t] be administered by a president General, to be appointed & supported by the Crown, and a grand Council to be chosen by the representatives of the people of the several Colonies, meet [met[3]] in their respective assemblies.

[3] *Ibid.*

[Par. IV]
That within———Months after the passing of such Act, The house of representatives in the several Assemblies, that Happen to be sitting within that time or that shall be specially for that purpose convened, may and shall chose [choose[4]], Members for the Grand Council in the following proportions, that is to say:

PLANS OF UNION, 1754 (*Continued*)

A NEW ENGLAND PLAN OF UNION

(Connecticut Historical Society *Collections* [*Fitch Papers* Vol. 1], XVII, 20–22. Trumbull Papers, 1, Doc.93, ConnecticutStateLibrary.)

[Par. IV]—*Continued*

Massachusetts-Bay	7
Connecticut	4[1]
New York	4
New-Hampshire	3[2]
Rhode Island	2
New Jersey	3
in all	23

who shall meet for the first time at the Town of Boston in New England, at such time as shall be Appionted by the President General [Which shall be the Gov[r] of the Province of the Massachusetts-Bay for Time being][3] and whereof The Members of the Grand Council shall be duly notified, as soon as conveniently may be after an Act of Parliament for this purpose is passed and The Several Colonies duly acquainted thereof.

[1] First written 5. [2] First written 2.
[3] Appended to the plan to be inserted at the appropriate place.

[Par. V]
That the Members of the Grand-Council shall be Newly Elected and chosen by the Representatives in the Several Assemblies every three Years; and on the death or resignation of any Member his place shall be supplied by a New Choice at the next Setting of the Assembly of the Colony he represented.

[Par. VI]
That the Grand Council shall meet once in every Year, and oftener (if occasion require) at such time and place as they shall adjourn to, at their last preceeding meeting; or as they shall be called to meet at, by the President-General on any Emergency, he having first obtained in Writting the consent of five of the Members to such call, or on application made to the president-General by ten of the Grand-Council in Writting under their hands to have a Meeting called, he shall send due and Timely Notice To The whole.

A SECOND NEW ENGLAND PLAN OF UNION

(Connecticut Historical Society *Collections* [*Fitch Papers*, Vol. 1], XVII, 25–29. Trumbull Papers, 1, Doc.94, ConnecticutStateLibrary).

[Par. IV]—*Continued*

Massachusetts-Bay	7
Connecticutt	5
New York	4
New Hampshire	2
Rhode Island	2
in all	20

Who shall meet for the first Time at The Town of Boston in New England, at Such Time as Shall be Appointed by His Excellency The Governour of Boston, as soon as conveniently may be after An Act of Parliament for This purpose is passed, at which Meeting The S[d] Governour shall be directed To preside & Lead The Members of The Grand Council To The Choice of a President General. That The President General Shall be Newly Chosen Every Three Years; and On his Death or Removal his place shall be Supplyed by a New Choice at The Next Session of The Grand Council, which they shall be impowered To Do.

[Par. V]
That There shall be a New Election of Members for The Grand-Council Every Three Years; & on The Death or Resignation of any Member his place shall be Supplied by a New Choise at The next setting of The Assembly of The Colony he represented.

[Par. VI]
That The Grand Council shall meet Once in Every year, & oftner (if Occasion require) at Such Time & place as They shall Adjourn to, at Their last preceeding Meeting; or as They shall be called to meet at, by the President General on Any Emergency, he having first Obtained in Writting The Consent of five of The Members to Such Call, & Sent due and Timely Notice to The whole. And On Application made to The President General, by Ten of The Grand Council in Writting Under Their Hands, He shall Appoint & Call a Meeting of the Grand Council At convenient Time & place, and Send due & Timely Notice To The whole.

THE ORIGINAL FRANKLIN PLAN OF UNION

(Smyth, *The Writings of Benjamin Franklin*, III, 197–199.)

SHORT HINTS TOWARDS A SCHEME FOR UNITING THE NORTHERN COLONIES.

DUTY AND POWER OF THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL AND GRAND COUNCIL.

To order all Indian treaties. Make all Indian purchases not within proprietary grants. Make and support new settlements, by building forts, raising and paying soldiers to garrison the forts, defend the frontiers, and annoy the enemy. Equip guard-vessels to scour the coasts from privateers in time of war, and protect the trade, and every thing that shall be found necessary for the defence and support of the colonies in general, and increasing and extending their settlements, &c.
For the expense, they may draw on the fund in the treasury of any colony.

MANNER OF FORMING THIS UNION.

The scheme, being first well considered, corrected, and improved by the commissioners at Albany, to be sent home, and an act of Parliament obtained for establishing it.

THE ALBANY PLAN OF UNION

(*Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, VI, 889–891, with corrections from the manuscript in the Public Record Office transcribed for the Library of Congress.)

[Par. IV]—*Continued*

Massachusetts Bay	7
New Hampshire	2
Connecticut	5
Rhode Island	2
New York	4
New Jerseys	3
Pennsylvania	6
Maryland	4
Virginia	7
North Carolina	4
South Carolina	4
	48

Who shall meet for the present [first[4]] time at the City of Philadelphia in Pennsylvania, being called by the President General as soon as conveniently may be after his appointment.

[4] *Ibid.*
[5] *Ibid.*

[Par. V]
That there shall be a New Election of Members for the Grand Council every three years, and on the death or resignation of any Member, his place shall be supplyed by a new choice at the next sitting of the Assembly of the Colony he represented.

[Par. VI]
That after the first three years, when the proportion of money arising out of each Colony to the General Treasury can be known, the number of Members to be chosen, for each Colony shall from time to time in all ensuing Elections be regulated by that proportion (yet so as that the Number to be chosen by any one province be not more than seven nor less than two).

[Par. VII]
That the Grand Council shall neither be dissolved, prorogued, nor continued setting longer than four weeks at one time without their own consent, or the Special Comand of The Crown.

[Par. VIII]
That, The president-General shall have a casting Voice whenever an Equi-vote shall happen in the Grand-Council.

[Par. IX]
That a Quorum of the Grand-Council to Act with the President General do consist of twelve Members, Among whom There shall be one or more from a Majority of the Colonies.

[Par. X]
That The Grand Council Shall Annually Grant a Salary to be allowed and paid To The President General for his Service, not Exceeding the Sum of £———stl

[Par. XI]
That The Members of The Grand Council shall be Allowed for Their Service 10s stl per diem during their sessions and Journey to & from the place of Meeting, Twenty Miles to be reckoned a days Journey.

[Par. VII]
That The Grand Council shall neither be dissolved, Prorogued nor Continued setting longer than four Weeks at One Time without Their oWn Consent, or The Special Comand of The Crown.

[Par. VIII]
That The Grand Council shall Annually Settle a Salary to be allowed & paid To The President General for his Service not exceeding the Sum of———Sterling.

[Par. IX]
That The Members of The Grand Council shall be Allowed for Their service 10s Sterg per Diem during their sessions & Journey to & from The place of Meeting 20 miles to be reckoned a Days Journey.

[Par. X]
That The President General with The Advice & Consent of the Grand Council hold & Direct all Indian Treaties in Which The General Interest or Welfare of These Colonies may be Concernd; & make peace or declare War with Indian Nations; That They make Such Laws as They Judge Necessary for Regulating all Indian Trade, That They Consider The ways & Means to Support the union & Safety of These Colonies, against all Their Comon Enemies. That They make all purchases from Indians for The Crown of Lands not now within the Bounds of particular Colonies, or That shall not be within Their Bounds when The Extention of Some of Them are rendred more Certain.

[Par. XI]
That They make new Settlements on Such purchases by Granting Lands in the King's Name, reserving a Quit rent to The Crown for The use of The General Treasury.

[Par. VII]
That the Grand Council shall meet once in every year, and oftener if occasion require, at such time and place as they shall adjourn to at the last preceeding meeting, or as they shall be called to meet at by the President General, on any emergency, he having first obtained in writing the consent of seven of the Members to such call, and sent due and timely notice to the whole.

[Par. VIII]
That the Grand Council have power to chuse [choose[6]] their speaker, and shall neither be dissolved [,[7]] prorogued, nor continue sitting longer than six weeks at one time without their own consent, or the special command of the Crown.

[6] *Ibid.*
[7] *Ibid.*

[Par. IX]
That the Members of the Grand Council shall be allowed for their services ten shillings sterling per diem, during their Sessions or Journey to and from the place of Meeting; twenty miles to be reckoned a days Journey.

[Par. X]
That the Assent of the President General be requisite to all Acts of the Grand Council, and that it be his Office and duty to cause them to be carried into execution.

[Par. XI]
That the President General with the advice of the Grand Council, hold or direct all Indian Treaties in which the general interest or welfare of the Colonys may be concerned; and make peace or declare War with the Indian Nations. That they make such Laws as they judge necessary for the regulating all Indian Trade. That they make all purchases from Indians for the Crown, of lands [now[8]] not within the bounds of particular Colonies, or that shall not be within their bounds when some of them are reduced to

PLANS OF UNION, 1754 (*Continued*)

A NEW ENGLAND PLAN OF UNION

(Connecticut Historical Society *Collections* [*Fitch Papers* Vol. 1], XVII, 20–22. Trumbull Papers, I, Doc.93, ConnecticutStateLibrary.)

[Par. XII]
That in Case of The Death of the President-General, The Ld Govr of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay shall Preside, & be Vested with The Same Powers and Authorities 'till The Arrival of a New Govr for said Colony.

[Par. XIII]
That The President General with The Grand Council Sumoned and Assembled for That Purpose, or a Quorum of Them as aforesaid shall hold and direct all Indian Treaties in Which the General Interest or Welfare of these Colonies may be Concerned; and Make Peace or Declare Warr with Indian Nations, that they may make such Rules & orders with pains & punishments annexed thereto as they Judge Necessary for Regulating all Indian Trade; That they direct & order the Ways & means necessary & Beneficial to Support & maintain the Safety & Interests of These Colonies, against all their Comon Enemies*[4]; That they make all purchases from Indians for The Crown of Lands not now within the Bounds of particular Colonies, or That shall not be within their bounds when the Extention of Some of them are rendered more Certain

[4] A star(*) is inserted at this point in the paragraph.

A SECOND NEW ENGLAND PLAN OF UNION

(Connecticut Historical Society *Collections* [*Fitch Papers*, Vol. 1], XVII, 25–29. Trumbull Papers, I, Doc.94, ConnecticutStateLibrary.)

[Par. XII]
That They make Laws for regulating & Governing, Such New Settlements 'till The Crown shall Think for to form them into particular Governments.

[Par. XIII]
That They agree & Conclude what Number of Men & Sum of Money is Needed to be Raised & paid for Soldiers to protect & Defend these Colonies & Repelling their Enemies & To pay Them & for The building & Garrisons [&] Forts for the Defence of any of The Colonies, & for Building Equipping Vessels of force to Guard the Coasts & protect The Trade of These Colonies, [& When such Numbers of Men & Sums of Money as is concluded & Agreed by the President General & Grand Council to be needfull, is made known to Each of The Assemblies of Said Colonies, Each Colony shall raise Their Quota of Men & Levy, Collect & pay their proportion of Money according to The proportion herein before Settled for The Choice of Members for the Grand Council from Each Colony, To be raised, collected & paid in Such Manner & form as To Them Appears Equal & right[1]] and Thereupon Give Notice to Each of the Assemblies of The United Colonies who shall raise Their Quota of Said Mens And Money in the proportion above Mentioned for Their Respective Numbers of Comission to be raised, Levied & Collected by Each of said Colonies In Such manner & form as To Them Appears Equal & Right.

[1] Alternative reading inserted at the end of the document.

THE ALBANY PLAN OF UNION

(*Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, VI, 889–891, with corrections from the manuscript in the Public Record Office transcribed for the Library of Congress.)

[Par. XI]—*Continued*
more convenient dimensions. That they make new settlements on such purchases by granting Lands, [in the King's name[9]] reserving a Quit rent to the Crown, for the use of the General Treasury.

[9] *Ibid.* [9] *Ibid.*

[Par. XII]
That they make Laws for regulating & governing such new settlements, till the Crown shall think fit to form them into particular Govern^ts.

[Par. XIII]
That they raise and pay Soldiers, and build Forts for the defence of any of the Colonies, and equip vessels of Force to guard the Coasts and protect the Trade on the Ocean, Lakes, or great Rivers; but they shall not impress men in any Colonies without the consent of its Legislature. That for these purposes they have power to make Laws and lay and Levy such general duties, imposts or taxes, as to them shall appear most equal and just, considering the ability and other circumstances of the Inhabitants in the several Colonies, and such as may be collected with the least inconvenience to the people, rather discouraging luxury, than loading Industry with unnecessary burthens.———That they might appoint a General Treasurer and a particular Treasurer in each Govern^t when necessary, and from time to time may order the sums in the Treasuries of each Govern^t, into the General Treasury, or draw on them for special payments as they find most convenient; yet no money to issue but by joint orders of the President General and Grand Council, except where sums have been appropriated to particular purposes, and the President General is previously impowered by an Act to draw for such sums.

[Par. XIV]
That They make New settlements on such purchases, by Granting Lands in the King's Name, reserving a Quit rent to the Crown for The Use of The General Treasury

[Par. XIV]
That The President General Shall be General or Chief Comander of all The Forces raised in & by this United Governm[t], & That it be his Office & Duty to Cause the Acts of The Grand Council to be Carried into Execution, & shall Comission all The General Officers That May be needed & Nominated to him by The Grand Council, & also Shall Comission all other Comission Officers that may be Needed, The Nomination & Appointment of whom Shall be Left with The Assemblys of The Several Colonies, for The officers that shall Comand The Soldiers raised in Each of Said Colonies.

[Par. XIV]
That the General accounts shall be yearly settled and reported to the several Assemblies.

[Par. XV]
That they make necessary rules and orders for the well regulating & managing Such New Settlements 'till the Crown Shall think fit to form them into particular Government or Governments. That They agree & conclude the Number of Men, & Sums of Money That shall from Time to Time be needed to be raised & paid, for [the purposes Afore Mentioned*] protecting & Defending These Colonies & repelling their Enemies, for building & Garrisoning Forts for the defence of any of the Colonies, & for building & Equipping & Manning Armed Vessels to Guard The Coasts, and protect the Trade of these Colonies. And When The President General, & Grand Council Shall Conclude and Agree on Any Number of Men & Sum of Money Needed On Any Occasion, They shall Notify the Same to Each of the Assemblies of S[d] Colonies, by Sending an Account Thereof to the Respective Gov[rs] of Each of S[d] Colonies to be Comunicated to their Assemblies [recomending it to Each Colony to*][8] Who shall raise their Quota of Men, & Levey, collect & pay their proportion of Money, according to The proportion herein before Settled for Members to be Chosen for the Grand Council from Each Colony; Which may be done In Each Colony in such Manner & form As to Them Appears equal & right.

[8] Alternative reading.

[Par. XV]
That The President General & Grand Council may Appoint a General Treasurer, & a particular Treasurer in Each Governm[t] When Necessary, &c &c.

[Par. XV]
That a Quorum of the Grand Council impowered to act with the President General, do consists [consist[10]] of twenty five Members, among whom there shall be one or more from a majority of the Colonies. That the Laws made by them for the purposes aforesaid, shall not be repugnant, but as near as may be agreable to the Laws of England, and shall be transmitted to the King in Council for approbation, as soon as may be after their passing, and if not disapproved within three years after presentation to remain in Force.

[10] *Ibid.*

[Par. XVI]
That The President General be the General or Chief Comander of all The Forces raised by Virtue of This Union, and that it be his office & duty to cause the Acts, rules, and Orders made & concluded by Virtue hereof to be Carried into Execution: And He shall Comission all The General Officers y[t] are

[Par. XVI]
That a Quorum of The Grand Council to Act wth The President General do Consist of ———Members, Among Whom There shall be One or More from a Majority of The Colonies.

[Par. XVI]
That in case of the death of the President General, the Speaker of the Grand Council for the time being shall succeed, and be vested with the same powers and authority, to continue until the King's pleasure be known.

PLANS OF UNION, 1754 (*Continued*)

A NEW ENGLAND PLAN OF UNION

(Connecticut Historical Society *Collections* [*Fitch Papers* Vol. 1], XVII, 20–22. Trumbull Papers, 1, Doc.93, ConnecticutStateLibrary.)

[Par. XVI]—*Continued*

needed; Who shall be nominated to him by The Grand Council; and he shall Comission the other Comission Officer or Officers y^t shall be needed; Who shall be nominated to him by The Assembley of That Colony whose Soldiers are to be Comanded by such Officer or Officers.

[Par. XVII]

That The President General & Grand Council of These United Colonies may Appoint a General Treasurer & a particular Treasurer in Each Government When Necessary; and From time to time may order the Sums in the Particular Treasuries by them Appointed In Each Government into the General Treasury, or Draw on Them for Special payments as they find most Convenient; Yet no money to Issue but by Joint orders of The President General & Grand Council except Where Sums have been Appropriated to particular purposes, & The President General previously Impowered by an order to draw for such Sums.

[Par. XVIII]

That the General Accounts shall be Yearly Settled And Reported to the Several Assemblies.

A SECOND NEW ENGLAND PLAN OF UNION

(Connecticut Historical Society *Collections* [*Fitch Papers*, Vol. 1], XVII, 25–29. Trumbull Papers, 1, Doc.94, ConnecticutStateLibrary.)

[Par. XVII]

The President General Shall have a Casting Voice whensoever an Equi-Vote Shall happen in The Grand Council

[Par. XVIII]

That in Case of The Death of The President General, The D Govr of ye Province of The Massachusetts Bay shall Succeed & be Vested with The Same Powers & Authorities.

THE ALBANY PLAN OF UNION

(*Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, VI, 889–891, with corrections from the manuscript in the Public Record Office transcribed for the Library of Congress.)

[Par. XVII]

That all Military Commission Officers, whether for land or sea service, to act under this General constitution, shall be nominated by the President General, but the aprobation of the Grand Council is to be obtained before they receive their Commissions; and all Civil Officers are to be nominated by the grand Council, and to receive the President General's approbation before they officiate; but in case of vacancy by death or removal of any Officer Civil or Military under this constitution, The Govr of the Province in which such vacancy happens, may appoint till the pleasure of the President General and grand Council can be known.——That the particular Military as well as Civil establishments in each Colony remain in their present State this General constitution notwithstanding. And that on sudden emergencies any Colony may defend itself, and lay the accounts of expence thence arisen, before the President General and Grand Council, who may allow and order payment of the same as far as they judge such accounts just and reasonable.

[Par. XIX]
That The Particular Military, as well as Civil Establishments & Constitutions of Each Colony remain [firm & Entire[6]] in The present State & Condition, without any other Change or Alteration Than is herein before mentioned, This General Union Notwithstanding.

[6] Alternative reading.

[Par. XX]
And Further 'tis proposed That There be a Union Made by an Act of The Parliament of Great Brittain, by Virtue whereof One General Union may be formed, Including the Several Colonies of[7] Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina & South Carolina, The Affairs Whereof in relation to Matters & Things of the like Nature to what is herein before Comprised, to be Ordered Directed & Administred In the Like Manner & form as is herein before Mentioned.

[7] "New Jersey" is crossed out.

[Par. XXI]
And Further, 'tis proposed That On any Special Emergency & Extraordinary Occasion wherein it may be Tho't needfull There may be Just rules & Directions made & given Wherein All The Said Colonies herein before proposed to be United, In The More Northern part of America, and Those proposed to be United in The more Southern part of North America, May Act In Concert Against The Comon Enemy In The best and Most Advantageous Manner

[Par. XXII]
By Driving off all our Enemies, from his Majesty's Territories in North America & Destroying any Forts Made thereon by them; and Carrying The Forces of These Governments into The Enemies Country, when an Open war is or shall be Declared Against Those w° are his Majesty's Enemies.

Three Letters to Benjamin Franklin

On February 29, 1782, the British House of Commons silently agreed to a motion in favor of an address to His Majesty George III, praying that the war on the continent of North America might no longer be pursued for the impracticable purpose of reducing the inhabitants of the country to obedience by force. Edmund Burke, a member of the House, that same day wrote to Benjamin Franklin in Paris congratulating him "as a friend of America; I trust, as not an enemy of England; I am sure, as the friend of mankind."

On this note other English friends of Franklin resumed, or continued, their correspondence with the American Minister to France. Under British law Franklin was an arch traitor—a former officer of the Crown who had signed the Declaration of Independence put forth by the revolted provinces and who had treasonously negotiated a treaty of alliance between the so-called United States and the ancient enemy of the Empire of which he had been a subject. Only the bolder of his friends in England had communicated with him during the war, and this correspondence had had to be intermittent and more or less surreptitious. But almost all of them looked upon him not as a traitor to the English, but as a powerful ally of the English Whigs, who had resisted the American policy of the Crown and who thought of themselves and the Americans as being in joint resistance to the encroachments of George III upon the rights of Parliament, of Englishmen, and of men in general.

One of the earliest of Franklin's closest English friends who now felt free to renew their correspondence was Jonathan Shipley, Bishop of St. Asaph. Writing to Franklin on May 9, 1782,[1] the Bishop, in explaining why he had not written during the war, did not hint at the fact, which he no doubt knew, that his daughter Georgiana had exchanged letters with Franklin, beginning with her letter of February 11, 1777, soon after she learned that he was in France. She was then twenty-one, "not of an age," she wrote, "to be so very prudent,"

[1] The three letters here printed for the first time are in The Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

but old enough to feel that she must let her "*cher Socrate*" know how she and her family still regarded him: "They continue to admire and love you as much as they did formerly, nor can any time or event in the least change their sentiments." Franklin, replying with his gay and affectionate grace, had in one of his letters, on October 8, 1780, referred to her father as "the good Bishop," and then had commented: "Strange, that so simple a character should sufficiently distinguish one of that sacred body!"—that is, the lords spiritual of England.

Bishop Shipley's letter is dated Bolton Street, London, to which the family had moved from the Jermyn Street house where Franklin had often visited them. The bearer of the letter was to have been Henry Laurens, formerly president of the Continental Congress, who had been captured at sea by the British in September, 1780, had been a prisoner in the Tower of London for more than a year, and had recently been exchanged for Lord Cornwallis, captured at Yorktown. But Laurens did not go to Paris as soon as had been expected, and the Shipley letter reached Franklin by another hand. Franklin replied on June 10 in a moving letter in which he said that during the late hostilities he had been "apt to think, that there never has been, nor ever will be, any such thing as a *good* War, or a *bad* Peace"—an opinion which in slightly different words he had expressed in a letter to David Hartley on February 2, 1780, and which he was to repeat in a letter to Josiah Quincy on September 11, 1783.

From Jonathan Shipley, Bishop of St. Asaph[2]

It is with the utmost pleasure I feel an Hour is at last arrivd, when I can write without impropriety to my dear & respectable Friend. You will be so just to me as to believe that my silence was not owing to neglect or indifference. Great caution was necessary to be observed by one of my rank & profession, who was acting in open opposition to an unsuccessful, detested & enrag'd Ministry. Even now I debar

[2] The Bishop's letter is printed as it was written, with two technical exceptions. His words "Dr Franklin" are actually not at the end, but at the bottom of the first of the four pages. The word *the* is spelled out, although Shipley used the old-fashioned symbol for *th*, which in manuscript looks so much like *y* that it is often transcribed as such and the word given as *ye*. But Franklin, reading the letter, saw and pronounced the apparent *ye* as *the*.

myself from the mention of any subject which concerns our publick situation, till the return of Peace which We all long for, & the Safety & Liberty that attends it. In the mean time I flatter myself with the hopes of seeing You once more & renewing those delightful conversations that are still present to my Memory. Do You still relish your old Studies & sometimes make use of that Key to the secrets of Nature, which She seems to have trusted to your care as to her particular Favourite? But tho Science has certainly lost, America has gaind much more by your change of Employment. And after all the noblest Employment that falls to the Lot of Man is to serve our Country & to make Men better & happier. (I have not the Vanity at this instant to think of Preaching or writing; but to do it as You have done by advantageous Treaties & wise Laws & Statutes [)]. As for me I have employd myself as occasion offerd in feebly supporting the same good Cause in which You left me engagd & which experience has renderd more dear to me even than Truth & Reason. I have found it not difficult to make some impression on disinterested or indifferent Men; but I must own I never was so lucky as to make a Convert of one who either had a Place or wishd for one. But my great resource has been to seek a refuge from Publick Misery in domestick Happiness. That dear Family of mine takes a pride in continuing to love & admire You. Indeed they almost look upon You as something more than human.

We have now a new Ministry; with all of whom I have acquaintance & some degree of Friendship. Their present intentions are good & the People are their Friends; but I must wait to see whether they have the Sense to make a right use of Power before I form my opinion

The Bearer Mr Laurens, who I hope will allow me to call him my Friend, is much respected here for his good Sense & every body must love him for his mild & benevolent Heart.

Adieu my dear venerable Friend & let me hope that I may once more be happy in your Society

Your ever obligd & affection^t^
J St Asaph

Bolton Street
May 9th —82
Dr Franklin
[*Endorsed, but not in Franklin's hand:*]
Asaph 9. May 1782

The second of these letters is from Benjamin Vaughan, the most devoted and active of Franklin's younger disciples in England. Vaughan, whose mother was Sarah Hallowell, of Boston, had, in 1799, published in London a valuable collection of Franklin's *Political, Miscellaneous, and Philosophical Pieces.* The frontispiece was an engraving based on a portrait medallion that Franklin had sent from France to Georgiana Shipley; and the volume's motto, which called Franklin "His country's friend, but *more* of human kind," had been contributed by her father. Close friend of Franklin's friends the Shipleys, Vaughan had the confidence of another of Franklin's friends, the Earl of Shelburne, one of the two secretaries of state in the Rockingham ministry that succeeded Lord North's. Vaughan suggested that, instead of sending a "bargaining" diplomat to treat with Franklin and the other American peace commissioners in Paris, Shelburne send Richard Oswald, a retired merchant who had lived in America and whom Franklin might find congenial. Oswald arrived in Paris in March, and in July Vaughan followed as a private agent of Shelburne, who had become Prime Minister on the death of the Marquis of Rockingham that month. In September, at the request of John Jay, Vaughan went back to England to represent to Shelburne the special interests of the United States which Jay thought might otherwise suffer from a conflict with the special interests of France and Spain. Jay insisted that a new commission to Oswald should authorize him to treat with the commissioners of "the United States of America," a specific designation which would mean that Great Britain recognized the existence of the new nation in advance of the formal treaty.

Writing to Franklin on September 23, Vaughan reported that the commission, though drawn, had not yet been sealed, but only because the Chancellor of the Exchequer, William Pitt, was out of town. The revised commission was delivered to Oswald in Paris on September 27 by the courier with whom Vaughan had traveled. A letter from him of that date to William Temple Franklin[3] says that Vaughan had brought the articles he had been "committed . . . to procure" for Franklin in England. It is not certain what medicine Shelburne had sent for the bladder stone with which Franklin had been painfully

[3] This letter is in the American Philosophical Society.

afflicted since about the end of August. Referring to Franklin's "son," Vaughan, of course, meant the grandson Temple.

At some time not long after Vaughan's return to Paris, he was shown the outline, not the manuscript, of Franklin's memoirs, now called the *Autobiography*, of which Franklin had written only the first part at the Shipley country house near Winchester in August, 1771. Vaughan's letter of January 1, 1783, urging Franklin to go on with his plans for an autobiography, has regularly been printed with the second part, which Franklin wrote in Paris in 1784.

From Benjamin Vaughan

Totteridge, Herts, Sept. 23rd, 1782.

My dearest sir,

Lest by some accident I should miss the opportunity of travelling with the courier, I sit down just to tell you that I am prepared to depart the instant I hear the commission is sealed, which by the Chancellor having been at Buxton has been for some days delayed.

I have got together the different articles committed to my care to procure, and shall not be long upon the road.

I hope your health is better. Lord Shelburne has insisted on my bringing you a medicine to prevent a return of your complaints. I beg my best regards to your son; and am, my dearest sir,

Your ever devoted, grateful, & affectionate

Benjn Vaughan

[*Endorsed in another hand:*]
Vaughan Septr 23.
1782.

The last of these three letters is from Sir Edward Newenham, Irish patriot and member of the Irish Parliament, who with his family had come to Paris early in the fall of 1782 and had been hospitably entertained by Franklin and his grandson. A part of

Newenham's journal of his French travels has been edited by Dixon Wecter from the manuscript in the Public Archives of Canada, with numerous details concerning Franklin's circle in Paris and Passy.[4] Newenham left Paris on October 20 for the south of France, and was in Marseilles in late November. In Liège, on June 20, 1783, he was the guest of William Augustus Miles, who as a boy had gone to America, had served in a civilian capacity under Admiral Sir George Brydges Rodney in the West Indies, had been for a time a prisoner of war in St. Lucia, and after his release had settled in Seraing, near Liège. Miles' early writings, here enthusiastically praised by Newenham, were minor pamphlets on abuses in the ordnance office and on the suppression of *The Beggar's Opera*. He was later a correspondent, and in some degree an agent of William Pitt, and a busy miscellaneous writer. It was to the impetuous Newenham that Franklin on June 20, 1785, wrote, with the "anxious freedom of a friend," to dissuade him from trying to cross the Channel in a balloon as Jean-Pierre Blanchard and John Jeffries (of Boston) had done the past January.

From Sir Edward Newenham

Liege 20 June 1783 —

My Dear Sir —

Hearing that the Irish Parliament will immediately be dissolved, I am obligd to return to Dublin without having the pleasure of paying my respects to you, & Congratulating you, upon the final completion of your Glorious Cause—

I am now at the house of William Augustus Miles Esqr whose writings have rendered Essential services to the Cause of Liberty; he Early & warmly Supported the rights and Priviledges of your Excellencys fellow-Subjects in America; he intends to Visit Paris before he returns to England, therefore I beg leave to Introduce him to your

[4] Dixon Wecter, "Benjamin Franklin and an Irish 'Enthusiast'," *Huntington Library Quarterly*, IV (January, 1941), 205–234.

Excellency, & shall consider any Civilities you or your Amiable & Virtuous Grandson shew him, as *personaly* conferred upon me—

Wishing you every happiness that this Life can bestow—

I have the Honor to remain, My Dr Sir
with the most Sincere Respect & Esteem
your Excellencys
most obligd & Humble Sert,
Edward Newenham

P S

Lady Newenham & my Son have charged me to present their best Respects to your Excellency & your Grandson—

[*Address page:*]

To His Excellency Doctr Benj: Franklin
, Minister Plenipotentiary from
The United States of America
Passy
Paris—

The English Bishop, the young Anglo-American disciple, the ardent Irish politician—all throw fresh and characteristic light on Franklin's gift for making and holding friends. It was more than a gift; it was a genius. Franklin's genius was as great for friendship as for business or literature or science or diplomacy or statesmanship. He made friends with the world, and his friends were the friends of the United States.

New York City CARL VAN DOREN

William Trent Calls on Benjamin Franklin

On June 10, 1769, William Trent wrote to his old friend and former partner, George Croghan, of his arrival in London. Although quite personal and somewhat casual in character, his letter presents an interesting picture of a gathering at Franklin's lodgings in Craven Street, and mentions the practical application of two of Franklin's scientific inventions.

William Trent and George Croghan, like the young Quaker Samuel Wharton, were prominent figures in the Indian trade and colonial land speculations.[1] With others, they had suffered heavy losses in the French and Indian wars. In December, 1763, after the peace treaty, Croghan had gone to England to seek compensation for the "Suff'ring Traders." Failing in that, he and his associates had tried to recoup themselves by securing direct concessions from the Six Nations. In 1768, with the aid of Sir William Johnson at Fort Stanwix, a vast area of two and a half million acres between the Appalachians and the Ohio River was secured from the Indians in a deed in the name of the King to be held in trust for the traders. This treaty aroused considerable opposition, and since it had to have royal approval, some of the traders, of whom George Croghan was the foremost, subscribed to a fund to send William Trent and Samuel Wharton to London to obtain the royal assent. Trent was unable to go at once, and since he held the power of attorney, Wharton was seriously handicapped until his associate arrived in London. In a letter of April 3, 1769, he wrote to Croghan[2]:

> Doctor Franklin will most cheerfully serve you and has employed a Solicitor to conduct the matter before the King in Council. . . . Captain Trent's unpardonably delaying to embark with me, has been of great detriment, otherwise we might have got the Business in some Forwardness;—We are however preparing our petitions and making all the interest we can.

[1] Cf. A. T. Volwiler's scholarly study, *George Croghan and the Westward Movement, 1741–1782* (Cleveland, 1926).

[2] Samuel Wharton to George Croghan, London, Apr. 3, 1769, Croghan Papers, Cadwalader Collection, The Historical Society of Pennsylvania (HSP).

With this background in mind, the major portion of Trent's letter takes on added significance. The "large and polite Company" at Doctor Franklin's where he met with Samuel Wharton, who was being introduced everywhere to persons of consequence by Franklin, Mr. McClane, a wealthy M. P., and the "all-knowing" Richard Jackson, who had served as colonial agent for Pennsylvania in Franklin's absence in America, conjures up a lively picture of a high pressure group in the interests of land concessions. Within the year, the Grand Ohio Company was organized, with proposed concessions, so wrote Croghan, of "thirty od millions of ac^{rs}."[3]

Trent's statement that Franklin assured him that if Sir William Johnson and the Indians stood firm against ministerial intimidation, the settlement wisely made at Fort Stanwix would undoubtedly be ratified, was somewhat optimistic, though shared by Wharton and others.[4] Despite the prolonged efforts of both Trent and Wharton, the grants were not approved. Trent's request to Croghan, that in passing through Trenton he "will not fail to call and see my Wife and Children," has a poignancy for all who know that, during his long absence in England, his family lived in penury. However, while the prospects were bright, he also comments hopefully on the political situation: "[John] Wilks is still in the King's Bench Prison; But has I am told a most powerfull Party in his Favor." The government is afraid of the threat of the manufacturers to "come down in a Body to London" on account of the idleness brought on by the American merchants having "stoped all their Orders."

But while the representatives of the Associates of the "Suff'ring Traders" and their friends were intent upon the effect of a change in the government's attitude toward their particular interests, it should be pointed out that Franklin, although himself keenly interested in the land grants, adhered steadily to the larger objective of reconciling colonial liberties within the Empire. In a letter to Thomas Cushing, he wrote[5]:

. . . All who know well the State of Things here, agree, that if the Non-Consumption Agreement should become general, and be firmly adhered to, this Ministry must be ruined, and our Friends succeed them,—from whom we may hope a great Consti-

[3] Volwiler, 272.

[4] Wharton to Croghan, London, May 28, 1769, Croghan Papers, HSP.

[5] Franklin to Thomas Cushing, London, Sept. 3, 1774. Original on deposit in the Library of the American Philosophical Society.

tutional Charter to be confirm'd by King Lords & Commons; whereby our Liberties shall be recogniz'd and established, as the only sure Foundation of that Union so necessary to our Common Welfare. . . .

Trent's pleasure and amusement at the appearance of Franklin and Wharton at Court "dressed in rich Silks" and making "a very genteel Appearance," the young Quaker wearing "his Sword &c. with as much ease, as if He had allways done it," is manifestly quite genuine. But this, and the other personal references are of minor importance by the side of the larger questions discussed above, or the subject matter of the short paragraph toward the end of the letter, in which, after telling of Franklin's hearty appearance, surprising influence, and popularity in London, he says: "He is now at the request of the House of Commons forming some Pipes &c. to keep a proper Degree of warmth allways in the House in Winter, and is fixing Wires, on St Pauls, the Royal Exchange &c."

The pertinence of this in 1949, the two hundredth anniversary of Franklin's "Opinions and Conjectures concerning the Properties and Effects of Electrical Matter arising from Experiments and Observations, made in Philadelphia, 1749," is obvious. Here we have, come to light two centuries later, one of those casual historical sources of a private character that delight historians, especially when confirmed by official or other dependable evidence. The materials for the story of the application of Franklin's discoveries and theories to useful purposes, always a major concern with him, are found in various contemporary sources including his own memoirs and correspondence. That of the lightning rod, invented in 1750, and the acrimonious controversy that developed around it, is treated again and again in the later literature on the subject. Among the contemporary printed sources, the papers and communications to the Royal Society, printed in the *Philosophical Transactions*, volumes 47, 49, 52 and 63, served as the source for subsequent writers. Weld's *History of the Royal Society* makes use of these, but refers to volume 45.[6] In France, Dalibard and M. le Roy came to the defense of Franklin's ideas, while from Italy Abbé Beccaria sent new and suggestive proof based upon his own experiments.[7]

[6] Charles R. Weld, *History of the Royal Society* (London, 1848).

[7] By good fortune, the extensive papers and correspondence of Beccaria were acquired recently by the American Philosophical Society and are now available for the use of scholars.

On the subject of ventilation also Franklin wrote a great deal. His theory about the origin of northeast storms (1743), the invention of the Pennsylvania, or Franklin, stove (1740), and his habit of sleeping with open windows in his Craven Street lodgings were all well known to contemporaries. His plan of heating the House of Commons was fully described by Alexander Small in an account written for Dubourg's *Oeuvres de B. Franklin* (Paris, 1773), reprinted in English in William Temple Franklin's works of Franklin, and elsewhere.

The question of protecting London's great historic buildings against lightning had been precipitated, early in 1769, by a formal request from the Dean of the Chapter of St. Paul's to the Royal Society for an opinion on the best method of installing electrical conductors on the cathedral. In response, the Royal Society appointed a committee of five, of which Franklin and his then friend, Benjamin Wilson (who had painted an excellent portrait of him), were both members, to study the question.[8] In accordance with the committee's report, metallic connections were made between the cross, the lead-covered dome and roof, and the rain pipes, which served as conductors to the ground. Although this was apparently the end of the matter as far as the installation of the conductors on the cathedral was concerned, it was only the beginning of a protracted and acrimonious attack by Wilson on Franklin's ideas.

In 1772, the Ordnance Department of the government also approached the Royal Society for an opinion on the best form of lightning conductors for its powder magazines. As before, a committee was appointed on which Franklin and Wilson again served. But on this occasion the latter bitterly opposed the majority report, which recommended conductors with the pointed rods espoused by Franklin. Wilson argued vehemently for rounded knobs. While the dispute seems relatively trivial, it rapidly assumed a political character in which the King himself finally took part. Since Franklin, the leader in the fight for the colonies, advocated pointed rods, the Tory opposition perforce sided with Wilson and "round knobs." "Advocates of pointed conductors," wrote the historian of the Royal Society, "soon became identified with the insurgent colonists; and those opposed to blunt points were considered disaffected subjects."[9] To

[8] Royal Society of London, *Philosophical Transactions*, Vol. 59, 160–169.
[9] Weld, 100–102.

settle the matter, His Majesty George III ordered the president of the Royal Society, Sir John Pringle, to support the merits of rounded knobs. Sir John's answer was simple and direct: "Sire, I cannot revise the laws and operations of nature." Whether the King forced his resignation as president of the Society is beside the point here, although the evidence favors the conclusion. "The undue importance" attached to the controversy called forth the following couplet after the manner of Pope:

"While you, great George, for knowledge hunt
And sharp conductors change for blunt
The Empire's out of joint.
Franklin another course pursues
And all your thunder heedless views
By keeping to the point."

On the continent interest was also divided, though less on the conductors than on other phases of Franklin's electrical theories. Soon after the publication of "Opinions and Conjectures . . . ," the Abbé Nollet vehemently attacked Franklin's ideas. Commenting on this in a letter to his friend Cadwalader Colden in 1753, Franklin wrote[10]:

I see it is not without Reluctance that the Europeans will allow that they can possibly receive any Instruction from us Americans. Kanster opposes your Principles, & Nollet mine. He has lately wrote and published 6 Long Letters, directed to me, on the Subject of my Pamphlet, in which he imagines he has taken me all to pieces. I have read and consider'd them, and remain of the same Sentiments. In one or two Places he seems to apply to the superstitious Prejudices of the Populace, which I think unworthy of a Philosopher. He speaks as if he thought it Presumption in man to propose guarding himself against the *Thunders of Heaven!* Surely the Thunder of Heaven is no more supernatural than the Rain Hail or Sunshine of Heaven, against the Inconveniences of which we guard by Roofs & Shades without Scruple.

The appeal by Nollet to superstition and prejudice was something to reckon with even in America. In Franklin's own Philosophical Society there had been doubts and questionings. According to a minute of January 18, 1760, there was a serious debate on the question:

May we place Rods on our Houses to guard them from Lightning without being guilty of Presumption?

10 New-York Historical Society *Collections*, *Cadwalader Colden Papers*, IV (1920), 382.

Not until more than a year after Franklin's death did the Society finally decide to "guard" its Hall against lightning.

Minor questions, like the term "flying machine" applied by Trent to the eighteenth-century express coach, are self-explanatory to readers of his letter.

American Philosophical Society WILLIAM E. LINGELBACH

William Trent to George Croghan

London June 10th 1769

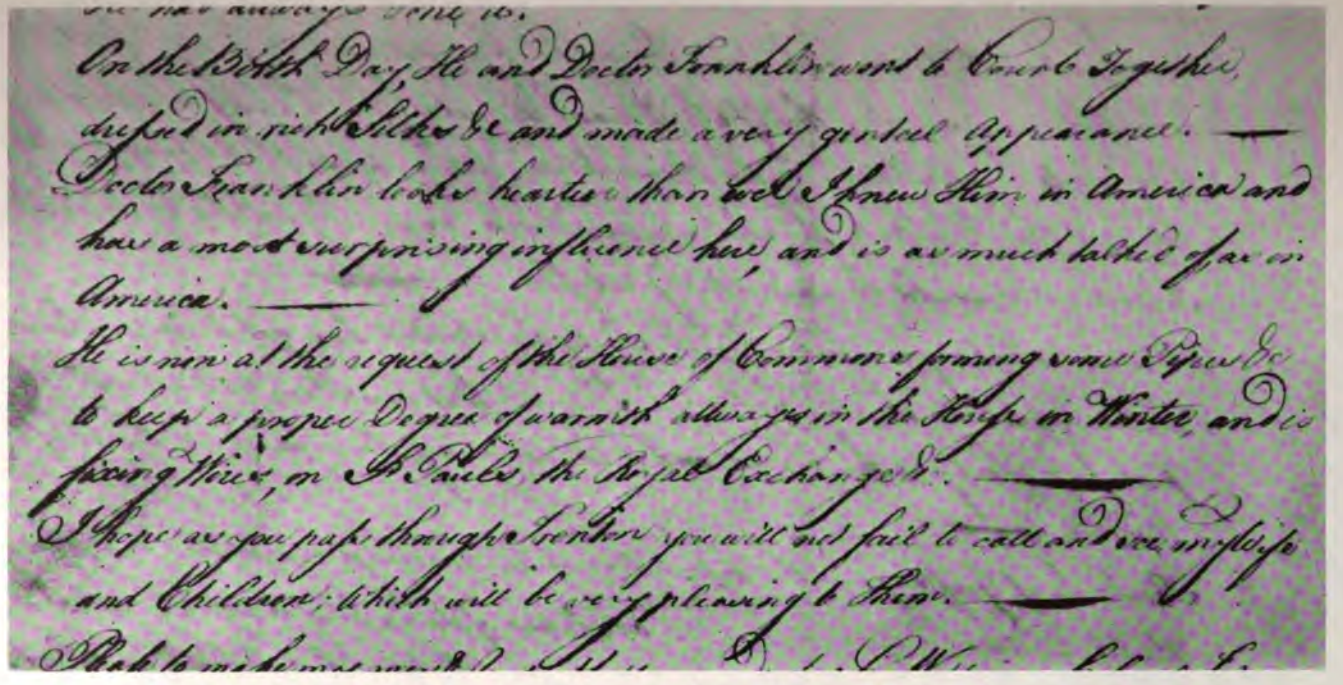
Dear Sir

I have the pleasure of informing you That I arrived in Bristol On the 25th of last month after a very disagreeable Passage; having been obliged to put into the West of Ireland. I immediately proceeded in a flying machine to this City and on my arrival went to Doctor Franklin's, where I luckly met with Mr Wharton with a large and polite Company.

With respect to my particular Business here, it is not necessary for me to say much, As Mr Wharton and Doctor Franklin has wrote you so fully; But the Doctor told Me yesterday that if Sir William did not suffer Himself nor the Six Nations to be intimidated by the ministerial Letters; But steadily supported his and their Conduct, the whole Transactions, as wisely settled by Him at Fort Stanwix, would be undoubtedly ratified.

It is astonishing to what a highth Party and Faction has got to in this Kingdom. Wilks is still in the King's Bench Prison; But has I am told a most powerfull Party in his Favor and it is increasing Throughout all parts of the Nation.

The Duke of Grafton, since the dissolution of his marriage courted the Daughter of the Reverend Sir a Relation of the Duke of Bedford's and they were to have been married three Days ago, But the match is put off untill after the Birth Day and



On the 30th Day, He and Doctor Franklin went to Court Together, dressed in rich Silks &c and made a very genteel Appearance. —
Doctor Franklin looks heartier than ever I knew him in America and has a most surprising influence here, and is as much talked of as in America. —
He is now at the request of the House of Commons forming some Papers &c to keep a proper Degree of warmth always in the House in Winter, and is forming Wires, on St Paules, the Royal Exchange &c. —
I hope as you pass through London you will not fail to call and see my Wife and Children; which will be very pleasing to them. —
Pray to make my [illegible]

From William Trent's Letter to George Croghan, June 10, 1769

some say forever, As He is of a very fickle Temper. The Duke is a very young Man; But is a man of hasty Spirits and it is said a good Speaker in the House of Lords; But as the Opposition is made up of Mr Granville, Lord Shelburne, The Marquis of Rockingham with their Friends, Bush Barry Dondswell, &c. it is the general Opinion the present Ministry will be dissolved before the opening of the next Parliament. The Ministry have assured the Friends of America, That at the Opening of the next Session of Parliament, if they are in Administration, They will carry a Bill into the House of Commons for a Repeal of the Act laying a Duty on Glass Paper &c.—The Reason for which, is, That the manufacterers begin to be idle, as the American Merchants have stoped all their Orders and the manufacterers will they fear, come down in a Body to London.

I have the happiness to inform you, That Mr Wharton is perfectly hearty and through the Means of Doctor Franklin and Mr McClane (who is a member of Parliament and a Man of great Fortune and weight here) and Mr Jackson &c has been introduced to the first People of the Nation. I never see Him, Only early in the Morning when I call at his Lodgings, as He is visiting from Eleven o'Clock till three o'Clock and dines out every Day with some of the Nobility, Members of Parliament &c.

He has a great deal of Attention paid to Him for his general Knowledge of American Affairs and the Commerce of both Countries, and knows every thing that is doing at Court.

You would laugh to see Him dressed, as He has not the least sign of a Quaker about Him and wears his Sword &c. with as much ease, as if He had allways done it.

On the Birth Day, He and Doctor Franklin went to Court Together, dressed in rich Silks &c and made a very genteel Appearance.

Doctor Franklin looks heartier than ever I knew Him in America and has a most surprising influence here, and is as much talked of as in America.

He is now at the request of the House of Commons forming some Pipes &c to keep a proper Degree of warmth allways in the House in Winter, and is fixing Wires, on St Pauls, the Royal Exchange &c.

I hope as you pass through Trenton you will not fail to call and see my Wife and Children; which will be very pleasing to Them.

Please to make my most respectfull regards to Sir William, Colonel Johnson Sr John and all the Family[11] and believe me to be

Dear Sir
Your sincere Friend & humble Servt
William Trent

P S.
I beg my best Compliments to M^r^ & Mrs Prevost,[12] Colonel Butler[13] Mr Adems[14] & Mr Mrs Fundy[15]—

11 Members of the Johnson family mentioned are Sir William Johnson, his nephew Col. Guy Johnson, and his son Sir John Johnson.

12 Mr. and Mrs. Augustine Prevost. Mrs. Prevost was the former Susanna Croghan, daughter of George Croghan. At this time they were living at Otsego Lake, N. Y.

13 Col. John Butler, a trusted agent of Sir William Johnson.

14 Robert Adems, bookkeeper for Sir William Johnson.

15 Maj. Jelles Funda, a New York merchant with whom Croghan dealt.

The Disputed Authorship of The Declaration on the Causes and Necessity of Taking up Arms, 1775

It is generally understood that the function of the historian is to select, analyze, synthesize, narrate, or otherwise present the results of his researches among the documentary materials of history. It is also generally understood that the historical editor has as his function the accurate and authentic presentation of the texts of the documents themselves, sometimes selectively and sometimes comprehensively; and that, ideally, it is the editor's responsibility to annotate his documents at least sufficiently to enable them to be clearly understood in their character as texts. These appear to be easily separable, complementary functions. Yet, because the historian is concerned with matters of proportion, style, continuity and integration, it is not always possible for him to discuss even the salient aspects of the most important documents investigated by him. He may allude to a question of disputed authorship and he may refer the reader to the best edited texts, but, generally speaking, he has neither time nor space to do more as he passes on to the attainment of his immediate object. The editor of texts, on the other hand, cannot hope to present all of the essential information needed to understand his documents, for this would amount to a complete duplication of the historian's work. If he attempted this, assuming it to be possible, he would face one of two alternatives: he would present a thin bridge of documentary text running along the top of a mighty buttress of scholarly annotation; or, he would never achieve the end of his task. Both courses have been followed and both have brought distress to historian and editor alike.

Because the functions of historian and editor are not, in fact, easily separable and are often as duplicative as they are complementary, some exceedingly important matters of historical fact are

left indeterminate. Such facts float about on the dead sea of unassimilated history like derelicts that present navigational hazards to all. It is the purpose of this essay to attempt the removal of at least one such derelict from the waters of American history and to raise by inference the even more important question whether such salvage operations belong properly to the historian or to the editor. A chronological account of the history of this particular derelict, showing the damages and aberrations suffered by both historians and editors as they have encountered it, will, perhaps, be the more enlightening approach.

The summer of 1775 provides an excellent historical laboratory for those interested in the art and mystery of semantics. Both the gentlemen of the Congress in Philadelphia and Governor Gage in Boston justified their conflicting courses by appealing to the idea of liberty and government under law. To one it was evidence of an ancient devotion to freedom when ministers declared, as one did to a Philadelphia congregation that included John Adams, "Behold, your God will come with a vengeance, even God with a recompense; he will come and save you."[1] To General Gage it was a "profanation of terms, and of ideas" when the name of God was "introduced in the pulpits to excite and justify devastation and massacre."[2] While hope of conciliation diminished, each appealed to the law of reason the more insistently as mounting passions put reason to flight. The wielders of constituted authority in Whitehall were outraged when their lawful acts were labelled tyranny. Those who echoed Franklin's "Rebellion to Tyrants is Obedience to God" were singularly angry when called rebels. Unwilling to remain dependent or to assert independence, rebelling but rejecting the odium of rebels, clamoring for peace but arming for war, the American colonists in 1775 moved swiftly beyond the point where reconciliation was possible. The battle during the summer of 1775 was a battle of words, and the noise of musketry at Lexington and Concord was merely the opening exchange of a great campaign of the rhetoricians. Its strategy was intercontinental and its tactics included close in-fighting in the halls

[1] Charles F. Adams, ed., *Familiar Letters of John Adams and his wife, Abigail Adams, during the Revolution* (New York, 1876), 65.

[2] Proclamation of Thomas Gage, June 12, 1775; *Almon's Remembrancer* (London, 1775), I, 90–92.

of Congress. Its weapons were selected with care, though not always drawn from the arsenals of truth or historical accuracy. On the one side, the fallen patriots of Lexington were the murdered victims of an unprovoked assault; on the other, they were "incendiaries and traitors," who "from behind walls and lurking holes, attacked a detachment of the King's troops, who . . . made use of their arms only in their own defence."[3] Such verbal weapons, unlike the muskets at Lexington, were not aimed at an identifiable enemy, but were directed at the opinions of the onlooking world. The Second Continental Congress contained some master hands at this kind of warfare. Thomas Jefferson, as John Adams immediately recognized, was one of them.

That his mastery was recognized at once is made evident not only by the remembered testimony of Adams, but also by the rapidity with which Congress made use of the talents of Jefferson's pen. A young man of thirty-two who had written only *A Summary View of the Rights of British America* and the then unpublished Reply to Lord North's Proposal, Jefferson was thrown into the front line of the Battle of the Pens within a week of his arrival in Philadelphia. In May and June the Continental Congress had organized an army, appointed a commander in chief, set about establishing a treasury, and made a tentative step toward the formation of a perpetual union, but its chief business during this time was in the area of forensics: the drafting of a Petition to the King, a Declaration of the Causes and Necessity of Taking up Arms, a Letter to the Assembly of Jamaica, an Address to the People of Ireland, an Appeal to the Inhabitants of Canada, and an Address to the People of Great Britain. These were the major weapons of the Americans in this warfare of words.

John Adams, impatient to the point of exasperation with all of this scratching of quills upon paper and worn out, as he expressed it, "with scribbling for my bread and my liberty," was scornful of "the fidgets, the whims, the caprice, the vanity, the superstition, the inability" of those who thought petitions and addresses would make American liberties secure.[4] Years later, he admitted to Thomas

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] E. C. Burnett, ed., *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress* (Washington, 1921–1936), I, 130, 157–159.

Jefferson that he had been wrong. "I really know not," he replied in 1813 to Jefferson's inquiry about the authorship of certain state documents in 1774 and 1775, "who was the compositor of any one of the petitions or addresses you enumerate. Nay, farther, I am certain I never did know. . . . They all appeared to me, in the circumstances of the country, like children's play at marbles or push-pin, or, rather, like misses in their teens emulating each other in their pearls, their bracelets, their diamond pins and Brussels lace. . . . I was in a great error, no doubt, and am ashamed to confess it, for those things were necessary to give popularity to our cause, both at home and abroad; and, to show my stupidity in a stronger light, the reputation of any one of those compositions has been a more splendid distinction than any aristocratical star or garter in the escutcheon of every man who has enjoyed it."[5] How much of this was contrived compliment to Jefferson we cannot certainly know. But the opinion of historians seems to be in agreement on two of Adams' points: that his own thoughts and cares at the opening of the conflict, as he himself stated, "were nearly monopolized by the theory of our rights and wrongs, by measures for the defence of the country, and the means of governing ourselves"; and that the petitions and addresses were indeed necessary to give popularity to the cause.

Jefferson appeared in the Continental Congress for the first time on June 21, 1775, bearing credentials from the Virginia Convention. Two days later, after the entire Massachusetts delegation and many other members had escorted Generals "Washington, Lee, and Schuyler, a little way on their journey to the American camp before Boston,"[6] the Congress appointed a committee of five "to draw up a declaration, to be published by General Washington, upon his arrival. . . ."[7] It was needless for the resolution to state the title or purpose of the Declaration: all understood its purport to be what Adams had said, "to give popularity to the cause." The members of the committee were John Rutledge of South Carolina, William Liv-

[5] Adams to Jefferson, Nov. 12, 1813. Charles F. Adams, *The Works of John Adams* (Boston, 1856), X, 78–80. Jefferson had written to Adams on Aug. 22, 1813, asking about the authorship of various addresses and petitions issued by Congress in 1774–1775. He did not mention the Declaration of Causes.

[6] Adams, *Familiar Letters*, 70.

[7] W. C. Ford, ed., *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774–1789* (Washington, 1904–1937), II, 105.

ingston of New Jersey, Benjamin Franklin of Pennsylvania, John Jay of New York and Thomas Johnson of Maryland. On the following day, June 24, the committee reported the draft of a Declaration said to have been written by John Rutledge. No copy of this draft is known to be in existence. Obviously, the committee worked under pressure in order to contrive a Declaration speedily, as was necessary if it were to be read by General Washington "on his arrival at the camp before Boston." With the General more than twenty-four hours on the road, Congress, nevertheless, was not to be hurried. The Rutledge draft was debated on Saturday, the 24th, continued for "farther consideration" on the 26th, and, after more debate, was recommitted. At the same time John Dickinson and Thomas Jefferson were added to the committee. Then followed a real delay of almost two weeks, marked by something less than unanimity in the committee. Not until July 6, after General Washington had arrived at Cambridge, did the committee report. Its draft was debated paragraph by paragraph and approved forthwith. While Congress had stipulated in its original resolution that the Declaration was to be "published" by General Washington at the American camp, the first publication or printing actually occurred in Philadelphia on July 10, before the copy had been placed in Washington's hands. The *Pennsylvania Packet* of July 10, the *Pennsylvania Journal* of July 12, and the *Postscript* of the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of July 12 carried identical authenticated copies of the Declaration. Almost immediately William and Thomas Bradford in Philadelphia brought out a pamphlet edition under the title *A Declaration by the Representatives of the United Colonies of North-America, now Met in General Congress at Philadelphia, Seting* [*sic*] *forth the Causes and Necessity of their Taking up Arms*. Printers in New York, Newport, Providence, Watertown, Portsmouth and elsewhere reprinted the Declaration.[8] A London edition appeared and was promptly attacked by the ministerial party writers. Though Washington was punctilious in executing the desires of Congress on such occasions, surviving General Orders contain no mention of the Declaration. It was not published by the Commander in Chief on arrival, but was read to the troops by the president of Harvard, "after which there were

[8] Charles Evans, *American Bibliography, 1639–1820* (Chicago, 1903–1934), V, Nos. 14544–14550.

huzzas by the army, and a pertinent prayer to which the army shouted a loud Amen. Then, while a cannon was fired from the fort, and a standard was flourished in the air, the soldiers were told how their names, unsullied, would be transmitted to the latest catalogue of fame."[9]

Probably no one of the troops who acclaimed the Declaration and its dramatic phrases knew or even thought about the circumstances surrounding its authorship. It was a document carrying the authority of Congress. Its arguments were clear and readily understood, for they repeated what had been said so often in and out of legislative halls. Its whole purport was reduced to a single sentence in a letter written by a "gentleman at New-York, to his friend at Edinburgh" on the very day that Jefferson arrived in Congress: "It is a gross calumny to say, that we are aiming at independency, for our political principles are the same that raised the House of Hanover to the throne; and were your ministers to adopt these principles, we would immediately lay down our arms."[10] An argument so universally felt among the patriots in 1775 as to be almost hackneyed nevertheless gave rise to conflicting claims of authorship. Apparently, the first public statement was that made in 1801 by John Dickinson in the two-volume edition of his writings. That work includes the Declaration of July, 1775, along with several other petitions and addresses prefaced by this statement: "The following . . . have always been ascribed to the pen of Mr. Dickinson."[11] The President of the United States, who along with his entire cabinet, was a subscriber to these two volumes, apparently made no public comment upon Dickinson's assertion. Although Thomas Jefferson and Dickinson then entered upon an intimate correspondence for the first time, neither of them referred to *The Political Writings of John Dickinson*. But Jefferson must have hoped that history would reveal the true story of the difficulties of authorship encountered by the committee in June and

[9] *Essex Gazette*, Sept. 7–14, 1775, cited in Claude H. Van Tyne, *War of Independence* (Cambridge, 1929), 54.

[10] The letter was dated June 21, 1775. Quoted in M. W. Willard, ed., *Letters on the American Revolution, 1774–1776* (Boston, 1925), 138; for a similar letter, see *ibid.*, 176.

[11] *The Political Writings of John Dickinson* (Wilmington, 1801), I, [1]; the Declaration of Causes is in *ibid.*, 31–43. Although the title page does not indicate that these volumes were edited by Dickinson, it is certain that he supervised and approved them. Paul Leicester Ford, *Writings of John Dickinson* (Philadelphia, 1895), I, x, xiii.

July, 1775, for there are evidences that he had already privately set down his own version.

It would seem that the first statement made by Jefferson was that written on the verso of the last page of what has generally been referred to as his second draft of the Declaration.[12] We do not know when he wrote this endorsement. A plausible guess is the year 1783. In that year he had his first approximation of leisure, and in that year, also, he certainly went over many of his early Revolutionary documents, including the Declaration of Independence, making copies of some, endorsing others, and jotting down brief commentaries on still others. It is possible, of course, that he may have written this particular memo about the Declaration at or about the time it was drafted, for Jefferson often made "notes taken on the spot," but of this we cannot say more than that it is a possibility. Here then, is his comment in part, possibly made in 1775, probably in 1783, almost certainly before Dickinson's statement in 1801: ". . . June 24. a draught was reported. June 26. being disliked, it was recommitted & Mr. Dickinson & T. Jefferson added to the committee. The latter being desired by the commee to draw up a new one, he prepared this paper. On a meeting of the commee, J. Dickinson objected that it was too harsh, wanted softening, &c. whereupon the commee desired him to retouch it, which he did in the form which they reported July 6, which was adopted by Congress." This, it will be noted, says nothing about the Rutledge draft, except that it was reported and disliked. Whether Jefferson used that draft as the basis for his own or made an entirely new start is a question that can be answered only by the improbable event of the discovery of the Rutledge copy. We do know, however, what another member of the committee, Governor Livingston, thought of both the Rutledge and Jefferson drafts. Writing to William Alexander (Lord Stirling) on July 4, 1775, Livingston declared, "Both [drafts] had the faults common to our Southern gentlemen. Much fault-finding and declamation, with little sense or dignity. They seem to think a reiteration of tyranny, despotism, bloody, &c., all that is needed to unite us at home and convince the bribed voters of [the] North of the justice of

[12] Both the rough draft and the fair copy are in the Jefferson Papers in the Library of Congress.

our cause."[13] This tells much about Livingston's attitude toward Southern members of Congress, but it adds nothing to the question of disputed authorship.

Jefferson's initial statement that Dickinson "retouched" his own draft would have spared historians and editors of documents much travail if he had let well enough alone. Unhappily he did not do so. The much longer history of the authorship of the Declaration that he wrote in his autobiography in 1821 is even more flatly contradictory of the earlier statement. This 1821 account is in greater detail and includes an incident respecting John Jay and William Livingston that reveals much concerning the jealousy of those who had some claim to authorship of Revolutionary state papers, though it need not be quoted in full. "I prepared a draught of the Declrn committed to us," Jefferson wrote. "It was too strong for Mr. Dickinson. He still retained the hope of reconciliation with the mother country, and was unwilling it should be lessened by offensive statements. He was so honest a man, & so able a one that he was greatly indulged even by those who could not feel his scruples. We therefore requested him to take the paper and put it into a form he could approve. He did so, preparing an entire new statement, and preserving of the former one only the last 4. paragraphs & half of the preceding one. We approved & reported it to Congress who accepted it."[14]

On this statement, written nearly half a century after the event by the seventy-eight-year-old statesman, rests a whole fabric of historical commentary of the next century. Jefferson's memory of details of the early days of the Revolution was, on the whole, remarkably accurate and was supported by his meticulously arranged personal archives in the form of correspondence, memoranda, and extensive files of documents, together with one of the finest libraries to be found in America. All of these supporting evidences he used assiduously. If he were in doubt on a given detail, or if supporting evidence could not be found in his papers or among his books, he not infrequently would address letters to John Adams or others of his Revolutionary compatriots asking for verifying facts. On no point in such investigations was he more attentive to accuracy or more generous

[13] *Journals of the Continental Congress*, II, 128.

[14] Paul Leicester Ford, *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson, 1760–1826* (New York, 1892–1899), I, 16.

in ascribing credit to others than on the question of authorship. He could bear with comparative equanimity the untruths hurled at him by political opponents, but, with one exception, the charge that seemed to anger him most among all those that were made against him throughout his career was that preferred by Luther Martin concerning his integrity as an author. Plainly, authorship was a matter that meant much to Jefferson. The attention that he gave to style; the laborious effort to achieve an appropriate means of expression, whether it was the familiar epistolary style fit for personal correspondence or the forensic or elevated style needed for state documents; the careful preservation and docketing of his personal papers; his anger with John Marshall for his notorious carelessness in respect to claims of authorship; his words of caution to William Wirt on the need of accuracy in such matters—all betrayed the sentiments of an author who took pride in his own work and was generous in yielding a similar claim to others. No neophyte in his first encounter with an editor's blue pencil could have suffered more anguish over the mutilation of his carefully wrought phrases than Jefferson experienced when the Declaration of Independence was excised by the Congress. We may imagine, then, what were his feelings when the first notable task of authorship assigned to him by Congress resulted in a paper that denied him any claim to distinctive authorship.

Perhaps his feelings on this occasion may explain the discrepancy between the two accounts that he has given us. In the one account, he informs us that Dickinson merely retouched his own draft; in the other, that Dickinson wrote "*an entire new statement*," retaining only the last four and a half paragraphs of the Jefferson draft. Here, let us note, the claims of authorship were shared but not obscured: each was clearly identifiable, each stood on its own base, each could be conveniently ascribed to its sole and indisputable author. Sole authorship was preferable, but if joint authorship were inevitable, it was better that the respective claims be clearly apportioned.

Historians have evidently shared Jefferson's feelings, if such they were. Unlike Dickinson, Jefferson did not bring out a collection of his writings during his lifetime. The first publication of his papers and correspondence, edited by Thomas Jefferson Randolph and published in 1829, significantly does not include The Declaration on the Causes and Necessity of Taking up Arms, although it does include

the draft resolution which was published as *A Summary View of the Rights of British America*, the Declaration of Independence, and other state papers known to have been written by Jefferson. It includes also the statement made by Jefferson in his autobiography in 1821 that Dickinson had drafted an "entire new statement" and had appended the last four and a half paragraphs of Jefferson's draft.[15] But this was enough, and historians and biographers, having at hand only the remembered comment written late in life, promptly gave evidence of their faith in Jefferson's memory. George Tucker, in his *Life of Thomas Jefferson* published in 1837, was the first, but by no means the most distinguished, of those in the long procession. After paraphrasing the statement made by Jefferson in 1821, Tucker proceeded to quote the latter part of the Declaration of Causes, thus offering "the part furnished by Mr. Jefferson . . . as a specimen of his sentiments and diction at that time."[16] But here, since Tucker was the first to apply Jefferson's statement, a nice problem arose. Just where did "the part furnished by Mr. Jefferson"—that is, the last four and a half paragraphs—begin? It was an easy task to tick off the last four paragraphs, since all of the early printings are surprisingly uniform in paragraph indentation. But just what did Jefferson mean to include by the imprecise phrase "& half of the preceding one"? There is no known document in the Jefferson papers explaining precisely where in the fifth paragraph from the end Dickinson's authorship ceases and Jefferson's begins. Fortunately, however, that rather long paragraph contains one excellent sentence which stands out strikingly and which indeed epitomizes the whole intent of the Declaration. It reads: "We are reduced to the alternative of choosing an unconditional submission to the tyranny of irritable ministers, or resistance by force." This vigorous expression, happily, has the added advantage of occurring almost exactly in the middle of the paragraph in question. Tucker may possibly have hesitated over the nice problem, but the fact is that he made an arbitrary decision when he selected as the beginning of the last part of the Declaration a sentence so clearly Jeffersonian in "sentiments and diction." His decision and Jefferson's statement made from memory have been honored

[15] Thomas J. Randolph, ed., *Memoir, Correspondence, and Miscellanies from the Papers of Thomas Jefferson* (Charlottesville, Va., 1829), I, 9.

[16] George T. Tucker, *Life of Thomas Jefferson* (Philadelphia, 1837), I, 78.

with a fidelity rather unusual among historians in this country whose critical faculties have been so well developed. The list of those who have accepted both is a long one and includes such names as Henry S. Randall, James Parton, George Bancroft, William MacDonald, Claude Bowers, Marie Kimball, Bernard Mayo and Samuel Eliot Morison.

The acceptance of Jefferson's statement led Tucker and some of his successors to see in these last four and a half paragraphs some evidences of Jeffersonian "sentiments and diction" which might not otherwise have been observed. In leading off with this train of observation, Tucker was fairly restrained, at least by comparison with some of those who followed him. "It is not unworthy of notice," he observed, "that the above extract, adopted from Mr. Jefferson's draught, is precisely that part of Mr. Dickinson's paper which annalists have commonly quoted. It probably owed this distinction not wholly to its intrinsic superiority, but in part also to its harmonizing better with the issue of the contest."[17] What the intrinsic superiority consisted of or how these paragraphs achieved a better harmony with the issues at hand than the others that preceded them, Tucker does not explain. Henry S. Randall, whose three-volume *Life of Thomas Jefferson* appeared in 1858, did not hesitate to adumbrate Tucker's insight into the merits of these last four and a half paragraphs. "That production," he said of the Declaration, "was one of the most popular ones ever issued by Congress. It was read amid thundering huzzas in every market place, and amid fervent prayers in nearly every pulpit in the Colonies. The commanders read it at the head of our armies. . . . It was quoted again and again admiringly in history. It will not probably be denied that this celebrated production owed most of its popularity to the 'last four paragraphs and half of the preceding one.' It would have been a very ordinary affair without these. This was the only part the admiring historians quoted."[18]

James Parton, whose popular *Life of Thomas Jefferson* was published in 1874, suggested that "If the reader will turn to the document, he will easily discover the precise point where Dickinson's labored statement ends, and Jefferson's glowing utterance begins."[19]

[17] *Ibid.*, 79.

[18] Henry S. Randall, *Life of Jefferson* (New York, 1858), I, 114–121; quotation in *ibid.*, 117.

[19] James Parton, *Jefferson* (Boston, 1882), 170.

To illustrate this contrast, Parton selected two sentences from the text of the Declaration, the one tending to show the awkwardness of Dickinson's phraseology and the other to raise the question why the mild Dickinson permitted Jefferson to make a thinly veiled threat of independence at the end of the document. His selections would have been happier if they had been applied in reverse order.

It is needless to trace the development of this theme through all its involutions and adumbrations. One or two examples drawn from more recent sources will suffice. Claude G. Bowers, in his *Young Jefferson, 1743–1789*, in addition to agreeing that Dickinson found in Jefferson's draft "some of the raw-meat facts offensive"; that Dickinson's draft was "less a modification than an entirely new creation"; and that "the part retained from Jefferson's draft was the most spirited part of the whole," discovered a hitherto unknown claimant to authorship in the person of John Jay.[20] He concluded, however, that whether Dickinson "actually wrote the new draft as is generally agreed, or it was written by John Jay as others say, does not matter. . . ." Thus does Mr. Bowers diffidently dispose of one of the most interesting contributions to the theme since George Bancroft, with perhaps equal documentary support, divided the quintultimate paragraph one sentence earlier than Tucker had. Saul K. Padover, in *The Complete Jefferson* (1943), William MacDonald in the 1920 and earlier editions of his *Documentary Source Book of American History*, Bernard Mayo in *Jefferson Himself* (1942), Marie Kimball in *Jefferson: The Road to Glory* (1943)—all accept the last four and a half paragraphs as being Jefferson's, or perceive in them a boldness and eloquence which provide strong contrast to the awkwardness and timidity of the other parts of the Declaration.[21] Even Edward Channing, in the third volume of his *History of the United States*, felt that Dickinson's draft "represented the opinions of the

[20] Claude G. Bowers, *Jefferson* (Boston, 1945), 125–127; George Bancroft, *History of the United States* (Boston, 1860), VIII, 36.

[21] Saul K. Padover, *The Complete Jefferson* (New York, 1943), 23; William MacDonald, *Documentary Source Book of American History* (New York, 1920), 176, 182; Bernard Mayo, *Jefferson Himself* (Boston, 1942), 55–56; Marie Kimball, *Road to Glory* (New York, 1943), 267–268. See also Samuel Eliot Morison, ed., *Sources and Documents Illustrating the American Revolution, 1764–1788* (New York, 1923), 144 (text of the Declaration from Peter Force, *American Archives, Fourth Series*, II, 1867–1869, although Force does not attribute the last four and a half paragraphs to Jefferson); C. C. Tansill, ed., *Documents Illustrative of the Formation of the Union* (Washington, 1927), 15.

majority, but was not phrased in the vigorous language that Jefferson had selected."[22] But Channing, although he accepted the prevalent view that Jefferson was more radical in his expressions than Dickinson, nevertheless knew about the most important discovery made since Jefferson's drafts came to light and referred his readers to the "*Massachusetts Historical Society's Proceedings* for October, 1890, and the books cited therein." The books cited therein were actually one pamphlet: George H. Moore's *Suum Cuique: John Dickinson, the Author of the Declaration on Taking Up Arms in 1775.*

This privately printed pamphlet, issued in New York in 1890 as an extension of the paper read by Moore before the New-York Historical Society in 1882, announced a really significant discovery—the complete manuscript draft by John Dickinson of the Declaration on the Causes and Necessity of Taking up Arms. This eight-page manuscript draft, which indubitably was a text of the Declaration and was in Dickinson's handwriting, exhibited in Moore's excellent heliotype reproductions all the labored excisions, alterations, and marginalia employed by an author engaged in composing a document. In view of these obvious criteria, Moore concluded in his usual vigorous style that "No person but the author himself ever had any hand in the preparation of this document. It is in the handwriting of John Dickinson, and these corrections, additions, interlineations, revisions, in number, extent, position and character, forbid the supposition that he copied any portion of this paper from a draft by Mr. Jefferson, or any other person. It is the original first draft of the whole, and the proof of it is in no portion of the whole more conspicuous and certain than in the 'last four paragraphs and half of the preceding one' claimed as his own by Mr. Jefferson . . . and accorded to him without doubt or hesitation ever since."[23]

Now George Bancroft, whose acceptance of the Jeffersonian claim to authorship Moore had challenged with "becoming reverence" if not with trepidation, was about to bring out "The Author's Last Revision" of the *History of the United States of America.* Before the pages were finally revised, Moore showed to Bancroft the original

[22] Edward Channing, *History of the United States* (New York, 1905–1925), III, 162–163. The passage that Channing selected for quotation was not a happy choice if it were intended to support this observation.

[23] George H. Moore, *John Dickinson, the Author of the Declaration on Taking Up Arms in 1775* (New York, 1890), 23.

Dickinson manuscript that he had discovered. Completely convinced, the aged historian forsook his earlier error—and, unfortunately but heartily, embraced another. "Through the good offices of G. H. Moore," he wrote in a footnote, "I have examined the original manuscript. It is from the first line to the last, with all the amendments, in the handwriting of Dickinson, and precludes the idea that the close was drawn by any hand but his own."[24]

Moore's discovery of the manuscript draft in Dickinson's handwriting, though it led him, Bancroft, and Stillé[25] to arrive at unwarranted conclusions, actually provided little evidence for a study of the problem of authorship of the Declaration that had not existed and been publicly available since 1775. True, it was a rough copy, interlined, scored out and filled with marginal additions, but, once these apparent evidences of original composition were isolated and set aside, what was left was the full text of the Declaration almost as it appears in the Philadelphia newspapers of July, 1775, in contemporary pamphlets, and in all official, semiofficial, and private printings of the document from that day to this. The chief basis for a study of the problem of authorship is that afforded by a close comparison of texts by Jefferson and Dickinson in respect to their total content, their structure, and their phraseology. This procedure was not followed by Moore, Bancroft, or Stillé. Forgetting the fox, they chased the hounds, overlooking the obvious fact known to anyone familiar with Dickinson's labored compositions that the venerated statesman could scarcely compose a casual letter, to say nothing of a state paper, without resorting to two, three, or even more drafts, sometimes permitting each succeeding one to grow more and more complex in its interlineations, crosshatchings, marginalia, and substitutions until at last a fair copy of an unencumbered text could be achieved. Thus it becomes pertinent to ask a question that Moore, Bancroft, and Stillé apparently did not ask: What was the state of the draft discovered by Moore? Was it the first, second, or even the third state? Although it has the appearance at first glance of being a rough composition draft and was almost certainlyDickinson's *last* draft (since its unencumbered text generally agrees with that

[24] Bancroft (New York, 1891), IV, 237. In the text Bancroft made an even more sweeping assertion: "the author from the first word to the last was Dickinson."

[25] C. J. Stillé, *Life and Times of John Dickinson* (Philadelphia, 1891), 161, and Appendix IV.

adopted by Congress), Dickinson's known habit of making one or several rough drafts before arriving at a finished text should have caused some hesitation on the part of Moore and others before they leapt to the conclusion that this was an authentic composition draft. No other state of Dickinson's draft of the Declaration has been found and the most that can be said of the manuscript discovered by Moore, therefore, is: (1) it is unquestionably a genuine text in the handwriting of Dickinson; (2) it may have been a second or even third state of Dickinson's effort to "retouch" the Jefferson draft; and (3) it is almost certainly the last text made by Dickinson, though he may possibly have made a fair copy for presentation to the committee and to Congress. But the assertion, so stoutly made by Moore and reasserted by Bancroft and Stillé, that Dickinson was the sole author of the Declaration "from the first word to the last" has no other support than the proposition that this draft was an original composition because of its interlineations, additions, and marginalia —or, to put it in other words, that an obviously rough draft should be equated with an original composition draft.

One of the chief lessons that the present examination may be expected to set forth is that this proposition cannot be indiscriminately advanced, perhaps least of all in the case of such a meticulous reviser of his writings as Dickinson was. Both those who accepted Jefferson's statement from memory about the authorship of the last four and a half paragraphs and those who readily adopted the Moore-Bancroft-Stillé proposition could have found quite readily that, in the case of this document, the only sound basis for reconciling the two conflicting statements made by Jefferson and the statement made by Dickinson in 1801 is that afforded by a close textual analysis and by a comparison of all known copies of the Declaration.

Such an analysis became possible within two years after Moore's monograph was published. Paul Leicester Ford, in the first of his ten-volume edition of *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, issued in 1892, printed two copies of the Declaration in Jefferson's handwriting, which he labelled as "first draft" and "second draft."[26] The Jefferson manuscripts had been publicly available since the middle

[26] Ford, *Writings of Jefferson*, I, 462–476. Volume I of the forthcoming edition of *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, to be published in the spring of 1950, will include in full Jefferson's rough draft and his fair copy, Dickinson's draft, and the text as adopted by Congress, the last showing in italics the parts taken directly or indirectly from Jefferson's draft.

of the nineteenth century and the Dickinson draft since Moore first identified it in 1882; but Moore's monograph in 1890 and Ford's publication of the two Jefferson texts in 1892 provided historians for the first time with printed or facsimile versions of all known texts.

Ford made such a comparison. In a footnote he was able to state the sound conclusion, leaving to others the task of making the exact comparison, although he did include both of Jefferson's conflicting comments on the authorship of the Declaration. "It is evident," Ford wrote, "from a comparison of these two drafts [in Jefferson's handwriting], with Dickinson's draft . . . as well as with that ultimately adopted by Congress . . . that Jefferson is mistaken in claiming the final paragraphs of that accepted as his. Dickinson has certainly embodied a few of Jefferson's phrases and ideas, but not more so in those than in the other parts of the Declaration."[27] This, although it is substantially correct as a conclusion, lacks demonstration and requires some modification. Even so, as we have seen, some historians have continued to our own time to treat the authorship of the Declaration as if nothing had been added to the subject since Randolph first published Jefferson's Autobiography in 1829.

But there were other warning signals. In 1905, Worthington C. Ford brought together all four texts of the Declaration, making it possible for historians to effect a comparison through an examination of one source rather than three.[28] Moreover, Dickinson's draft and the official text and Jefferson's two copies were printed in parallel columns. Nevertheless, Worthington C. Ford did not think it necessary to refer to the question of disputed authorship, did not suggest what might be learned by a close comparison, and, without comment, reprinted the autobiographical statement of Jefferson claiming the last four and a half paragraphs. In the last sentence of a lengthy footnote on the subject, he did, however, make the statement that the two "Jefferson drafts . . . are essential to a proper understanding of the Declaration as finally accepted."[29] This scarcely advanced the state of our knowledge of the subject, but Worthington C. Ford's assembling of the texts and his brother's footnote conclusion were certainly closer to the mark than any of their predecessors had been.

[27] *Ibid.*, I, 463–464.
[28] *Journals of the Continental Congress*, II, 128–156.
[29] *Ibid.*, II, 128 (note).

Dumas Malone, in the first of his multiple-volume biography, *Jefferson, The Virginian*, has, perhaps, come closest to a correct estimate of the various drafts of the Declaration. Indeed, he seems to be the only historian to proceed beyond the footnote written by Paul Leicester Ford in 1892. He concluded that Dickinson's real objection to the Jefferson draft was not so much to the harshness of its phrases as to its basic theory of empire; that Dickinson had incorporated parts of Jefferson's draft, employing expressions of his own which were almost if not quite as severe; that he did not achieve as logical a sequence of ideas or as smooth a literary effect; and that he begged the question of the precise authority of Parliament within the Empire, thus leaving a wider door to conciliation. Malone felt that, although Jefferson did not explicitly deny all Parliamentary authority as he had done previously, he did so by implication and "this was still too strong a dose for the farmer of Pennsylvania."[30]

While Malone evidently had made some comparison of the various texts, it was obviously beyond the limit of his purpose, as it was beyond that of the historical editors who preceded him, to make an intensive textual analysis and comparison. Clearly, the functions of the editor and the biographer, complementary though they are, permit twilight zones to develop in which historical error is perpetuated through no fault of either profession. Yet neither can escape the responsibility of subjecting their materials to careful scrutiny, whatever their immediate objectives or limits may be.

Such a scrutiny of the documents bearing upon the disputed authorship of the Declaration involves no serious difficulty for the biographer, the historian, or the editor. Only four texts are known, but these are more than sufficient to enable us to reconstruct, with some degree of plausibility, the course of the drafting of the Declaration and to assess the conflicting claims to authorship. There was certainly one other text, not now known to be extant, but it has no relevance to the question of the conflicting claims of Jefferson and Dickinson. In the absence of the Rutledge draft, which Congress recommitted, we can only conjecture what influence it may have had over Jefferson's. William Livingston thought that both drafts were similar, yet it is very likely that Jefferson made a fresh start when the committee assigned the task of authorship to him. Of Jefferson's

[30] Dumas Malone, *Jefferson, The Virginian* (Boston, 1948), 205–208.

two texts, the first is apparently a composition draft, being filled with deletions and interlineations and lacking both title and concluding paragraph. His second is a fair copy, transcribed from the unencumbered text of the rough draft, with the addition of a title and a concluding paragraph. The other two texts are the manuscript in Dickinson's handwriting and the final text adopted by Congress (there are some thirty-four differences between Dickinson's manuscript and the text adopted by Congress, but these are, with certain interesting exceptions, minor changes in phraseology). It is almost certain that both Jefferson and Dickinson produced an additional fair copy of the text to submit to the committee, but neither of these is known to exist and, in any case, such copies are not essential for purposes of comparison. Jefferson's fair copy and Dickinson's rough draft are the two critical texts needed.

The statement endorsed by Jefferson on the fair copy of his draft indicates that "on a meeting of the Committee" Dickinson interposed certain objections. It seems more likely, however, that Jefferson submitted this fair copy to Dickinson in private before reporting to the committee, just as he later submitted a draft of the Declaration of Independence separately to Adams and Franklin before bringing it formally to the attention of the famous Committee of Five. The two men had been added to the committee because of dissatisfaction with the Rutledge draft. Dickinson was the elder statesman. If he and Jefferson could agree, it would seem natural to suppose that the committee would the more readily accept their compromise draft. But aside from these plausible inferences, the most valid evidence of Jefferson's private consultation with Dickinson appears in the fact that his fair copy contains several corrections and three significant suggestions in the handwriting of Dickinson. The corrections by Dickinson, principally in phraseology, were either flatly rejected by Jefferson or altered to suit his own sense of rhythm and style. The three suggestions—first, to take notice of Lord Chatham's plan of conciliation and to pay tribute to his great abilities; second, to show appreciation of the "great men in Parliament and the cities and towns in England that had acknowledged the justice of the American cause"; and third, to comment upon Lord North's proposal—were apparently disregarded altogether.

Jefferson's sensitiveness as an author and his disinclination to accept even the minor alterations in phraseology suggested by Dickinson provide the best clues to our understanding of the impasse that followed in committee. From Dickinson's subsequent treatment of the subject we may conclude that he was far from satisfied with Jefferson's text. Yet, probably because of the urgent need for haste and possibly out of regard for the younger man's sensitivity, he altered only half a dozen minor phrases and put his suggestions in the form of queries. When Jefferson reported the draft to the committee and when Dickinson observed how far his advice had been disregarded, he must have been both surprised and annoyed. Others on the committee may have shared his view, but whether he was alone in opposition, as Jefferson indicates, or whether he found an ally in Livingston or others of the committee, the fact is that Dickinson was asked or was permitted to prepare another draft.

It is obvious at a glance that Dickinson, in doing so, had before him a copy of Jefferson's text. For what he produced was an amplification and revision of the outline and structure of Jefferson's draft. Throughout the Dickinson text—in the beginning, in the middle, and at the end—are to be found long passages copied almost verbatim from Jefferson. It is apparent, too, that, far from softening Jefferson's words, Dickinson actually strengthened them. Stylistically, Dickinson both harmed and improved Jefferson. Jefferson's preamble, stating the fact of usurpation of power by Parliament and of an attempt to enforce by arms what could not be done by right or law, is simple, straightforward, and direct. Dickinson's opening sentence is extraordinarily complex and involved—a statement which the author of *The Rights of Great Britain Asserted*[31] described as an "involved period, which either contains no meaning, or a meaning not founded on the principles of reason." In respect to substance, this criticism applies equally to the drafts by Jefferson and Dickinson, but in respect to style there can be no doubt that Dickinson's opening is much more of an "involved period" than Jefferson's. Yet it was Dickinson who contributed the bold and quotable words which appear at the close of the Declaration and which most historians have always assumed were Jefferson's: "Our cause is just. Our union is perfect. Our internal resources are great,

[31] Fourth edition (London, 1776), 2, 3, 16, 22.

and, if necessary, foreign assistance is attainable." This is not the language of one who is intent upon watering down or weakening the declaration of a just cause; it is daring and threatening, and its rhythm and terseness admirably suited it to the purpose at hand.

In the next part of the Declaration, devoted to an explanation of the origin of the Colonies, their establishment of "a residence for civil & religious freedom," their growth, and their contribution to the wealth and power of the British Empire, Jefferson conceded that in the past the Colonies had occasionally, "from warmth of affection," acquiesced in some assumptions of power by Parliament in legislating for the Colonies. This concession is a tribute to his historical accuracy and to his sense of justice, but forensically it was a serious admission. Dickinson followed the maxim of the hustings: attack everything and admit nothing. He therefore omitted the concession that Jefferson had made. In the same part of the Declaration Dickinson gave an apparent indication of his unwillingness to accept Jefferson's theory of imperial relations: that is, colonies arranged "by charters of compact under the same common king, who thus completed their powers of full and perfect legislation and became the link of union between the several parts of the empire." Dickinson changed this to read: "societies or governments, vested with perfect legislatures, were formed under charters from the crown, and an harmonious intercourse was established between the colonies and the kingdom from which they derived their origin." Jefferson's statement is a more forthright assertion of the doctrine he had set forth in *The Summary View* and one that was rapidly coming to be accepted in America. Dickinson's revision was, to say the least, ambiguous. The term "perfect legislatures" implied substantial agreement with Jefferson. The term "charters from the crown," however, was inconsistent with a later revision made by Dickinson. At another point Jefferson had used the phrase, "secured by charters on the part of the crown and confirmed by acts of it's own legislature." Dickinson altered this to read: charters "secured by Acts of its own Legislature solemnly confirmed by the Crown." Both statements, by inference, were inconsistent with Jefferson's interpretation of the imperial constitution, although technically Jefferson was more correct. In conceding Parliament an authority to participate in the granting of charters, both made some concession to Jefferson's theory, with

Jefferson placing more emphasis upon the Crown and Dickinson placing more upon the Parliament. In short, it would seem to be too much to say that Dickinson categorically rejected Jefferson's theory of imperial relations; it appears to be closer to the truth to say that he softened Jefferson's blunt expression, partially obscuring the meaning in doing so.

Dickinson's chief departures from the Jefferson text are the following: (1) his tribute to Pitt for his championship of the American cause and for the public declaration that the Colonies had materially assisted in winning the late war with France; (2) his elaboration of Jefferson's list of the "new legislation" of Parliament (which in Dickinson's more severe phrase becomes "the pernicious Project"); (3) the account of the contemptuous treatment accorded the petition to the Crown in 1774; (4) a reference to the address of the Lords and Commons declaring Massachusetts to be in a state of rebellion; (5) the analysis of Lord North's proposal as a plan "to extort from us, at the point of the Bayonet, the unknown sums that should be sufficient to gratify, if possible to gratify, ministerial Rapacity . . ."; (6) the statement of the charge that Governor Carleton was engaged in instigating Canadians and Indians to attack the Colonies. These are all additions to Jefferson's text. Nothing of importance in the corresponding parts of Jefferson's draft is omitted by Dickinson. It will readily be seen that the most significant of these additions are precisely those that Dickinson had suggested to Jefferson and that Jefferson had been unwilling to incorporate in his text.

From this it is apparent that the impasse reached in committee between June 26 and July 6 cannot be ascribed, as has generally been done by historians and was indeed done by Jefferson himself, to the fact that Jefferson proposed a radical declaration that seemed to close the door to conciliation and that Dickinson weakened and modified this bold proclamation in order to promote harmony and attempts at reconciliation. Such an interpretation no doubt coincides with the general and valid opinion of the characters of the two men, but it does not coincide with the facts respecting the text of the Declaration. Both men expressed hope for a restoration of harmony. Both declared merely the aim of resisting violence and not of intending something else. But whereas Jefferson employed a circumlocution to express this idea, Dickinson was blunt. Jefferson's phrases were:

"We mean not in any wise to affect that union with them" and, "We did not embody a soldiery to committ aggression on them." Dickinson's corresponding expressions were: "We mean not to dissolve that union" and, "We have not raised armies with ambitious designs of separating from Great-Britain, and establishing independent states. . . ." When Jefferson again approached the alternative to submission, he was less blunt than Dickinson. "That necessity," he declared, "must be hard indeed which may force upon us this desperate measure." Dickinson's comparable words were more suited to his bold mention of independence: "Necessity," he declared, "has not *yet* driven us into that desperate measure," the words "not yet" carrying an ominous warning.[32] In his appeal to pro-American Whigs in England, in his elaboration of Jefferson's arguments, in his detailed account of the suffering of Americans in Massachusetts ("wives separated from husbands, children from parents . . . etc."), and in his closing affirmation of the justice of the American cause and of the strength of its union, Dickinson provided both a more suitable and a more inflammatory text. What Jefferson had refused to accept in Dickinson's mild suggestions resulted not in a weaker, but in a stronger Declaration.

Thus, of the two statements made by Jefferson about the authorship of the Declaration, his first asserted less and his second more than Dickinson actually did. The Dickinson draft was more than a "retouching" of the Jefferson text, and it was much less than "an entire new statement." It can best be described as a revision and an amplification of the Jefferson draft. The final text of the Declaration as adopted by Congress was, therefore, the result of a collaboration on the part of the two men, however unwilling each was to accept the work of the other. How Jefferson ever came to think that Dickinson had tacked four and a half paragraphs of his draft onto an entirely new statement must remain one of those inexplicable mysteries whose solution rests not in documentary sources, but in the unexplored and all but unexplorable realms of mind and memory.

In the second of his comments on the authorship of the Declaration, Jefferson declared that Dickinson "was so honest a man, and so

[32] Parton, 170–171, refers to this sentence as having been written by Jefferson, and comments: "There is one word of three letters in Mr. Jefferson's portion [of the Declaration] which I wonder the cautious Pennsylvanian did not erase. It is the word of threat italicized in this passage: 'We mean not to dissolve that union. . . . Necessity has not *yet*. . . .'"

able a one that he was greatly indulged even by those who did not feel his scruples." Both in this and in the earlier statement, Jefferson implied that the committee and the Congress accepted Dickinson's draft without revision. The fact is, however, that, at some point between the completion of Dickinson's revision and the adoption of the final text by Congress, some thirty-four alterations were made. We cannot be certain how many of these were made by Dickinson himself, how many by the committee, or how many by Congress. But an analysis of these differences shows that among the deletions and additions were some which reflect a critical attitude and what might be called a more Jeffersonian point of view. Dickinson's adulatory tribute to Pitt's plan of reconciliation was deleted. An additional sentence was added from Jefferson's draft and another was altered to make it conform more closely to his text. Three sentences from Dickinson's draft were omitted. But we cannot be certain whether these alterations were made by Dickinson himself before he reported to the committee, or by the committee, or by Congress. It is even possible, though scarcely plausible, that Dickinson submitted his revision to Jefferson himself before placing it before the committee; if so, and if Dickinson's fair copy of his revision should ever be discovered, it would be interesting to observe whether Jefferson wrote any comments upon its face and what those comments were.

In the final analysis, the differences of the drafts produced by Jefferson and Dickinson, instead of revolving around polarities of radicalism and conservatism, of timidity and boldness, of weakness and strength, as Jefferson and most historians have assumed, are reduced to issues of style and methods of presentation between two of the great writers of the Revolution.

Princeton University Library JULIAN P. BOYD

*The Scope of Painting in the 1790's**

THE eagerness of the Philadelphia artist Charles Willson Peale (1741–1827)[1] to teach his sons painting made him wish that the new United States possessed a type of institution that had never existed on this side of the water: a school of the fine arts which would "supersede the necessity and save the expense of a foreign education."[2] As was being done by the Royal Academy in London, the school could be supported with entrance fees to an annual exhibition which would, in its turn, bring contemporary American art before the public for the first time in our history.

During a century and a half, every American painter had been forced to operate as an individual. Unless he could persuade a storekeeper to put one of his pictures in a show window, the artist had no place to exhibit except his studio. Once he had completed and sold a canvas, it passed forever out of his sight, for no power could rescue it from the house of the buyer. Group exhibitions being unknown, neither artists nor patrons could ever see a cross section of the work being produced in their community. If a youngster wished instruction, he would ferret out the name and address of a painter; then, unless he was too timid, he would knock on the door, beg for advice and the sight of pictures. A prospective purchaser would learn by word of mouth of a reputation, or examine the portraits in his friends' houses, or answer an advertisement. Except in very rare instances, a picture was not salable unless it was the right size and subject for a private wall, the right price for a private purse. John Singleton Copley (1738–1815) summed up the situation when he

* This article is based on a chapter from the as yet uncompleted second volume of the writer's history of American painting as an expression of American life. The first volume was *American Painting: First Flowers of Our Wilderness* (Boston, 1947).

[1] The standard source on Charles Willson Peale is Charles Coleman Sellers, *Charles Willson Peale*, I (Hebron, Conn., 1939); II (Philadelphia, 1947). See also James Thomas Flexner, *America's Old Masters* (New York, 1939). Both works contain bibliographies.

[2] Advertisement in *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser* (Philadelphia), June 1, 1795.

wrote from Boston, "Fame cannot be durable where pictures are confined to sitting rooms."[3]

Peale had found a partial and personal solution to the problem by creating a private museum where his pictures, and those of his children, were hung over natural history exhibits and waxworks. It was in the halls of this institution that, about January 1, 1795, he called a convention of the artists resident in Philadelphia.[4] He brought together a polyglot group, for the capital of the new nation had figured as a happy hunting ground in the minds of mediocre workmen from all over Europe. Newspaper advertisements reveal the presence of artists from London, Edinburgh, Dublin, Stockholm, Copenhagen, Berlin, Paris, Bordeaux, Geneva, Rome, Venice, and Santo Domingo. With these foreigners there mingled a goodly number of native-born painters, sculptors and architects.

The Englishmen, who could never have squeezed into the Royal Academy at home, saw Peale's scheme as a delightful opportunity for glory. The miniaturist, Robert Field (*c.* 1768–1819), confided to a friend his expectation of "making a figure in an Academy of Arts and Sciences now establishing here, the plans for which are the most enlarged, liberal, and grand of any in the world. The President is much delighted with it, and will, when it is in a riper state, become the principal patron."[5] This point of view touched off a controversy which reflected the war between England and France in Europe, and the political enmity between Federalists and Jeffersonians at home. The Britons wished to set up an authoritarian institution, patronized by the President as if he were a king, which would dictate the development of art throughout the United States. "Visitors" would travel from Philadelphia to other cities, and judge which of the local practitioners were worthy to become academicians in the national capital. The faction led by Peale and the figurehead carver William Rush (1756–1833) was horrified by such notions. They thought of themselves as a group of workmen banded together for mutual advantage; workmen in other cities might do the same. No one was better than anyone else. The Corsican sculptor Guiseppe Cerracchi

[3] Copley to Capt. R. G. Bruce, 1767, in Allan Cunningham, *The Lives of the Most Eminent British Painters* (London, 1879), II, 226.

[4] Papers in The Historical Society of Pennsylvania (HSP); Sellers, II, 65–67.

[5] Field to Robert Gilmor, Jan. 13, 1795, HSP.

(1751–*c.*1802), so violent a democrat that he was to die attempting to assassinate Napoleon as a betrayer of the world revolution, attacked the authoritarian faction with such vehemence that eight English artists resigned and tried to set up a rival institution.

A spirited engagement was fought in the press.[6] The seceders charged Peale's group with "preventing and cramping the original idea of a National College into a contracted plan for an academical drawing school." Peale's faction replied, "Although many of us are not foreigners, but citizens of the United States, we would not presume to establish a national institution which would place similar institutions in other states in a subordinate position. Some gentlemen, who fancy themselves a better order of beings, imagine themselves equal to the most stupendous projects, . . . but America is not the soil to foster seeds of such vanity and arrogance. . . . We will leave conceptions so profound as a National College . . . to those who started up from the hot-beds of monarchy, and think themselves lords of the human kind. . . . We are not in monarchical subordination here."[7]

Both sides called for recruits. As a group, the Philadelphia artists were Jeffersonians; they flocked to the liberal banner, while the English faction secured only one additional member. The secessionists thereupon left the field to Peale's "Columbianum, or American Academy of Painting, Sculpture, Architecture, etc." Its published constitution[8] added engravings, architectural and other models, enamels and drawings to the specialties of the organization; provided that not more than half the members could be amateurs; called for an annual exhibition limited to works of modern artists never before shown in America; provided for lectures on relevant subjects from perspective to chemistry, for a gallery of old masters—as soon as the society secured some—a library, and classes in drawing both from life and from casts. This was a noble plan, but before the year was out the Columbianum had expired. The demise of the first recorded attempt to found an art academy in America has usually

6 Alfred Cox Prime, *The Arts and Crafts in Philadelphia, Maryland, and South Carolina* (n. p., 1932), II, 55–57, gives bibliographical references to the newspaper controversy.

7 *American Daily Advertiser*, Feb. 26, 1795; *Aurora and General Advertiser* (Philadelphia), March 6, 1795.

8 *The Constitution of the Columbianum or American Academy* (Philadelphia, 1795).

been attributed to the internecine battle touched off by the same worldwide tension that had damaged John Trumbull's (1756–1843) scheme to sell on a national scale engravings depicting the principal events of the Revolution. Yet perhaps the project would not have collapsed anyway because the times were not ripe.

Although inaccurate history has blamed it on them, Peale's difficulty with his life class was not the fault of the Englishmen. The Columbianum had set up a room for some casts of antique statuary it had borrowed, and provided another room where the young might draw from the nude. The setting was fine, but where were they to get a nude? A baker was finally persuaded to pose; when he found many pairs of eyes intent upon his anatomy, he leapt into his clothes and departed. Not wishing his disciples to be frustrated, Peale stripped himself, but it was, nonetheless, a bad beginning.[9] It is not clear whether the life class ever had a second meeting. Indeed, generations were to pass before an American youth could on American soil look at a naked human body as a routine part of his artistic training.

Before it collapsed, the Columbianum held in 1795 the first group exhibition in American history. Our earliest cross section of pictures being produced in an American city, the catalogue[10] annihilates the long-accepted conclusion that portraiture was the exclusive interest of American artists. Of the thirty-seven painters represented, only nineteen, or almost exactly half, showed any likenesses at all, and many of these exhibited other types of pictures as well. Landscape and still life were almost as popular as portraiture, each being shown by eleven painters. Other subject matter was left far behind: three artists showed historical paintings, three showed maps, and there was one genre picture.

The figures, however, contradict the evidence of existing canvases —few pictures not portraits survive from those years in Philadelphia. When, as the nineteenth century unrolled, mounting sophistication of taste made all early American art seem crude, only those canvases that appealed to dynastic pride were likely to be preserved. As was pointed out in this writer's volume on colonial painting, the ash can

[9] Rembrandt Peale, *Autobiographical Account*, in C. Edwards Lester, *The Artists of America* (New York, 1846), 204; Sellers, II, 71.

[10] *The Exhibition of the Columbianum or American Academy of Painting, Sculpture, Architecture, etc.* (Philadelphia, 1795).

yawned for landscapes and fruit pieces.[11] Most of the subject pictures exhibited at the Columbianum have vanished, yet we can get some idea of their nature from other examples of the same modes which have somehow escaped the general holocaust.

Since Benjamin West (1738–1820) was the admiration of every American artist, it seems surprising that no historical paintings were exhibited by living professionals, the three in the show being by the deceased Englishman Robert Edge Pine (1730–1788), and by two amateurs who in their modesty revealed only their gender: *An Alleghorical Picture in Cryons* being attributed to "a Lady of Philadelphia," and the more daring *Cupid and Psyche* to "A Gentleman." We gather that the artists did not presume to show in an exhibition the figure compositions they sometimes created to hang in signs over the street. Indeed, apart from Trumbull's highly finished pieces, the few historical paintings that survive from Federal America are by workmen too humble to worry about great art.

In western Maryland, a sign painter and drawing teacher, Frederick Kemmelmeyer (active in the 1780's and 1790's),[12] did not hesitate to paint Washington as he saw the hero on his last military assignment, reviewing at Fort Cumberland the troops gathered to put down the Whiskey Rebellion. Two almost identical panels exist; although stiff and crude, they are charming in color and delightful in design. Almost as primitive is *The Battle of Princeton*, by William Mercer (*c.* 1773–*c.* 1850),[13] which shows the death of the artist's father, General Hugh Mercer. William was a deaf-mute whom Peale, inspired by a warm heart and experimental curiosity, taught to paint after a fashion. It is typical that the half-educated pupil dared what his foreign-trained master would not have attempted.

11 Although earlier periods are not clarified by so inclusive a record as the Columbianum catalogue, it is possible to demonstrate by compiling scattered sources that at no period was the output of American artists limited to portraiture. From colonial times few pictures not likenesses survive, yet such documents as advertisements, wills, inventories and letters reveal the creation of every kind of picture common in the western world. Flexner, *First Flowers*, 148–175, 309–314.

12 Advertisements in *Maryland Gazette* (Balt.), June 3, 1788; *Maryland Journal* (Balt.), Dec. 3, 1790, and Jan. 3, 1792; *Baltimore Daily Repository*, Feb. 6, 1793—all quoted in Prime, 17, 51; John Hill Morgan and Mantle Fielding, *The Life Portraits of Washington and their Replicas* (Philadelphia, 1931), 199.

13 Rembrandt Peale, "Reminiscences," *The Crayon*, I (1834), 370; Sellers, see index.

Canvas, 25¼" x 40½"

The Historical Society of Pennsylvania

THE BATTLE OF PRINCETON, JANUARY 3, 1777
By William Mercer

The one genre painting at the Columbianum, *A Boy Holding a Cat to a Mouse*, was by another simple workman. The contemporary art chronicler William Dunlap (1766–1839) wrote of Jeremiah Paul (*c.* 1760–1820): "This is one of the unfortunate individuals who, showing what is called genius in early life, . . . are induced to devote themselves to the fine arts, without the means of improvement or the education necessary to fit them for a liberal profession. . . . He was a man of vulgar appearance and awkward manners." Dunlap disdained Paul for daring hugely; he mocked the sign painter who exhibited in an engraver's window, during 1811, "*Venus and Cupid*, nine feet by seven, taken from living models." Paul's career was, indeed, not glorious. Like so many of his colleagues a drunkard, he drifted unsuccessfully from city to city, seeking business at last in the new settlements of the Ohio Valley, where he painted "phantasmagorias" and theatrical scenery.[14]

A surviving composition of Paul shows a small girl sketching on the pavement a portrait of a boy who stands with amusing self-consciousness. Two other children play with a tub of water. Most fascinating is the organization of space, the stark background with its deep perspective. Perhaps the picture, which has a Dutch flavor, was based on an engraving. In any case, it is so exciting a canvas that we may well wonder whether, when more of his works are unearthed, Paul will not fill an important place in the history of American art.

Fruit and flower pieces were a standard exercise for beginning artists; no one needed to be shy about attempting still life. Since pictures of natural objects appealed to American middle-class taste, we should expect still life to be as popular as it was at the Columbianum, where the usual decorative subjects were supplemented with representations of game, fish, and raw meat. "Deceptions" fooled the eye into accepting the actual existence of a painted image. That still life had been prized by American collectors since the first years of settlement is demonstrated by documents, but it is impossible to determine when it rose to that popularity with artists which the Columbianum reveals. Certainly we cannot judge from existing

[14] William Dunlap, *History of the Rise and Progress of the Arts of Design in the United States* (Boston, 1918), II, 102–103, 211; III, 251; J. E. Dickson, "Notes on Jeremiah Paul," *Antiques*, LI (1947), 392–393; Carl W. Dreppard, "Newly Found Painting: The Peale Children," *Art in America*, XXXII (1944), 52–54.

examples, since all the paintings listed in the catalogue have vanished, along with every still life certainly painted on these shores before 1800.

We do, however, have many examples created after 1815 by two of the Columbianum exhibitors, C. W. Peale's brother James (1749–1831), and his son Raphaelle (1774–1825). The unassuming and closely related little canvases of uncle and nephew reflect Dutch models of the seventeenth century. Edges of tables make horizontal lines at the bottoms of most of the pictures, while bowls, with the fruit that fills and surrounds them, stand out before plain walls. The lighting is arranged unnaturalistically to present sharp contrasts: where the foregrounds are most brightly illumined the backgrounds are in shadow, and on the rear walls light and shade break in sharp diagonals. James' pictures display abundant leafage and ribbonlike tendrils; Raphaelle's are more simply composed. James made his high lights self-contained spots of color, while Raphaelle blended them into the mass with half tones, thus giving his forms more solidity. Both men handled their colors agreeably to achieve the greatest possible verisimilitude. Organization of weight and space, so important to modern still life painters, does not seem to have consciously concerned the Peales; their objective was decoration grounded in realism.[15]

Like all Charles' sons, Raphaelle toyed with museums. He amused customers by making them grope on walls for objects that were not really there. His one surviving "deception," *After the Bath*, was painted to tease his termagant wife who, according to the Peale biographer, Charles Coleman Sellers, "comes storming into his painting room—what is he about now? A large canvas rests upon the easel. Something indecent, as far as she can judge, by the bare feet at the bottom, and the undressed hair held up on a slim woman's hand, at the top. But the man has concealed the rest, fastened a tape across it and to this has pinned one of her best linen napkins. She goes instantly to retrieve the cloth and learn what lies behind it—only to find, with her fingers against the canvas and the laugh upon her, that linen and canvas are one, a painted picture only." Conceived of as a

[15] John I. H. Baur, "The Peales and the Development of American Still Life," *Art Quarterly*, III (1940), 80–92; Wolfgang Born, *Still-Life Painting in America* (New York, 1947), 12–16; Sellers, see index.

Canvas, 38¼" x 49"

Courtesy of Arthur J. Sussel

CHILDREN AT PLAY
By Jeremiah Paul

joke, the canvas nonetheless carried the artist in exciting new directions. He was, as Walker and James have pointed out, far in advance of his generation when he "devoted a canvas to so purely visual a theme as the play of light on the various planes of a white towel."[16]

At the Columbianum, landscape vied for popularity with still life. Again the actual paintings shown have vanished, but we are entering a period from which many landscapes remain. They range from purely decorative combinations of natural elements and factual portraits of places to reflections of academic British landscape art.

Typically, the decorative combinations were painted directly on walls, or on boards that were built into paneling, often over a mantle. As in the murals of the Colonial period, trees were spaced to frame a composition; houses were rectangles with black squares to indicate windows; people and animals, placed for effect, were made whatever size most suited the design. It did not matter if a dog could at one mouthful gulp down his master's residence as long as the space was broken up agreeably. Indeed, as the house painters who usually executed such scenes realized, too much naturalism would not enrich the general effect of the room, but shatter it. Exotic beasts and buildings —tigers and castles and pyramids—were quite at home in this world with rabbits and colonial houses. The result was admirably suited to its purpose, yet the pictures were so quickly and crudely painted that, when separated from their walls and their purely practical purpose, they are likely to be disappointing as works of art.[17]

For some generations, artists had been tramping the American countryside making in water color what were advertised as "perspective views of gentlemen's estates." When they sketched cities or natural wonders that would interest many people, their drawings were sometimes engraved. In England, such activity was to flower in the work of Girtin and Cotman into authentic landscape art, but these men were yet young; and anyway the leading foreign watercolorists did not come to the United States. There arrived a perpetual succession of minor Europeans, both amateur and professional, who joined with native artists to create the steady stream to topograph-

16 Sellers, II, 390; John Walker and Macgill James, *Great American Paintings* (New York, 1943), 7.

17 Information from Nina Fletcher Little. Edward B. Allen, *Early American Wall Paintings, 1710–1850* (New Haven, 1926).

ical views in water color which seem to have been early America's most ubiquitous landscape art.

Among the most prominent practitioners were the Scotch brothers, Archibald Robertson (1765–1835) and Alexander Robertson (1772–1841).[18] In 1791 they opened a successful drawing school in New York, the Columbian Academy, and eleven years later published, over Archibald's signature, a book of art instruction. Although they paid lip service to historical painting as the highest mode, they concentrated their teaching on landscape in water color, "a very desirable accomplishment" which "every man may have occasion for." They pointed out that "rocks, mountains, fields, woods, rivers, cataracts, cities, towns, castles, houses, fortifications, ruins, or whatsoever else may present itself to view . . . may thus be brought home and preserved for future use, both in business and conversation."[19]

The method the Robertsons taught had been evolved for the production of aquatint engravings, in which the plate printed a graduation of values from grey to black that gave contour and shape to transparent water-color washes later applied flatly by hand. The Robertsons encouraged their pupils to draw in "the light and shade" before adding colors. This, the teachers boasted, enabled beginners to achieve "with very little labor . . . a considerable effect."[20] *View of Collect Pond*, by Alexander or one of his pupils, reveals both the charms and the weaknesses of the result. The composition has grace, but the even washes give neither strength nor vibrancy. Most serious and typical of all is the lack of any real feeling for nature. There is no air in the spaces, no mood in the sky, no growth in the trees, no dirt in the ground that has been tinted according to an artificial and elegant formula.

Nobody in the United States knew how to make aquatints, or any really satisfactory landscape engravings. That drawings by the Robertsons and others were sent abroad for reproduction reveals a real interest in American scenes. Beginning in 1787 with *A View of the Ohiophyle Falls in Pennsylvania*, various American magazines

18 Archibald Robertson, *Elements of the Graphic Arts* (New York, 1802); Emily Robertson, ed., *Letters and Papers of Andrew Robertson, . . . also a Treatise on the Art by his Eldest Brother, Archibald Robertson* (London, n. d.).

19 Robertson, *Elements of the Graphic Arts*, 6.

20 Robertson, *Letters and Papers of Andrew Robertson*, 39–40.

published occasional local landscapes engraved in line on copper.[21] The illustrations are unexciting renditions of physical topography. Invariably, the exact spot depicted is identified in the title, yet the accompanying text often generalizes, trying to catch in words wide implications which the pictures miss. Thus *A View at Minisink, New Jersey*, drawn by Jacob Hoffman (?—?), is described as "an elegant rural prospect from a part of our country which affords as many novel and romantic scenes as a lover of the charms of nature can anywhere meet with, or as the most enthusiastic artist could desire."[22] *View on the Mushanon River*, also after Hoffman, is said to demonstrate that "no quarter of the world, however celebrated, affords more novel and sublime scenes than are to be met with among the romantic wilds of America."[23] The desire to show Nature luxuriating in all the glories of her local raiment, which was to inspire the Hudson River School, was clearly already present. The dryness of the drawings and the engravings after them was due less to lack of will than lack of skill.

Landscape in water color was still regarded as a minor art; claimants to immortality worked in oil. Scholars have been so convinced that such painting began in America during the 1830's that they have, with recent and rare exceptions, ignored the continuing influx of conventionally trained English workmen which followed the Revolution. The immigrants brought with them a richer tradition than that of the water-colorists, and also a more conventional one. Roots went back to the classical serenity of Claude Lorraine, the tempests of Salvator Rosa, and the modified realism of the Dutch. Through the years these influences had become interwoven into formulas, more direct when the Dutch element was predominant, yet always applicable by rote. Although in England a few choice spirits were beginning to see nature with a vision as fresh as that of the emerging romantic poets, the majority of academically trained landscapists, including those who emigrated to America, failed to look at scenery with their own eyes. They vended sterile recipes.

A partial exception may have been Charles Catton, Jr. (1756–

21 Frank Weitenkampf, "Early American Landscape Prints," *Art Quarterly*, VIII (1945), 40–67.

22 *New York Magazine*, V (1794), 323.

23 *American Universal Magazine*, I (1797), 39.

1819), who reached these shores probably in 1801, and spent the rest of his days on the banks of the Hudson. "During his residence in the United States," his obituary tells us, he "devoted attention principally to agricultural pursuits, and seldom exercised his pencil, except to gratify personal friendship, and enliven the dull monotony of rural winter life."[24] Yet between 1816 and 1822 his name was attached to twenty-three entries in the annual exhibitions of the American Academy of the Fine Arts held in New York. The titles include: *Design for the Drop Curtain of a Theatre*; *View at Harper's Ferry in Virginia*; *A Storm at Sea*; *A Wood Scene*; *Landscape with Cattle and Figures*; *Landscape, Rocky Shore and Moon Rising*; *Composition for a Family Picture*; *Landscape, Ploughing*; *The Barn Door*; *Refreshment, Harvest Scene*; *Snow Storm*.[25]

Catton's English style had been basically conventional, but lightened with personal vision. The knowing historian Grant considered him "a strong and able painter," who combined Morland's choice of subject with the "virile hand" of James Ward and the "finished draughtsmanship" of John Herring. His hot, vivid coloring foreshadowed William Shayer.[26] No writer on American landscapes has ever mentioned Catton's eighteen years in this country. That such a workman vanished from history when he stepped on these shores shows again how grievously we have neglected our early landscape painting.

The riches which investigation would probably turn up in any locality is revealed by Dr. Pleasants' discoveries in that secondary art center, Baltimore.[27] He found that during the 1790's four Englishmen who specialized in views made their headquarters there. Three were academically trained: George Beck (1748/9–1812)[28]; William Winstanley (active in America *c.* 1792–*c.* 1801)[29]; and Wil-

[24] *Commercial Advertiser* (N. Y.), May 5, 1819, quoted in William Kelby, *Notes on American Artists, 1754–1820* (New York, 1922), 57.

[25] The exhibition catalogues of the American Academy may be found at the New-York Historical Society.

[26] M. H. Grant, *The Old English Landscape Painters* (London, n. d.), I, 148–149.

[27] J. Hall Pleasants, *Four Late Eighteenth Century Anglo-American Landscape Painters* (Worcester, Mass., 1943).

[28] *Ibid.*; Grant, II, 211; J. Hall Pleasants, "George Beck, an Early Baltimore Landscape Painter," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXXV (1940), 241–243; "A Biographical Memoir of the Late George Beck," *Port Folio*, III (1813), 117–122.

[29] Pleasants, *Four . . . Landscape Painters*; Dunlap, I, 234–237; II, 77–78.

liam Groombridge (1748–1811),[30] who was one of the seceders from Peale's Columbianum. Conventional exemplars of ordinary British landscape painting, the work of all three has the sterile and withered charm of an old maid who has not forgotten that once—long, long ago—she was beautiful. Although George Washington bought two landscapes by Beck and four by Winstanley, although several of Beck's American views were handsomely engraved in England, all three painters failed to make a good living from their art. Groombridge and Beck turned to school teaching, while Winstanley's greater enterprise carried him into forging Stuart *Washingtons*. Yet the fourth Baltimore landscapist sold his paintings by the hundreds.

While his rivals were studying art, Francis Guy (1760–1820),[31] was apprenticed to a tailor in Westmorelandshire. Groombridge and Beck exhibited at the Royal Academy; Guy invented machines for glazing silk and became—or so he claimed—"calender and dyer to Her Majesty." Failing to keep ahead of his creditors, he fled to America, where he tried in factories in New York and in Philadelphia to apply his new methods. When success still evaded him, in the words of Rembrandt Peale, he "boldly undertook to be an artist, although he did not know how to draw." This was about 1797.

Applying his inventive mind to his new pursuit, Guy built a portable tent with a single window, across which he stretched a piece of black gauze. He then "drew with chalk all the objects seen through the medium, with perfect perspective accuracy. This drawing," Peale continues, "being conveyed to his canvas by simple pressure from the back of his hand, he painted the scene from Nature, with a rapidly-improving eye, so that in a few days his landscape was finished, and his tent conveyed in a cart to some other inviting locality. . . . He produced four pictures of extraordinary merit as rough transcripts from Nature. They were exhibited in the ballroom of Bryden's Hotel, and soon found purchasers at twenty-five dollars each. Whilst he continued this mode of study, his pictures were really good—but excited by the reputation he was gaining, he afterwards *manufactured* landscapes with such vigor that I have known him to display in the *sunshine*, on a lot contiguous to his residence near the

[30] Grant, I, 147–148; Pleasants, *Four . . . Landscape Painters.*

[31] *Ibid.*; Henry R. Stiles, *A History of the City of Brooklyn* (Brooklyn, N. Y., 1869), II, 88–89, 99–105. Information from Miriam Danzinger.

city, forty large landscapes, which were promptly disposed of by raffle. He painted standing, stepping frequently back to study the general effect, and taking a *huge* pinch of snuff from a large open jar —perhaps in emulation of Mr. Stuart—then advancing with dramatic energy to his picture, first flourishing his pencil in the air, executed the leaves of his trees, with flat brushes and cut quill feathers, as he imagined no one had ever done before."[32]

Guy was an eccentric. Typical of his frequent notices in the newspapers is his "Communication to the Friends of Literature," in which he characterized himself, without any sense of incongruity, as both a landscape painter and a dyer. He was projecting a book to teach these twin arts. In painting he would "pitch the key to young beginners, that natural taste and genius, if they have any, may play the tune." Dying and scouring, he added, "will give the American families a pleasant and profitable amusement." The book would also contain his autobiography, an attack on Deism, a satirical ballad called *The Devil and Tom Paine*, and a humorous article recommending the substitution of "Scotch snuff" for the atomic bomb of those days, the Congreve rocket, "that the enemy might be blinded . . . and taken all alive."[33] It is melancholy to report that this volume was never published.

In 1807, Guy and Groombridge held a communal exhibition at Baltimore. That people clamored to buy the pictures of the self-taught artist and shunned those of the educated British landscapist enraged a female editor, Eliza Anderson. Daughter of a distinguished Irish physician and fiancée of the French architect, Maximilian Godefroy, she styled Baltimore "the Siberia of the arts," and admonished those Americans who had not acquired "the knowledge necessary to constitute a judge of painting" to accept the dicta of experts who "have an acknowledged and established right to pronounce on these points. . . . They say that the genius of Mr. Guy is a wild plant; that nature had intended him for a landscape painter; . . . but they will also say that he has not studied; . . . nor has he made a single striking step in the art. . . . In a word, that if Mr. Guy is a diamond, it is without polish." On the other hand, "real

[32] Peale, "Reminiscences," *The Crayon*, III (1856), 5.

[33] *The American* (Balt.), Feb. 6, 1819, quoted in Pleasants, *Four . . . Landscape Painters*, 73–74.

connoisseurs will say that, as for Mr. Groombridge, he views nature with an artist's eye; that he is familiar with good schools; that he has a great deal of felicity; and that to produce paintings really fine" he needs only encouragement.

In another article Mrs. Anderson reported with horror that in America such uneducated creatures as bricklayers and carpenters pretended to a taste in painting. She denounced the national tendency to make no sharp distinction between artisans and fine artists. While "duly appreciating the utility of those who profess the useful arts, we must, nevertheless, observe that Apollo is somewhat aristocratic and does not permit of perfect equality in his court. . . . The Muses are rather saucy, and do not admit *workmen* to their levees." She held against Guy that he had been a tailor and advised him to return to his "soul-inspiring avocation of making pantalooms."[34] Guy replied that Groombridge was a good painter, who deserved more support than he received, but added, "The connoisseurs of Baltimore will not be dictated to by insolence and abuse."[35]

Today, the artistic taste of the populace seems far superior to that of the refined lady and her well-educated French fiance. Proper, conventional, and insipid, Groombridge's landscapes are based not on nature or any belief, but on other pictures. With conviction and a wild joy, the tailor painted images his own eyes had seen, his own mind conceived. He organized naturalistic details into unnaturalistic designs, fusing all over the flame of imagination. So strong was his creative will that, despite their underlying literalness, his pictures carry us into his personal fairyland. No one could be lonely in this ecstatic world; figures walk in twos; even the cows and dogs have mates. Before the Maryland mansion, Bolton, stroll a pair of elegantly attired ladies painted completely in dead white; their gay and ghostlike forms sweep this carefully drawn "perspective view" into some other-worldly stratosphere. Guy's pictures are dreams, not fantastic, but dreams of reality.

About 1817, Guy moved to Brooklyn. Ailing, rotted with drink, he painted over and over again the view out of his window. With the passionate realism that had taken the place of his former imaginative mood, he depicted tumble-down buildings under a grey sky. There

[34] *The Observer*, I (1807), 11, 381, 390–391.
[35] *Federal Gazette* (Balt.), Nov. 17, 1807.

are melancholy, peopleless pictures, which seem to brood on the shabby pointlessness of man's earthly habitat; and also his *chef d'oeuvre*, the same scene, but gay now, crowded humorously with neighbors. The artist, we are told, "would sometimes call out of the window to his subjects, as he caught sight of them on their customary ground, to stand still, while he put in the characteristic strokes. . . . Jacob Hicks, whose house is just visible on the corner of Main Street, was brought to a halt, goose in hand; and after he had been sketched, politely sent the goose as a present to the painter, that he might 'sketch the fowl more deliberately, and eat him afterwards.'"[36]

In many ways, Guy's vigorous *Winter Scene in Brooklyn*, though painted a few years later, typified the most vital art produced in America between the Revolution and the War of 1812. Detail, accurate and voluminous, selected and organized into design; a mingling of knowing and crude techniques; color applied superficially yet often harmonious; literalness tempered by ebullient imagination —these characteristics appeared everywhere. Although the sublime was talked about and admired, it was left to European masters, who would by definition be more competent to achieve it. Americans practiced a local and human art, loving neighbors and their possessions. Episodic in approach and eccentric in execution, it was more likely to be charming than profound. Yet it grew naturally from the painters' environment and revealed the ungainly vitality of young and growing things.

The tradition which was forming itself so gradually promised much for the future, but it was menaced by doubts that might block maturity. Profound art could not be produced until the artists dared work profoundly, until they escaped from ignorance, self-abasement, and sheepish fear. True, the painters, although for the moment they felt constrained to work unambitiously, dreamed of mighty canvases that would rival the great productions of the past. Yet when high art beckoned to them, it seemed to call them to leave their American roots, to leave themselves. Conning elegant ideas from books, they were far from sure that beauty could be unearthed by using greater knowledge to dig more deeply in the soil they had always known. Certainly the Elysian Fields were made of more exotic earth.

[36] Stiles, 103.

The end of the War of 1812 was to permit the return to these shores of a group of able American artists who had been trapped in Europe. They were to bring with them many skills their home-grown brethren lacked and longed for. Whether these gifts would strengthen the vernacular tradition or overwhelm it depended very much on the characters of the returning painters and the thoughts they cherished.

New York City JAMES THOMAS FLEXNER

Joshua Fisher's "Chart of Delaware Bay and River" *

THOUGH it appears upon the ordinary map as a broad and unimpeded waterway, the body of water known as Delaware Bay and River presents, from Atlantic Ocean to the Port of Philadelphia, difficult problems of seamanship and pilotage. Its "Shoals & dangers," to be successfully avoided, require special local knowledge. The *United States Coast Pilot*,[1] citing five charts, devotes forty-five pages to sailing directions for this body of water measuring 116 miles in length from its entrance between Cape May and Cape Henlopen to Trenton, the head of navigation on the River.

It is not known what charts were used to lessen the dangers of this navigation by the inhabitants of New Sweden, the first permanent European residents of the Delaware Basin. It may be that the Dutch explorers already had roughly charted the area, so that by the time the Swedes were established, the ships which came to them possessed usable manuscript charts.[2] But neither in the printed maps of the time nor in such manuscript productions as are known is there evidence that a chart of real value or consequence developed from

* Hazel Shields Garrison, in *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* (*PMHB*), LIX (1935), 181–182, discussed the Fisher *Chart* and asked for further information concerning it. This article is in some measure a response to that inquiry. "Maritime History of Philadelphia," by Marion V. Brewington, *PMHB*, LXIII (1939), 93–117, has proven suggestive in several particulars of my investigation, and definite information was taken from "Cartography of Pennsylvania before 1800," by Hazel Shields Garrison, *PMHB*, LIX (1935), 255–283. An outline of the present article and a reproduction of the *Chart* of 1756 is found in my study, *Some American Contributions to the Art of Navigation, 1519–1802*, published in 1947 by the Associates of the John Carter Brown Library as a preprint from the *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, LXVIII (1944–1948).

1 *United States Coast Pilot. Atlantic Coast Section C: Sandy Hook to Cape Henry* (Washington, 1947), 100–144.

2 This statement of probability considers and excludes the so-called "Figurative Maps," possibly the work of the Dutch explorer Cornelis Hendricksen, reproduced in E. B. O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York* (Albany, 1855), I, facing pages 10 and 13. These would have been useless to the navigators of Delaware Bay and River.

any of these supposed productions. The general shape of the Bay and River is shown in Nicholas Visscher's *Novi Belgi Novaeque Angliae nec non Partis Virginiae Tabula* of about the year 1651,[3] but although this map indicated extensive shoals at the entrance of the Bay, it was a land map by intention and so small in scale as to be useless for pilotage. The large map drawn by the Swedish engineer Peter Mårtensson Lindeström, about 1654–1655, would have been of little practical use in navigation, even if it had got beyond manuscript form and attained general circulation before its first publication, greatly reduced, in 1696.[4] The *Pascaarte Van Nieu Nederlandt*, a chart by Arnold Colom, first published in 1656, indicated roughly the existence of shoals in Delaware Bay, but included neither soundings nor suggested courses.[5]

The earliest printed map in which a serious attempt was made to give actual guidance to the sailor in Delaware Bay may, indeed, have been the Augustine Herrman *Virginia and Maryland*, published in London in 1673.[6] In Herrman's portrayal of the Bay many shoals are indicated and soundings are given as far north as a point some miles beyond Christina Creek. Whether this delineation was the result of Herrman's own survey or whether he had access to manuscript charts compiled by Swedish or Dutch pilots and surveyors, the result is the same—that is, a guide obviously intended to be useful to mariners, indicating by soundings the proper entrance to the Bay and a channel between the Shears and Brandy-wine Bank. This

[3] For date and description, see I. N. Phelps Stokes, *Iconography of Manhattan Island* (New York, 1915–1928), I, 143–154; VI, 18.

[4] *Nova Suecia: eller the Swenskas Revier, in India Occidentali*, reproduced by Amandus Johnson, *The Swedish Settlements on the Delaware* (Philadelphia, 1911), facing page 514; and, reduced in size, by Harald Köhlin, "First Maps of Delaware, a Swedish Colony in North America," in *Imago Mundi. A Review of Early Cartography*, ed. by Leo Bagrow (Stockholm), V (1948), 78–80. A greatly reduced version of the Lindeström map was engraved by Thomas Campanius Holm and published in *Lutheri Catechismus* (Stockholm, 1696), a translation into Algonquian by the engraver's father, Johan Campanius Holm. The younger Holm reprinted the map in his own work *Kort Beschrifning om Provincien Nya Swerige* (Stockholm, 1702).

[5] A. Colom, *Zee-Atlas, ofte water-wereldt* (Amsterdam, [1656?]). See P. Lee Phillips, *A List of Geographical Atlases in the Library of Congress* (Washington, 1909), I, No. 464. This chart was later republished in J. Colom's *Atlas Maritimo* (Amsterdam, 1669).

[6] P. Lee Phillips, *The Rare Map of Virginia and Maryland by Augustine Herrman* (Washington, 1911), and other references and notes on reproductions on envelope flap of *The Herrman Map . . . A Facsimile made from the Original in The John Carter Brown Library . . . 1948* (First edition, 1941). Known copies of the original map of 1673 are those in the British Museum and the John Carter Brown Library.

channel and the soundings are repeated in *A Mapp of New Jersey*, obviously influenced by Herrman, which appeared in 1675 in John Seller's *Atlas Maritimus*.[7] Two years later this map was enlarged in scope and reworked as *A Mapp of New Jersey in America* by John Seller and William Fisher. In that form it was adopted by William Penn, if not created at his behest, and issued with a printed text pasted along its bottom edge, bearing the title *The Description of the Province of West Jersey in America*.[8] Here again the Herrman soundings of the Delaware Bay are shown with little alteration, but in the approaches to New York this revised and enlarged Seller map surpasses its predecessors, showing through copious notation the result of a special survey or of a long accretion of knowledge of depths and shallows in New York Bay and the Narrows. Undoubtedly, the makers of the Herrman map and its derivatives here described intended that their productions should be useful to navigators. The standard book, and the generally used book, of American coastal charts from 1689 through the eighteenth century was *The English Pilot. The Fourth Book*, the first edition of which was published in the year named. Delaware Bay found delineation in this work, certainly as early as 1706, in the form of a chart entitled *Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, East & West Jersey*.[9] This map was the production of John Thornton and William Fisher. Its numerous soundings differ somewhat from those upon the Herrman map of 1677. It made small advance, however, upon the information contained in the Herrman map and its derivatives. Until late in the eighteenth century, *The English Pilot* charts in successive editions continued to lack a satisfactory degree of detail for the Delaware Bay and River navigation.

Charts, even full and exact charts, are not enough for large vessels sailing strange and narrow waters. Local pilots are essential. In a

[7] P. Lee Phillips, *A List of Geographical Atlases . . .*, I, No. 487; Stokes, I, 213–215. Although the date of depiction of this map is given in this reference as *c.* 1664, its first publication is noted as in the text above—that is, in the Seller *Atlas Maritimus* of 1675. Inasmuch as Herrman's map was designed in 1670 and published in 1673, it seems correct to regard it as the prototype of this group of maps.

[8] The only copies recorded are those in the British Museum, the John Work Garrett Library, Evergreen House, Baltimore, and the John Carter Brown Library. See Elizabeth Baer, *Seventeenth Century Maryland* (Baltimore, 1949), No. 88.

[9] A copy of this edition of *The English Pilot. The Fourth Book* is in the John Carter Brown Library.

letter later to be quoted, Joshua Fisher wrote that even with his detailed *Chart* a pilot was necessary for the Delaware navigation. Resident pilots were found on the Delaware Shore at Cape Henlopen before the period of Fisher's *Chart*, upon which is shown Pilot's Town at the situation of the present town of Lewes. The Pilot's Association of Delaware Bay and River, today an active and essential aid to the navigation of those waters, boasts a long and continuously active institutional career.[10] In that waterway, as in the approaches to most of the great ports of the world, local pilots are the interpreters of charts and sailing directions, beacons, range lights and radio beams. Today the Delaware pilots go out between the Capes to meet incoming vessels in power-driven craft. The sun on the white sails of their cutters of fifty years ago is a memory retained by few, but to these it remains a cherished and enlivening picture.

It was not until 1756 that a comprehensive and accurate survey of the Bay was engraved and printed in the form of a chart of large scale, practicable for use in actual navigation. It is this chart with which the present discussion is chiefly concerned. Joshua Fisher's *Chart of Delaware Bay from the Sea-Coast to Reedy Island* is said to have retained its usefulness as a guide until the publication of a comprehensive chart by the United States Coast Survey in 1846. Certainly, it was without rival in the remaining years of the eighteenth century. Between 1756 and 1800, it was published in ten editions and issues of Philadelphia, London, and Paris. Suppressed by the Governor and Council of Pennsylvania upon its first publication in the midst of the French and Indian War, it came into its own in the War of the Revolution as a potential aid to the military operations of all three contestants.

The Surveyor and Designer

Joshua Fisher was born in Delaware in 1707 and died in Philadelphia on January 31, 1783. In 1733 he married Sarah Rowland, daughter of Thomas Rowland of Sussex County, Delaware. At the time of his marriage he settled at Lewes, Delaware, where he carried on his trade as a hatter. The natural relationship between the maker of hats and the Indian trappers of the beaver and other small animals led him in the course of time to the creation of an export trade in

[10] The author has found nothing in print on the subject of the Delaware Bay pilots.

furs. His position in the community was of such a character that upon his removal to Philadelphia in 1746, he was described in a certificate signed by seven of his fellow townsmen as a quiet, peaceable neighbor, "a just Dealer, an upright Magistrate, and in Every Station he hath yet been Called to . . . a worthy Honest Man." A certificate provided him at the same time by the Duck Creek Monthly Meeting described Joshua and his wife as "of sober and orderly lives and conversation." In the course of his life in Delaware, Joshua Fisher occupied minor public offices, among them coroner of Sussex County and deputy-surveyor of Delaware, and there is evidence that at a later time he was esteemed among the merchants of Philadelphia, where he carried on the sale of general merchandise.[11] In 1763 he was one of the Merchants and Traders of the city who signed an address of welcome to John Penn upon his arrival in the province as its Lieutenant Governor.[12] A detailed account which has been preserved of his last days shows him to us as a good man of simple piety, anxious that all men should "live in love."[13] There is recorded of him nothing ungracious in character or conduct.

It was doubtless in the course of his residence at Lewes that Fisher became interested in the problems of pilotage presented by Delaware Bay and River. Then or soon after his removal to Philadelphia, he undertook with the assistance, it has been said, of Samuel Rowland, his brother-in-law, to make a survey of the waters in question. He seems to have been self-taught in matters of mathematics and surveying, but the event proved that he had been well taught.

Joshua Fisher's studious habit seems to have been formed early in life and to have been early applied to practical problems. Thomas Godfrey of Philadelphia was the rival claimant with James Hadley of London for the honor of inventing the reflecting quadrant, an instrument of celestial observation which, since about 1734, has gone by the name of the English mathematician. A persistent tradition which may go back to Fisher's contemporary, James Logan, informs us that

11 Anna Wharton Smith, *Genealogy of the Fisher Family, 1682–1896* (Philadelphia, 1896), 22–31. Photostat prints of the pertinent pages of this book and of other interesting material were kindly sent me by Mr. Charles L. Petze, Jr., of Newcastle, Del.

12 Penn Papers, Additional Miscellaneous Letters, I, 115, The Historical Society of Pennsylvania (HSP).

13 [Hannah Logan Smith], *Memorials and Reminiscences in Private Life* (1839), 256–257, American Manuscripts File, HSP.

when Godfrey had completed his first successful instrument, probably about 1730, he turned it over to Joshua Fisher, then of Lewes, for trial in the waters of Delaware Bay.[14] On the Fisher *Chart* of 1756, about to be described, there appears at the point of land he calls "Cape James," actually Cape Henlopen, a statement of the latitude of the place and, beneath it, the words "Observ'd by the Author & T. Godfrey." An exact date in connection with this assertion would have been an appropriate and much appreciated addition to knowledge. In the absence of it, we may fall back upon the assumption that this statement connecting Fisher and Godfrey in an observation of latitude at the entrance of Delaware Bay was a memory on Fisher's part of that first testing of Godfrey's quadrant with which he has been credited. Or, equally well, it seems, this recording on the map of an event which occurred sometime before 1756, could itself have been the source and origin of the tradition that it was Fisher who about 1730 carried through the first practical tests of the Godfrey quadrant. In either case the association in important activities of these two self-taught geniuses of Philadelphia is clearly attested by the legend which Fisher placed upon his *Chart*.

The Chart

The story of Fisher's achievement as cartographer may be advanced at this point by the quotation in full of certain documents from the archives of the Province of Pennsylvania.[15] These include a letter from Governor Robert Hunter Morris to Fisher, "approved in Council, 4 March, 1756," and a reply to the Governor addressed by Fisher to Richard Peters, endorsed "reced 5th March, 1755, day after the Govrs. Lre." This interchange of letters constitutes one of the most interesting incidents in the history of cartography in the United States.

Gov. Morris to Joshua Fisher, 1756

Sir:

Being informed yt you are abt. publishing a Chart of ye Bay of Delaware, wth all ye Sounds & Bearings, & such full Directions yt Strangers to ye Navigation of ye Bay, may, by ye help of your Draft, bring Ships into the River wth out a Pilot; Tho'

[14] John F. Watson, *Annals of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1857), I, 529, where the quoted words presumably are from a letter written by Logan.

[15] *Pennsylvania Archives, First Series*, II (1853), 592–594.

this is a very useful & comendable work, yet, as at this critical juncture, when from the state of affairs in Europe, we are in daily expectation of a French War, there is y^t reason to fear; if your map of the Bay should be published, some Copys of it may fall into ye Enemys Hands. I have therefore thought fit, by the advice of the Councils, to order, as I hereby do, that the Publication of that Map or Chart be postponed till a more proper time; when ye Danger of the Enemys paying us a visit from Sea, may be over, or this city & Province in a better condition to repell an Invasion.

Philad^a., 4th March, 1756.

To Joshua Fisher.

Indorsed—

Draught Lre. to Joshua Fisher, approved in Council, 4 March, 1756.

Joshua Fisher to R. Peters, 1756

Philadelphia.

Friend
Richard Peters

In Conformity to the Governor's Orders of yesterday, I thought it a point of duty to inform the Governor what is subjoin'd Concerning the Chart of Delaware Bay, just publish^d, which, if thou will please to Communicate to him to know his further Pleasure, shall take it as a singular favour.

When I undertook many years ago to take a survey of Delaware Bay, in order to draw a Chart thereof, being encouraged thereto by sundry persons, among whom was our Propriatary Thomas Penn, to whom I was recommended by the Magistrates for a D. Surveyor, & so being furnish'd with Materials about two years ago, was again apply'd to by sundry persons, Merchants & others, to get the work perfected; with whom I consented to do it, provided I could get Subscriptions to defray only the Charge of Engraving & printing them, & agreeing with a Workman to accomplish. It amounted to near a hundred Pounds Cur^y., for which Subscriptions were then taken of the Gentlemen of this City to the said Am^t., & as the Expence as well as my own great pains & trouble in the above; the latter I am very easy about, only therefore request, as the Plates are Engraved, & a quantity of Coppies struck off, that I may have the liberty to deliver to the Gentlemen who have subscribed to defray the Charge of £100 as above, otherwise it will be very oppressive to bear so great an Expence, besides my own time & trouble, when the motive for doing it was at the repeated Solicitation of many Considerable Men, & also, in point of humanity, for the saving Mens Lives & Estates, having been eye witness of many vessels & cargoes lost, & the people sometimes with them, for want of knowledge, in the Bay; & as I had observed that Correct Charts were publish^d of many Harbours in North America, where I had been, especially those places where Men of War come, as they generally have Artists qualified for such purposes; all which Motives I thought both laudable & Warrantable, & justly deserved the Countenance of all well wishers to this Province, & here I beg leave to add my Sentiments concerns an Enemy making use of said Chart, I have sent one for the Governor's perusal.

First, then, there is in the season for Navigation, above three Score Pilots, that Constantly Cruise off the Capes, that always the Enemy's Vessels never wanted a Pilot when on the Coast, & the Accidents hinted at before, of losing our Vessels, has

been generally in the winter Season, when the Pilots Boats are halled ashore, & cannot attend.

Secondly, as the Chart has layd in it all the Shoals & dangers, I apprehend there are much more dreaded danger to adventure, unless forc'd to it, than any person would conceive without the Chart, so that I am well satisfied it would be rather a Terror than an encouragement to adventure such an Errand without a Pilot, which as is before observ'd can always be readily got.

Thirdly, this Chart is only calculated to bring Ships out of danger from Sea, & shows them but about 20 miles in the River, & the remaining part very intricate, tho' not dangerous, is another strong inducement no Enemy will attempt coming up so dangerous a Bay & a long difficult River without good Pilots, which hope may never happen.

All which is humbly offer'd to Consideration.

I subscribe thy oblig^{d}. Friend,
JOSA. FISHER.

N. B. Some few have been deliver^{d}. before notice, as also some few sent to England.

Direction.

To Richard Peters, Esquire, Philadelphia.

Indorsed,

Joshua Fisher, reced 5th March, 1755, day after the Gov^{rs}. Lre.[16]

The question remains as to whether Fisher's plea that the *Chart* be allowed publication for its maker's sake, for the sake of his underwriters, and because of the general good to be achieved through its use, was given favorable consideration by the Governor and Council. The records are silent on that point, but the fact that there have been identified only two copies of this first issue of the map suggests that its suppression for the sake of the public safety was effective. Nonetheless, a few copies came into circulation. In his *nota bene* to the letter quoted above, the cartographer informs the Governor that "Some few have been deliver^{d}. before notice, as also some few sent to England." A year before the publication of the map, Thomas Penn had written Richard Peters, asking that half a dozen copies of

16 The Mar. 4, 1756, date of the Governor's letter, its endorsement of that date, the position of the letters in the Council Proceedings of that date, the presence of the date Feb. 28, 1756, upon the printed map itself—all form a sum of evidence against the acceptance of the endorsement on Fisher's letter to Richard Peters, *i.e.*, "reced 5th March, 1755, day after the Govrs. Lre." Another slight element of confusion enters when we read in a letter of Feb. 21, 1755, a request from Thomas Penn to Richard Peters for half a dozen copies of the Fisher *Chart*, but this was simply, it seems clear from the context, in anticipation of its eventual publication.

Fisher's *Chart* be sent him.[17] These copies may have been sent when, a year later, the *Chart* was finished. In that case, they provide an explanation for Fisher's phrase "some few sent to England."

This statement, however, does not constitute the final word on the distribution of the *Chart* nor on the degree to which the order of suppression was observed. There remains in the possession of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, catalogued under the name of Joshua Fisher, the following bill, a brief document of particular pertinence in connection with the questions of suppression and distribution:[18]

Benjamin Franklin to Joshua Fisher	D^{r}
1756	
April 6th 2 Ch^{ts} De [obliterated] Bay	£1 " 4
May 28th 2.....	1 " 4
	£2 " 8

[*Endorsed*]: B. Franklin

Clearly the four copies of the *Chart* sold Franklin at 12s each, from a month to nearly three months after suppression, could hardly have been in that group Fisher had in mind when, on March 5, he wrote Richard Peters, "Some few have been deliver^{d}." Either Fisher was selling the *Chart* surreptitiously after the suppression, or the strictness of the Council's order had been relaxed somewhat as the result of his appeal to Mr. Peters. One prefers the second of these possibilities. It seems unlikely that Franklin, member of Assembly, Assembly printer, and leader in many aspects of local life, would have ignored the order of the Pennsylvania Council and made clandestine purchases of the *Chart* even if Joshua Fisher, the reputable Quaker, had been willing to disobey the order of suppression.

The questions that arise are these: If Franklin could buy Fisher's *Chart*, could anyone else do the same? or, was Franklin given a special privilege because of his prominence in the defense plans of the Colony? The answers are not readily ascertainable.

17 See preceding note. I am indebted to Dr. William E. Lingelbach, Librarian of the American Philosophical Society, for calling my attention to this passage in Lawrence H. Gipson's *Lewis Evans* (Philadelphia, 1939), 61.

18 My attention was called to the existence of this document by my generous correspondent, Mr. James Clements Wheat, of Bay City, Mich. A transcript of the entry was sent me through the courtesy of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

A full description of the Fisher *Chart* of 1756 follows:

FIRST EDITION

[*Within a decorative cartouche with Penn arms arising from upper right corner*]: To the / Merchants & Insurers / Of the City of Philadelphia / This Chart of / Delaware Bay / From the Sea-Coast to Reedy-Island. / Containing a full and exact Description of the Shores, / Creeks, Harbours, Soundings, Shoals, Sands, and Bearings / of the most considerable Land-Marks with a Tide-Table / from the Capes to Philadelphia, and the Set of the Tide / on the several Quarters of the Flood and Ebb. / Is dedicated / By a Friend to Trade and Navigation / Joshua Fisher

[*Within a decorative cartouche at bottom center*]: A / Tide Table. / . . . [*arranged in two columns of ten lines each*]. A Scale of English Miles, 69 to a Degree. / [*numbered 0 to 14*].

[*Within a decorative cartouche at lower left*]: We the Subscribers having perused the annex'd Draught / of Delaware Bay do recommend it as a very exact Performance / and will greatly contribute to the safe Navigation in the said Bay / as the several Draughts heretofore made are very imperfect and no / Dependance to be had on them / [*in two columns*]: Pilots / . . . [*twenty-two names*] Masters of Vessels / . . . [*twenty names*].

[*Beneath cartouche at lower left, within neat line*]: Published according to Act of Parliament, by Joshua Fisher, Feb:28. 1756. / [*at left and right of central cartouche within neat line*]: Engraved by Ja^s Turner, and [*cartouche*] Printed by John Davis, for, and sold by the Author in Front-Street Philadelphia.

Map measures 23¾ x 45½ inches. Orientation: South-North line runs from upper left of map to lower right. Extreme southern points: "Cape Hinlopen" and "Fenwick's Island." Extreme northern point: "St. Georges Cr." Printed on three sheets joined. Watermark in all three sheets: crowned shield, charged with a fleur-de-lis, and, beneath the shield, *4* and initials *LVG*; countermark, *IV*.

Copies: Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, Md. Reproduced in reduced facsimile in L. C. Wroth, *Some American Contributions to the Art of Navigation, 1519–1802* (preprinted, 1947, from Massachusetts Historical Society, *Proceedings*, LXVIII [1944–1948]). The

Maryland Historical Society copy has been divided into sections and mounted on linen.

John Carter Brown Library, Providence, R. I. An undivided copy, purchased, 1948, from E. C. Lowe, Birmingham, England.

The Engraver and Printer

A special interest attaches to this map as the work of James Turner,[19] well-remembered as the engraver the year before of the Lewis Evans *Map of the Middle British Colonies*, another distinguished addition of Philadelphia origin to the cartography of English North America. Turner seems to have been a protégé of Franklin. There is reason to believe that he was the Boston artist employed by Franklin in 1744 to engrave Lewis Evans's designs for the Fireplace Book; and it is certain that it was he who engraved the three maps for another work with which Franklin was associated, namely, *A Bill in the Chancery of New-Jersey*, published jointly in 1747 by James Parker of New York and Benjamin Franklin of Philadelphia. Turner engraved in Boston about 1750 the admirable *Chart of the Coasts of Nova Scotia*. It may be that it was Franklin who soon after this persuaded him to move from Boston to Philadelphia, where he was located in 1754. "My Map," wrote Lewis Evans, "was begun engraving in November 1754, and finished towards the end of June 1755."[20] In all probability, Turner had hardly completed the Evans map when he was called upon to prepare new plates for another major cartographical production in the form of the Fisher *Chart*. Turner was an excellent engraver, experienced in the rendering of maps from original drawings; Fisher and his supporters were indeed fortunate in his presence in Philadelphia at the time of their need. Turner added to his distinction in the history of American engraving by the rendering in 1759 of Nicholas Scull's *Map of the Improved Part of Pennsylvania*. This was the last important task of an excellent and enterprising craftsman. In the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of December 13, 1759, is found a notice of the sale of the household effects of "James Turner, Engraver, deceased."

[19] David McN. Stauffer, *American Engravers upon Copper and Steel* (New York, 1907), I, 278–279; II, 548–550, and its *Supplement*, by Mantle Fielding, 289; John Carter Brown Library *Report* (1946), 36–41.

[20] Lewis Evans, *Geographical Essays* (Philadelphia, 1756), No. II, 25.

Little is known of John Davis, who in 1756 printed the first edition of the Fisher *Chart*. Because his name does not appear as a regular letterpress printer or in any other connection than as the printer of two maps, one assumes that he was a specialized copperplate printer. The second of the maps which bear his name was Nicholas Scull's *Map of the Improved Part of Pennsylvania*, in the production of which he again acted as printer for the engraver, James Turner. Although his Philadelphia career, from what we know of it, may hardly be thought of as one of great activity, it certainly was not undistinguished.[21]

The Political Aspect of the Fisher Chart

There is a political aspect of the Fisher map that should not be overlooked. Upon the Visscher map (1651?) and certain of its Dutch successors, Cape Henlopen had been located fifteen miles below the position now universally accorded it on the Delaware shore at the entrance to the Bay. In 1685 a royal order was issued to the effect that a line should be drawn westward from Cape Henlopen to the Chesapeake, and that halfway along that line a perpendicular should be erected. All to the east of the perpendicular, virtually the present state of Delaware, was to be considered as belonging to the Penn grant, and all to the west as part of Maryland. No great degree of mathematical genius was required to realize that the farther south the position of Cape Henlopen appeared on the map employed in the negotiations, the greater would be the area awarded to Pennsylvania. Penn and his advisers held to the Visscher map as the basis upon which the boundary settlement should be made, and, apparently, the Calverts acceded.[22] Clearly, the Calverts were not what we call "map

[21] Charles Evans, *American Bibliography, 1639–1820* (Chicago, 1903–1934), No. 8489. Evans seems to have recorded no other work by Davis except this Scull map and the Fisher *Chart* which he enters as No. 7657. No additional information concerning him is found in H. Glenn Brown and Maude O. Brown, "A Directory of the Book-Arts and Book Trade in Philadelphia to 1820 including Painters and Engravers" (begun in the *Bulletin of The New York Public Library*, May, 1949).

[22] The actual copy of the Visscher map used in the hearings before the Privy Council and its Board of Trade and Plantations is one of the distinguished possessions of the library of the late John Work Garrett, Evergreen House, Baltimore, now by Mr. Garrett's legacy the property of Johns Hopkins University. See Baer, No. 36. It is endorsed in the hand of William Penn: "The Map by which the privy council 1685 settled the Bounds between the Lord Baltimore & I, & Maryland & Pennsylvania & Territorys or annexed Countys. W. P." For discussion of this phase of the long dispute, see E. B. Mathews, ed., *Report on the Resurvey of the Maryland-Pennsylvania Boundary*, Maryland Geological Survey (Baltimore, 1908), 140–145; 219, under date 1655/6; and 259 under date Nov. 7 and 13.

men." They neither collected maps nor studied them. Twelve years before this order of 1685, the Augustine Herrman map had appeared with Cape Henlopen located in its present position. The second Lord Baltimore had subsidized this map, and William Penn had previously thought so well of it for general purposes that he used maps based upon it for both his New Jersey and Pennsylvania colonization ventures. In 1676, indeed, he and his associates in the West Jersey project recommended that "one Agustin" in Maryland, "an able surveyor," be engaged to sound the rivers and creeks and to lay out a town for the expected colonists.[23]

That, of course, was not the end of it. Forty-seven years later the fifth Lord Baltimore, in the course of the negotiations which led to the crucial agreement of 1732, submitted as the basis of action a map which came to be called "Lord Baltimore's own Plan." This, too, showed Cape Henlopen in its southerly position, at a point where no cape actually exists. When in 1750 Lord Hardwicke delivered his memorable decree in Chancery, he affirmed that "Cape Henlopen ought to be deemed and taken to be situated at the place where the same is laid down and described in the Map or Plan annexed" to the Articles of Agreement.

But the fifth Lord Baltimore died in 1751, and the complete execution of the decree in Chancery was postponed for the period of minority of his son. In the meantime, an official survey of 1750, undertaken in obedience to the Hardwicke order, resulted in the running of a line westward from the presumed Cape Henlopen to the Chesapeake, thus establishing a southern boundary for Penn on the peninsula. Actually, when Joshua Fisher's map was issued in 1756, the whole matter was once more in the English courts on a basis which made the position of Cape Henlopen important in the issue. In this crisis Fisher asserted the Pennsylvania contention by placing

[23] John Thornton and John Seller, *A Map of Some of the South and east bounds of Pennsylvania in America* (London, [1681]), issued by Penn with printed text pasted along lower border. A facsimile in black and white without printed text was issued in 1923, under the editorship of Albert Cook Myers, by The Historical Society of Pennsylvania. A facsimile in color with printed text, made from the John Carter Brown Library copy, was issued by the Library in 1943. The New Jersey map concerned has been previously mentioned in the text above and in note 8, as Seller and Fisher's *A Mapp of New Jersey in America*, with printed text pasted on entitled: *The Description of the Province of West Jersey in America*, 1677. For Penn's references to the Maryland surveyor, "Agustin," see Samuel Smith, *The History of the Colony Nova-Caesaria, or New-Jersey* (Burlington, 1765), 83–87.

Cape Henlopen on his *Chart* at the place where the Visscher map said it was and where Lord Hardwicke's decision had said it should be deemed to lie. Furthermore, he engraved at this point the beginning of a dotted, westward running line and labelled it, in accord with the survey of 1750, "Penn's Southern Bounds."

In his assertion of the Penn claim as confirmed by the Chancery decree of 1750, Fisher designated the Delaware cape at the entrance of the Bay, "Cape James," disregarding the "Cape Henlopen" of current usage and restoring the name given that point of land (by William Penn's preference) in 1682 in the Act of Union with the Delaware counties. Whatever its origin may have been, Lewis Evans in his *Geographical Essays* of 1755 wrote concerning the name "Cape James" that it "is scarce known at this day." Obviously, there had been in the immediately preceding years a good deal of local discussion and difference of opinion with regard to the name and correct location of Cape Henlopen. In his *Map of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York, etc.* of 1749, Lewis Evans had located Cape Henlopen in the northern position at the entrance of the Bay, but in his 1752 issue of the same map he had shown awareness of the prevailing difference in points of view. Leaving the position of the name "Cape Henlopen" unchanged, he had nevertheless placed to the southward of it the legend "Fenwick's I. or the Old Cape Hinlopen." A few years later, however, we find him scorning that compromise. In his *Map of the Middle British Colonies* of 1755, even though he received a subsidy for the preparation of that map from the Pennsylvania Assembly, he gave Cape Henlopen the northern position without equivocation. In his *Geographical Essays* accompanying the map he gives it as his firm opinion that the northern location was correct, but goes on to say that a different belief was held by others whose opportunities for investigating the question were no less good than his own. But despite this tolerant acknowledgment of the rights of others to their opinions, Evans was carrying on cartographical tradition in placing Cape Henlopen at the entrance of the Bay, a tradition well established nearly a century before his time and carried on in general by most of his successors. However sound Fisher's motive, we may regret that he set himself against that current of belief and practice. This political aspect may not be disregarded in any consideration of his admirable guide to the Delaware waters.

The Second Edition of the Chart

A second edition of the Fisher *Chart*, completely re-engraved on a smaller plate but encompassing a larger geographic scope, is known through the evidence of copies found in three American libraries. This edition was without date or place of publication and carried neither the engraver's nor printer's name. No reference to its publication in newspaper or other contemporary document has been found. In the face of these negative characteristics, however, the map has been described—correctly, it seems to me—as an issue of Philadelphia, 1775, and it has been suggested that Henry Dawkins, of Philadelphia and New York, was its engraver. The chief geographical feature differentiating this edition from the first issue of the map in 1756 is its enlargement to include the river channels from Reedy Island to the Philadelphia docks and beyond to Ancocas Creek. The title and description of this second Fisher *Chart* follow:

SECOND EDITION

[*Within a decorative cartouche, surmounted by the Penn arms*]: To the / Merchants & Insurers / Of the City of Philadelphia / This Chart of / Delaware Bay and River, / Containing a full and exact Description of / the Shores, Creeks, Harbours, Soundings, Shoals / Sands; and Bearings of the most considerable / Land-Marks with a Tide Table / from the Capes to Philadelphia and the / Set of the Tide on the several Quarters / of the Flood and Ebb / Is dedicated / By a Friend to Trade and Navigation / Joshua Fisher

[*Within lower panel of the cartouche*]: A / Tide-Table / . . . [*arranged in two columns of thirteen lines each*].

[*In upper left corner on the representation of a sheet of paper attached to its background by two large pins*]: We the Subscribers having perused the annexd Draught / of Delaware Bay do recommend it as a very exact Performance / and will greatly contribute to the safe Navigation in the said Bay / as the several Draughts heretofore made are very imperfect and no / Dependance to be had on them / [*in two columns*]: Pilots / . . . [*twenty-two names*] Masters of Vessels / . . . [*twenty-two names identical with those on the edition of 1756 except for the addition at end, under Masters of Vessels, of "John Bolitho" and "Daniel Dingee"*].

[*At bottom center*]: A Scale of English Miles, 69½ to a Degree [*numbered 1 to 20*].

Map measures 18 15/16 x 27½ inches. Orientation: South-North line runs horizontally the length of the map from left to right. Extreme southern point: "Cape Hinlopen." Extreme northern point: "Ancocas Cr." Printed on a single sheet. Watermarks in this sheet are: northern half, crowned shield, charged with fleur-de-lis, with *4* and *LVG* beneath; southern half, *IHS* with cross standing above the crossbar of the *H* and, beneath the symbol, the figure *IV* and the letters IVILLEDARY, *i.e.*, Jean Villedary. (See H. N. Eavenson, *Map Makers & Indian Traders* [Pittsburgh, 1949], Appendix 34.)

Copies: The Historical Society of Pennsylvania. On a line with the name of Joshua Fisher at end of dedication has been added with a pen "Feb. 28' 1756."

William L. Clements Library, Ann Arbor, Mich.
Atwater Kent Museum, Philadelphia, Pa.

The Circumstances of Publication of the Second Edition

The authorship of the second edition of the *Chart* here described seems sufficiently attested by the presence upon it of the name "Joshua Fisher" signed to the dedication, and by the virtual identity of its geographical features with the Fisher *Chart* of 1756. A manuscript version of the revised *Chart* in the library of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania bears, in place of the Penn arms of the printed map, a shield charged with three dolphins or other fish, presumably a punning armorial device referring to the name of the maker.[24] The fact that the second edition of the *Chart* is smaller in size, bears a different orientation, and is larger in scope need not in any sense disturb the conclusion that it was a revision of the earlier *Chart* carried through by the original cartographer.

The questions of authorship and place of publication seem clearly resolved if we accept the principle that in the absence of evidence contradicting their tenor or of improbability inherent in them, words

[24] Of the two manuscript versions of the *Chart* in the Society's Library one seems to be Fisher's own draft for the earlier publication of 1756. The other manuscript, smaller in size and larger in scope, does not seem to be an original draft. The very close resemblance it bears to the printed *Chart* of 1775 in style of drawing and lettering leads one to suggest that it was the engraver's rendering of the original draft prepared for use as "copy" for the engraved version.

may usually be taken as meaning what they say. In a later section are named three London editions of the *Chart* published in the year 1776. The Faden and Dury editions there specified bear the statement, "taken from the Original Chart Published at Philadelphia by Joshua Fisher"; the Sayer and Bennett edition asserts that it had been "Faithfully coppied from that Published at Philadelphia by Joshua Fisher." All these were copied from the second edition we are now concerned with. Certainly their London publishers accepted Philadelphia as the place of publication and Joshua Fisher as the maker of the revised *Chart*, copied by them as appropriate to the needs of merchant and naval vessels in that momentous year. The presence upon it of the Penn Arms and the dedication "To the Merchants and Insurers of the City of Philadelphia" carries implications unlikely to be found in a publication issued elsewhere than in the Pennsylvania city itself. There seems no good reason, therefore, to doubt the attribution of the map to the city in which its designer lived.

The year of publication of the second edition is not yet determined. It could have been published at any time between 1756, the date of the first edition, and 1776, the date of three unassociated and separately issued London editions. One is disposed to think that the actions of these three English map publishers had been caused by the arrival in London from Philadelphia of copies of a newly issued *Chart* rather than by the memory of an edition brought out years before. Even though this is an unsubstantial basis for decision, it seems not unreasonable, especially with the exigency of the times in mind, to hold to 1775 as the year in which the second Philadelphia edition of the chart was brought into being.[25]

The Engraver

There is some probability that the engraver of the map which we are attributing to Philadelphia, 1775, was Henry Dawkins.[26] That engraver, who was at work in New York as early as 1754, seems to

[25] An examination of Philadelphia newspapers for the period 1763–1776 has revealed nothing relating to the publication of this edition of the Fisher map. It may be that a search more widely extended in newspapers and manuscript sources will make certain the date of publication.

[26] This suggestion was made to me by Mr. James Clements Wheat, whose study of maps of American publication has been long-continued and intensive.

have removed to Philadelphia about 1758. He is last heard of as engraving paper money for the government in 1780,[27] having in the meantime been found guilty in New York of counterfeiting Continental currency. The work of Dawkins has certain characteristics upon which assumptions may be based. One of these is his employment of the Chippendale border in his decorative cartouches. The frame of the cartouche and its flowering decoration in the second edition of the map is comparable in many distinct features to Dawkins's well-known title page for James Lyon's *Urania* (Philadelphia, 1761). The lettering of the two titles contains many likenesses in common, not the least of them being a sharply angled spur on the long "s" in the word "Insurers," a letter all but identical in size and formation with the same character in the word "Necessary" on the *Urania* title page. Dawkins seems to have been at work in Philadelphia as late as 1774; he could claim previous experience in map engraving; and certain of his devices and mannerisms (variety, or rather, lack of uniform usage, in letter forms) are present as common elements in the Fisher map, in the piece of his signed work to which it has just been compared, and in an attributed map of 1761. This is the case for Dawkins as the engraver of Fisher's second edition. It was accepted as an interesting suggestion and remains unproven.

Sailing Directions for Delaware Bay

The chart and the book of sailing directions have come through the centuries hand in hand. In the same year in which he issued the London, 1776, re-engraving of the Fisher *Chart* as one of the elements in his *North American Atlas* of that year, William Faden published *Directions for Navigating up Delaware-Bay, from the Capes to Reedy-Island. By Capt. James Campbell, Late Commander in His Majesty's Navy*. Because of the correspondence, in chart and written directions, of place names and of courses and channels, it is clear that Captain Campbell had built his guide upon the basis of the Fisher *Chart*. Because the *Directions* end at Reedy Island, furthermore, it seems likely that Captain Campbell had made use only of the 1756 edition of the *Chart*. But upon this point one need not be dogmatic. The passage from Reedy Island to Philadelphia may have been

[27] Stauffer, I, 60–62; II, 78–80; Fielding, 89–91; and William Murrell, *A History of American Graphic Humor* (New York, 1933), I, 13, 18, 20 and 21.

omitted from the *Directions* by Faden for fear of giving comfort to a possible enemy, and that consideration was fully justified. A comparison made in the course of this inquiry shows that the sailing directions engraved upon one of the French copies of the Fisher *Chart*, the *Carte de la Bay et Riviere de Délaware* in the *Neptune Americo-Septentrional* (Paris, 1778), are simply a translation into French of Captain Campbell's *Directions* of London, 1776.[28]

A second set of sailing directions was issued with the Fisher *Chart* as reference. This brief statement is not an abstract of Captain Campbell's *Directions*, but, one might suggest, an enlargement of certain prescriptions of that guide not made sufficiently explicit in the original. There are phrases in it which make one certain that it was written with the Campbell *Directions* in hand. This is a broadside piece, entitled *Directions to sail into and up Delaware Bay*. The only known copy of this piece is owned by the Library Company of Philadelphia. It is entered in Evans's *American Bibliography* under the year 1778, on the basis of a note in longhand on the lower margin of that unique copy. If that was the year of publication, it was, in all probability, issued in the course of the British occupation. The employment in this broadside of the Baskerville letter relates it typographically to other productions of an unidentified Philadelphia press of this period.[29]

The English and French Imprints

It is impossible to bring within the scope of this article a full description and discussion of the English and French copies of the second edition of the Fisher *Chart*. It must be enough to say that the year 1776 saw editions issued in London by William Faden, included in his *North American Atlas* of 1777; by Sayer and Bennett, included in their *North American Pilot*, also of 1777; and by A. Dury as a separate publication dated November 30, 1776. A much reduced copy was issued with *The Gentleman's Magazine*[30] in 1779, and years

[28] Copies of the Campbell *Directions* are in the Library of Congress and the John Carter Brown Library. A third was offered in the Rosenbach Co. Catalogue, *The Sea*, 1938.

[29] In my *History of Printing in Colonial Maryland* (Baltimore, 1922), Imprint Section, I attributed No. 285, an item of the year 1768 showing Baskerville types, to a Baltimore press. I have been convinced for a good many years that this was an error and that the printing of that piece was done in Philadelphia.

[30] *Gentleman's Magazine*, XLIX (1779), 369.

later an edition, or possibly a reissue, dated 1794, is found in Laurie and Whittle's *North American Pilot* of 1795. In France the map-maker and publisher Le Rouge brought out, dated 1777, a copy of the map in French for his *Pilote American Septentrional* of Paris, 1778–[1779]. Another French edition was made for inclusion in *Neptune Americo-Septentrional* (Paris, 1778–1780). It was upon the face of this edition that one finds engraved a translation into French of Captain Campbell's *Directions for Navigating up Delaware Bay*, mentioned earlier.

Americans, English, and French thus were provided with an accurate chart of Delaware Bay and River at a time of need. In the Library of Congress collection there are to be found four contemporary manuscript Fisher *Charts* copied from different English and French versions, and photostats of four Spanish charts showing the Fisher influence. Not many American-made maps of the eighteenth century can show influence so great in degree and so widespread in time and space as the *Chart of Delaware Bay* of Joshua Fisher, Philadelphia merchant and self-taught cartographer.

The John Carter Brown Library LAWRENCE C. WROTH

Another Child to William and Gulielma Penn

It has commonly been supposed that William Penn and Gulielma Maria Springett had seven children.[1] The charts in Hull's *William Penn: A Topical Biography*, and Hodgkin's *Gulielma, Wife of William Penn* agree with this listing,[2] as do all other accounts known to me.[3] It will be observed that only Springett, Letitia, and William, Jr., grew up; the other four died in infancy.

1.	Gulielma Maria, *b.* January 23, 1673	*d.* March 17, 1673
2.	William, *b.* February 28, 1674	*d.* May 15, 1674
3.	Mary Margaret, *b.* February 28, 1674	*d.* February 24, 1675
4.	Springett, *b.* January 25, 1676	*d.* April 10, 1696
5.	Letitia, *b.* March 6, 1679	*d.* April, 1746
6.	William, Jr., *b.* March 14, 1681	*d.* June 23, 1720
7.	Gulielma Maria, *b.* November 17, 1685	*d.* November 20, 1689

L. V. Hodgkin, however, quotes the letter book of James Claypoole in London writing to William Penn in Pennsylvania (the date of the letter should be 2nd mo. (April) 1, 1683) as referring to four children.[4] Describing a visit that he and his wife, together with Bridget Ford and George Fox, had paid at Worminghurst, March 20–26, 1683, he

[1] In spite of some discrepancies, I follow H. M. Jenkins, *The Family of William Penn* (Philadelphia, 1899), 56, 66, 252, virtually reprinted from *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, XX (1896), 379, 389 f., XXII (1898), 349. Where the Quaker registers give dates between 11 mo. 1 and 1 mo. 25, I have translated them to dates between Jan. 1 and Mar. 25 of what we should call the following year. For example, 11 mo. 23, 1672 (or 1672/3) becomes Jan. 23, 1673.

[2] William I. Hull, *William Penn: A Topical Biography* (New York, 1937), 346; L. Violet Hodgkin, *Gulielma, Wife of William Penn* (London, 1947), 322; also Arthur Pound, *The Penns of Pennsylvania and England* (New York, 1932), 336.

[3] See *Dictionary of National Biography*, XLIV, 316, and James Coleman, *A Pedigree & Genealogical Notes, from Wills, Registers, and Deeds, of the Family of Penn . . .* (London, 1871), 8. But for many years, the editions of the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, including the current one, have carried the statement in the biographical sketch of William Penn that in addition to the three children who survived Gulielma, "two other daughters, Mary and Hannah (*sic*), died in infancy." See also William J. Buck, *William Penn in America* (Philadelphia, 1888), 223.

[4] Hodgkin, 185.

says: "We were kindly entertained by thy dear wife and stayed there till the 26th, then came away; and that morning she and thy four children were in good health." Hodgkin's note on this is as follows:

Penna. Magazine, X (1886), p. 271. "Four children" is surprising. There were only three to have farewell letters in 1682. Possibly Gulielma gave birth to another short-lived babe soon after her husband's departure? That a "daughter of Penn" is said to have been buried at the Blue Idol near Thakeham rather supports this conjecture. (See *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, XXX [1880], 237.)

This conjecture now has more convincing support. Isabel Ross in her *Margaret Fell* publishes (for the first time?) a letter of Guli Penn to Margaret Fox written on August 21, 1683.[5] She acknowledges receiving a letter from the latter "long since when I lay in," and she continues:

I was very weak a long time after my lying in and it pleased the Lord to take away my little one, when it was about three weeks old. It was a mighty great child and it was near dead when it was born, which I think it never got over. Dear George Fox came a-purpose to see me. . . .

Fox's itinerary[6] confirms the date of the visit as March 20–26, 1683, but neither he nor James Claypoole indicates that a baby had just arrived in the family. It must have been born shortly before, if it was still one of the four children alive and well when they left. In an earlier letter, however, written to Benjamin Furly on March 13, James Claypoole says: "Guly Penn is safe delivered of a daught: and its like will be ready to go for Pennsylvania in ye 7th. or 8th. month."[7]

We shall, therefore, have to insert in the list above (between nos. 6 and 7) another child born in March, 1683, thus making eight children in all, and five who died in infancy. This event occurred less than seven months after William Penn sailed for Pennsylvania on the ship *Welcome* in late August, 1682. Unfortunately, neither the exact dates of birth and death, the name of the infant, nor the place of burial are yet known. The meeting registers in Bucks and Sussex supply such data for the other children, most of whom were buried by the present Friends Meeting House in Jordans. It is true that there is

[5] Isabel Ross, *Margaret Fell* (London, 1949), 323. It is interesting to note how well these two books by English Quaker women (L. Violet Hodgkin and Isabel Ross) on English Quaker women (Gulielma Penn and Margaret Fell) supplement each other.

[6] Norman Penney, ed., *Short Journal and Itinerary Journals of George Fox* (Cambridge, 1925), 78.

[7] *PMHB*, X (1886), 269. The original letter book is at The Historical Society of Pennsylvania; see pages 363, 374 f.

a gravestone there for five infant children of William Penn,[8] and this might be thought to imply an additional child. These gravestones may be suspected, however, since they were erected only in 1862–1863, and are incorrect in at least one other matter, namely, the date 1689 for the death of Guli Penn—the date of death of the last child of that name and not of the mother, who died in 1693/4. But an older chart of burials has also listed five such graves marked for the children of William Penn.[9] Although they are not named, they probably represent nos. 1, 2, 3 and 7 of the list above, and the last child of Penn's second marriage, Hannah, who was born in September, 1708, and died the following January.[10] We know that she, too, was buried at Jordans.

Why the birth of 1683 is not mentioned in the records of Sussex as are the births of 1679, 1681, and 1685, one cannot tell, nor why interment in Jordans was not made, or at least was not recorded. Burial might have been made at a local Friends ground near Worminghurst, as the Blue Idol tradition suggests. The winter of 1683 was particularly severe. Fox reports that in coming down from London he had to go ten miles out of the way as the roads were so bad. William Penn was in Pennsylvania and Guli was very weak and later very ill, as her letter reports and as Thomas Ellwood mentions in his journal, when he was summoned to her bedside. As for the tradition of a Penn burial at the Blue Idol, it could only have been while the property was in private hands, for the house and graveyard there seem to have come into Friends' possession well after 1683.[11] At any rate, the first interments at "Thackam," or Shipley, given in the Sussex registers, are after 1691.

This unnoticed event in the private life of William Penn will give the historian new light on the questions why, unlike James Claypoole and other settlers, he went to Pennsylvania without his family, on why they did not promptly follow him, and on why he soon returned to England.

Cambridge, Mass. HENRY J. CADBURY

8 Anna W. Littleboy, *A History of Jordans* (London, 1909), 11.

9 [Sarah Littleboy], *A Visit to the Grave of William Penn* (London, 1853), frontispiece; cf. 30 f.

10 W. H. Summers, *Memories of Jordans and the Chalfonts* (London, 1895), 226; cf. 203, 208.

11 T. W. Marsh, *Some Records of the Early Friends in Surrey and Sussex* (London, 1886), 31.

*Diplomacy in Barbary**

THE shores of Barbary have provided historic grounds of conflict between Christian and Moslem, between Western Civilization and strange and sometimes hostile neighbors. Similarly, the waters of the Mediterranean have frequently been cut by the prows of hostile flotillas, and its winds have borne the sound of thundering batteries and the acrid smell of burning gunpowder.

Early in its career as an independent republic, the United States was drawn into conflict on these shores and waters. The flag of the new republic was fouled with insult, and American citizens were held in slavery by bandits putting out from African ports. Various expeditions and agents had been sent there unsuccessfully to right these wrongs, but it was not until after the War of 1812 that ministers of punishment and peace were to succeed in the difficult task.

On the southern shores of the Mediterranean sprawled the four Barbary kingdoms—Algiers, Morocco, Tripoli and Tunis—ruled by Turkish military chieftains whose main interest and principal support was piracy. For years these Moslem marauders had preyed upon the Mediterranean commerce of Christian nations, and when the United States came into being, the new republic found its infant commerce likewise beset. Algerine corsairs immediately began to harry American merchantmen, and the Tripolitans finally drove the United States into war, 1801–1805. War with Algeria had been avoided because the United States, before the navy was created, had begun the practice common even among powerful European nations of paying tribute to secure immunity.[1]

* Among the treasures of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania is an extensive collection of the manuscripts of William Shaler of Connecticut and Massachusetts, sometime member of the American Philosophical Society held in Philadelphia for Promoting Useful Knowledge, and a diplomat of wide experience. These papers, the gift of Mrs. Willoughby Webb of Martha's Vineyard, have made possible the writing of this sketch. Manuscripts, unless otherwise cited, are from the Shaler Papers.

[1] For the general background of relations with the Barbary powers and American experience there, see Gardner W. Allen, *Our Navy and the Barbary Corsairs* (Boston, 1905); Ray W. Irwin, *Diplomatic Relations of the United States with the Barbary Powers, 1776–1816* (Chapel Hill, 1931); Charles O. Paullin, *Diplomatic Negotiations of American Naval Officers* (Baltimore, 1912); R. L. Playfair, *Scourge of Christendom* (London, 1884), 252–303; William Shaler, *Sketches of Algiers* (Boston, 1826).

The humiliation of tribute was resented in the United States, but for some years there seemed to be no alternative. The dangers and perplexities which beset Jefferson and Madison during the confusions of the Napoleonic wars prevented any change, and the little effort they could spare was engrossed in the Tripolitan War. By 1812, however, Algerine conditions had become intolerable. The Dey of that country had started a quarrel over the tribute and had begun piratical attacks upon the merchantmen of the United States within his reach. Only the fact that the War of 1812 drove its flag out of the Mediterranean saved United States shipping from great damage. The Algerine navy succeeded in capturing only one American prize, the *Edwin*, George C. Smith, master, with a crew of ten and a single passenger. These unfortunates were thrown into slavery; even their government was unable to ransom them. While the war lasted, Madison and Monroe could do nothing, but they determined to settle the score at the first opportunity.

The Algerine question was first on the agenda when the ink had dried on the Treaty of Ghent. President Madison promptly asked Congress to declare war on February 23, 1815, and by March 2, the declaration was proclaimed. A naval expedition was speedily organized and plans made to send with it a commission of three—two naval officers and a civilian, with power to negotiate for a peace.

The American navy was rich in competent officers, but to find a civilian of sufficient capacity and training for the diplomatic responsibility was more of a problem. President Madison, however, chose a man admirably fitted for this task—William Shaler of Connecticut, a man with unique qualifications for so taxing a post.[2]

William Shaler was born just prior to the Revolution, and the premature death of his father had caused him to take to the sea at an early age. He became an agent for an American house which traded extensively with France during the French Revolution. Shaler learned French and French business methods, but more important, he waxed enthusiastic over French ideas of liberty, equality, and fraternity. He had also sailed to South America and the Orient, and when the Spanish-American revolutions broke out, he was appointed an American agent to Cuba and Mexico. Shaler now was

[2] R. F. Nichols, "William Shaler, New England Apostle of Rational Liberty," *New England Quarterly*, IX (1936), 71–96, describes his earlier career.

anxious for another assignment to Spanish America, where he might further aid the cause of liberty, but his superiors saw in him potentialities for the African post. Madison invited him to undertake this peace mission and then to settle in Algiers as Consul General for all the Barbary states. To this Shaler acceded, and prepared to demand respect for American power from behind the guns of a fleet. He entered upon his new assignment with great enthusiasm. To him it was "an employment very distinguished in itself, surrounded with all 'the pomp and glorious circumstance of war'; and in many respects more agreeable than anything at this time in the gift of the government." It was his hope that the United States would "have a controlling aim in the general affairs of the civilized world" before he died.[3]

Squadrons were organized under two great captains, Stephen Decatur and William Bainbridge. It was with the former that Shaler sailed on the *Guerrière* on May 20, 1815. The commissioners were instructed to make an honorable peace and a treaty which would free the prisoners and relieve the United States from further tribute. However, the United States was to give voluntarily as much money as either Britain or France agreed to continue. While there was to be no stipulated ransom paid for the prisoners, a private gratuity might be presented afterwards. The commission was provided with $30,000 for the expense of the negotiation, and among the presents they were to take was a beautiful sabre for the Dey, which had been secured in London at a cost of $5,000.

On the long voyage of nearly a month Shaler was busy making plans. Desiring to secure publicity in Europe for the fleet's display of American strength, he wrote a series of letters to diplomats and agents of his acquaintance. He asked them to see that the European press printed accounts of the expedition and its full naval strength, so that the powers might be impressed by the rapidity of American recovery from the War of 1812. Not until after the fleet had sailed from Gibraltar in mid-June did it see action.

Shortly after leaving this haven the squadron encountered an Algerine frigate of forty-six guns which the *Guerrière* immediately engaged. The battle lasted a brief twenty minutes, during which not an Algerine shot struck the American ship. To Shaler it "resembled a

[3] Shaler to Jonathan Russell, Jan. 7 and June 14, 1815.

sham fight more than anything else." A few days later a brig of twenty-two guns was captured under circumstances that were later to cause much trouble. These prizes were taken into the Spanish port of Carthagena where it was learned that the grand admiral of Algiers had been killed in the battle. Since they also learned that the Algerine fleet was away from the city, they realized that the opportune time to present their demands was at hand. The fleet sailed immediately, reaching its destination on June 28, while the Algerines were still uncertain as to the fate of their ships. Under these auspicious circumstances Decatur and Shaler prepared to negotiate.

Since Tobias Lear, Shaler's predecessor, had found the Swedish Consul, Johann Norderling, most helpful, Monroe had instructed the commission to work through him. When the Swedish ensign and a white flag were hoisted on the *Guerrière*, Norderling and the Algerine captain of the port came on board. The latter was dumfounded to learn of the capture of the war vessels and immediately asked for a truce while negotiations were pending, for he feared that the remainder of the Algerine fleet might return at any time and be captured by the American expedition. Decatur and Shaler not only refused the truce, but also a request that the negotiations be conducted on shore—the treaty was to be made aboard the *Guerrière*.

These demands were transmitted to the Dey, who, having no option in the matter, consented, and the next day his representative appeared on board the flagship. Captain Decatur and Shaler presented a draft treaty which they demanded should be signed immediately. This treaty, as Monroe had instructed, contained no references to tribute nor to presents; such payments the American Commissioners declared would never again be formally agreed to by the United States. But, they added, the United States was a magnanimous and generous nation and would give presents on occasion. The Algerine representative made various attempts to bargain, but received only one concession. As the war vessels just captured by Decatur were in poor condition and would require a large expenditure to fit them for a voyage to America, the commissioners agreed to return them, although such a stipulation was not included in the treaty. Finally, the emissary of the Dey was ordered to take the treaty ashore and to bring it back signed. Until this was done there would be no truce, and the Algerine fleet might sail into the trap at

any moment. Despite the fact that the distance to shore was five miles, the treaty was signed and returned in three hours—none too soon, as it happened, for immediately thereafter one of the Algerine vessels hove in sight.

By July 4 the formalities had been completed, and Shaler went ashore, where he was introduced to the Dey, to whom he presented the ceremonial sword. He also dispersed some $17,000 among myriad officials, including the Dey's barber and two cooks. Thus Shaler entered upon the duties of his new position as Consul General to the Barbary states, with general oversight of the activities and expenditures of the American consuls at Tripoli, Tunis and Morocco.[4]

Shaler found his new post a strange, unreal sort of place. Algiers was impressive, unlike anything most Americans knew. The city itself was located on a semicircular bay twelve to fifteen miles wide, rising from the sea and stretching out on the sides of a steep amphitheatre. It was a walled city, shaped like a topsail, compactly filled with 50,000 people living in square, whitewashed houses. Its narrow streets were steep, seldom wide enough to permit carts to pass, all seeming to lead to the fortress or Casauba which dominated the city. The houses were flat with roofs protected by parapets. There were no windows on the street, and the long and narrow rooms were built around interior courts. The metropolis was heavily guarded, fortified with a thousand pieces of heavy cannon, and the gates of the city were closed each night.

Shaler in time rented one of these square houses from the heirs of a murdered Dey for $250 a year. Two sides of his house looked out over the sea and had a terrace from which he might enjoy the chance sight of an American ship entering the harbor. He could not, however, fly

[4] The complicated and somewhat puzzling story of Shaler's early negotiations is found in Shaler, *Sketches of Algiers*, 125–128, Appendix C; *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, IV, 4–7; Allen, 281–284; Irwin, 176–182; Paullen, 111–116; Monroe to Shaler, Apr. 10 and May 12, 1815, Instructions, U. S. Ministers, VII, 393, 406; Shaler to Monroe, Apr. 29, July 5 and 28, Sept. 25 and 27, 1815, Algiers, Dispatches, IX, State Dept. Archives; Decatur and Shaler to Monroe, July 4, 1815, Mediterranean Negotiations, State Dept. Archives; Decatur to Monroe, July 7 and Aug. 31, 1815, *ibid.*; Bainbridge to Monroe, Sept. 5 and Nov. 15, 1815, *ibid.*; Decatur to Monroe, Feb. 9, 1816, *ibid.*; Decatur, June 19, July 5, 25, 26 and 31, Nov. 12, 1815, Captains' Letters (1815), IV, VI, Navy Dept. Archives; Commission, April 25, 1815; S. Pleasonton to Shaler, May 5, 1815; Decatur to Shaler, July 2, 1815; undated memorandum, Norderling to Shaler, July 3, 1815; Gamble to Shaler, July 22, 1815; McCall to Shaler, Aug. 7, 1815; Shaler to Russell, Sept. 26, 1815; Decatur to Shaler, Oct. 7, 1815; Norderling to Shaler, Oct. 3, 1816.

his flag from his house; it was a violation of Moslem religious custom to permit a foreign banner in the city. As it was necessary to display a flag as a sign of peace to assure incoming vessels that the harbor was safe to enter, Shaler, like the other consuls, hired a garden outside the city where he could fly the Stars and Stripes, protected by a soldier whom he had engaged.

His household was small, for he was a confirmed bachelor—though one with a roving eye. He had brought with him his nephew and namesake, William Shaler, and during the early years of his stay, William Buell, a young man in ill health, served as his secretary. As was customary, he employed a native factotum or dragoman, Baptiste Jolí, and various other servants. It was necessary that he constantly distribute largesse. Whenever he landed or boarded a boat, he was saluted with five guns, for which he had to pay $40. Whenever American vessels arrived in the harbor and remained more than three days, a present of bullocks, poultry, bread, fruits and vegetables was sent on board, for which the Consul had to pay $14. Life was made up of paying for presents. However, his salary of $4,000 was ample to support a style of luxury which he described as "splendid and elegant, but entirely unencumbered with fastidious and fatiguing forms." In fact, his social opportunities were limited, because his relationships with the Turkish rulers were confined to official business. He and his fellow consuls were consequently thrown much into each other's company, and they formed a society which Shaler found "most friendly and pleasing." His closest ties were with the Swedish consul and, in later times, with the Danish and the Dutch representatives. Although his relations with the British were to be friendly and fateful, he unfortunately found little reason to like the French.

The government with which he had to deal was a peculiar one. The kingdom of Algiers was a fief of the Turkish Empire and was ruled by a military force of some four thousand Janissaries from Turkey. All administrative posts were held by the officers of this alien force. The Dey or Bashaw was elected from among them by the Divan or Council composed of present and former corps commanders. These elections were ratified by the Turkish Emperor. The Dey appointed his ministers from the Divan, including the Hasnagee (minister of finance and interior), the Aga (war minister), the Vikel Argee (min-

ister of marine and foreign affairs) and two others. The Dey and these ministers were the government and ruled unchecked, except by the fear of revolt among the Janissaries. These revolts were apt to occur at any moment—once, in fact, there were seven during a single day. When Shaler began his consulship, Omar was the Dey, but Shaler was to see several successors within his years of service.

This Turkish government ruled a mixed people. The largest group were the Moors, who were predominant in the cities. There were also Arabs, Biscaries, Mozabis, Kabyles and the Touariks; in Algiers alone there were 5,000 Jews. The Moors themselves were a mixed race of the ancient inhabitants, Mohammedan conquerors, Turks and emigrants from Spain. The Arabs were plainsmen, descendants of the Mohammedan invaders who had swept in from Asia in the seventh century. The Biscaries were related to the Arabs, and all spoke Arabic in some form. The other three groups were probably descended from the original African inhabitants, and spoke a language which was distinct.[5] These people were eventually to be of great interest to Shaler.

While becoming acquainted with the North African people and their customs, Shaler found his diplomatic duties difficult and dangerous. He found himself early "on his own," for Decatur did not remain long, taking his fleet to Tunis and Tripoli. To be sure, Bainbridge arrived not long afterwards, but after displaying his forces to the Dey, he also went on to impress the Tripolitans and Tunisians. These visits concluded the tour of African duty of the fleet, and, according to orders, most of the war vessels returned to America leaving only a frigate and two sloops in the Mediterranean under Captain Shaw. Even before Bainbridge left, however, Shaler discovered that his position was none too secure.

The first trouble arose from the agreement to return the two warships which the squadron had captured on its way to Algiers. This concession had been made at Decatur's insistence and against Shaler's better judgment. Indeed, there had been friction between the two men at every step. Decatur was overbearing, and was inclined to run things without too much deference to his civilian associate, thus earning from Norderling the title "Bashaw Decatur,"

[5] Shaler, *Sketches of Algiers*, 49–51, 53, 71–72, 82; Shaler to Monroe, Nov. 5, 1815, Jan. 10, 1816, Algiers Dispatches, IX.

as he strutted about sporting the Order of the Cincinnati. The captain, although he insisted upon the return of the ships, did not wait to see that transaction consummated. Shaler thought that he should have brought the boats to Algiers before sailing for home. Actually, Decatur did no more than take an Algerine captain to Spain and secure the transfer to him. No sooner had Decatur departed than Spain refused to let the Algerine brig sail.

The difficulty lay in the fact that Decatur's capture of the brig had been irregular. He had pursued it into Spanish waters where it had run on a shoal; it had then been seized in violation of international law. Decatur's excuse was that the brig lay among shoals which he could not blockade, and that she would undoubtedly slip away at high water in the night. Since she was provisioned for a long voyage of depredation, he had decided to stop her. Spain, however, refused to recognize Decatur's claim, as Shaler and the Algerine authorities learned when the frigate returned on July 23 without the brig. The Dey lost little time in making sharp demands upon the American consul, even insisting that if Spain did not surrender the brig, the United States must supply one in its place.

The Consul was in a difficult position. He was far from home and without instructions. In writing to Secretary Monroe of his difficulties, Shaler requested authority to secure aid from Captain Shaw in bringing about a settlement. But there was no way of telling when he might receive a reply; the Consul was almost completely cut off from his home government. There was no mail or dispatch service of any kind, and he had to depend upon the accidental opportunities presented by the visit of a war vessel or the sailing of a captain whom he could trust. Such procedure was irregular and uncertain, for even American naval officers were careless about forwarding his dispatches and his letters often lay for long periods at various ports, while waiting for ships bound to America.

Shaler was further hampered by financial difficulties. Word of this dilemma reached the Dey's ears, making him disdainful of American resources. Shaw was short of money with which to supply his fleet, and this curtailed his cruising range. On the other hand Shaler, Decatur, and Bainbridge had been entrusted with $30,000 deposited with Baring brothers which could be drawn on order of two of the commissioners. Before Decatur left, he and Shaler had drawn half of

this for Shaler's use. He now advanced some of these funds for Shaw's needs, but when this expedient became known, the Algerines became contemptuous of American poverty. The Dey came to enjoy the idea that the American demonstration of the previous year was a feverish and unusual burst of strength which could not be maintained by a weak, poverty-stricken, and very distant power.

Under these circumstances, the Consul General found it extremely difficult to establish the respect and maintain the prestige which he felt was due his government. As the United States did not pay tribute and as he was not in business and had no favors to dispense, it was not easy for Shaler to create influence. He was determined, however, and overlooked no opportunity to assert his rights. When he found that Turkish soldiers were taking fruits, flowers, and vegetables from his garden outside the city walls, he made the strongest efforts to redress this wrong. After several fruitless protests, he declared to the Dey that he would consider such pilfering a national insult; this threat brought results.

Furthermore, Shaler was determined to forestall any retaliatory raids upon American commerce while the Algerine rage over the loss of the brig was hot. The Consul boldly threatened the Dey with naval might if any harm came to American shipping. He declared that Algerine vessels must bear an American passport or else be in danger of seizure by the American navy. These passports were issued to the native shipmasters for each voyage, a measure by which Shaler sought to impress upon the Algerines that any interference with American vessels would cancel his protection and leave them to the mercies of the American navy. He was particularly insistent upon enforcing respect, because he had discovered that the Algerines often brought in vessels and then let them go, just to show their power. Even the British, Shaler believed, tolerated this practice. But not he. He told the Minister of Marine that any such treatment of American merchantmen would mean reprisals upon the Algerine navy. His attitude in those early days of his mission was belligerent. As he wrote Shaw, "We must fix upon something as near to what is just as we can and browbeat them into its acceptance. Indeed the only way to deal with these people is to treat them as you would plantation Negroes."[6]

[6] Shaler to Shaw, Jan. 23, 1816.

The controversy over the brig held by the Spanish came to a partial settlement before Shaler could hear from Monroe and without a call upon Shaw's little fleet. On March 17, 1816, a Spanish flotilla came into port bringing the disputed brig which was to be returned conditionally. In December, a Spanish war vessel had foundered on the Barbary shore; Spain was willing to exchange the Algerine prize for this ship. To this proposal the Dey had to agree, although he felt cheated and suspected that the United States had connived with Spain to rob him.[7]

Within a fortnight after this settlement, another diversion occurred which was to have unfortunate consequences upon American interests. The Algerines had been in the habit, during the confusion of the Napoleonic wars, of preying upon the coasts of the Italian states, kidnaping the inhabitants for slaves. Great Britain, on the warpath against the slave trade, had decided to put a stop to this practice. On March 31, 1816, Lord Exmouth arrived with a large British fleet, and soon flattered and persuaded the Dey into making treaties of peace by which the captives were restored to Sardinia and Naples.

During these negotiations, the American squadron put into Algiers on April 3. Shaw had received the Decatur-Shaler treaty of the previous year, duly ratified by the United States Senate, and he and Shaler forthwith proceeded to present it to the Dey for an exchange of ratifications. Unfortunately, however, Omar was feeling particularly elated because of Exmouth's visit. He had interpreted it as a compliment to his power and it had given him a new sense of strength. Consequently, when the two Americans appeared before him, he immediately demanded the President's views regarding the Spanish prize. Shaler explained that the ship bearing the treaty had left the United States before the Consul's request for instruction had been received. The Dey was then brought to discuss the treaty, and produced his copy which was not the same as that just ratified. Evidently, the Algerine minister had inserted some provision relating to indemnity for sailors captured in the war vessels. "This interview terminated by mutual professions of friendly disposition but without the confidence necessary to give any value to such professions." Next day the treaty was returned to Shaler unratified.

[7] Shaler to Monroe, Apr. 25, 1816, Algiers Dispatches, IX.

"The reasons which they gave for it were probably true," Shaler reported, for in all likelihood no such formality had ever been practiced before. "The treaties existing between foreign powers and Algiers," as far as Shaler knew, were nothing more than capitulations. The return of the treaty caused the naval commanders to talk of war; Captain Oliver Hazard Perry read Roman history to learn how Rome had fought against Carthage. Shaler, however, was opposed to force despite renewed insults from the Algerines which, he declared, forced him to retire to shipboard. He was therefore relieved when this move proved effective. After some delay, the Swedish Consul Norderling reported that the Dey was much surprised that Shaler had left. He wanted only peace. Negotiations began again, and it was finally agreed that the Dey would write to President Madison directly, in the meantime observing the treaty until a reply was received. This letter was duly prepared in Turkish and addressed to his Majesty, the Emperor of America. In it the Dey declared that as the ships had not been returned, the treaty was broken and of no effect. He now proposed that they go back to the original treaty, under which the United States paid tribute. He also requested that Shaler be removed as soon as possible. The Consul suspected that these proposals were made because the Dey did not believe the United States could muster sufficient force to support its demands. At any rate, there was to be further delay. Shaw and his fleet sailed off, the Commander having sent Shaler a cask of old whiskey as a farewell gift.

There now ensued another long period of waiting during the slow transport of dispatches. The British, however, varied its monotony by providing an exciting summer. In May, Exmouth returned with new demands that excited the wrath of Omar, and insults were exchanged. The British Consul was arrested, and his wife and children unceremoniously hustled about. The Dey also captured British subjects engaged in coral fishing under his license, and in the melee some of them were killed. For the time being, this quarrel was smoothed over by presents and meaningless exchanges.

Shaler was naturally a close observer of the episode and, in particular, of the plight of the British Consul, Hugh McDonnell. There were two reasons for deep interest on his part. First, he liked McDonnell and his family. The Consul he recognized as a "strong John Bull

but an honorable man," with whom he lived "upon most friendly terms." More particularly, however, Shaler was interested in protecting the dignity of the consular position. He was disappointed in the outcome, which only increased his contempt for British policy. It was his belief that the British had an interest in maintaining the Barbary pirates who conveniently kept down the profits of commercial rivals in the Mediterranean.

Great Britain, however, did not intend to overlook the Dey's insults. Making common cause with the Dutch, whom Shaler had expected to strike before this, the British ministry sent a joint fleet under Exmouth to inflict punishment. Word of the approach of this armament came from France in July, and when a British war vessel appeared, to take away the British Consul on August 3, the Algerines knew what was coming. They sought to prevent the departure of McDonnell, whose wife and daughter were smuggled on board disguised as midshipmen. When this was discovered, the Consul and some British officers and sailors on shore were arrested. Such was the state of affairs when Lord Exmouth's fleet arrived on August 27, 1816. Exmouth demanded the release of the hostages, and when it was refused opened up a bombardment. The fleet threw in 30,000 shots and 300 shells. Hardly a house went undamaged, and the Algerine navy and merchant marine were severely crippled. By the next afternoon the Algerines surrendered.

Shaler had been a witness to all this. During the battle many Turks, probably skulkers, constantly passed in and out of his house, breathing vengeance particularly upon the British Consul upon whom they blamed their woes. From his roof he could see hundreds running along the seashore under his very walls, many of them slaughtered by the guns of the fleet. By night the upper part of his house was in ruins, for five shells had exploded within its walls. As night fell, he learned that the British Consul had been thrown in a dungeon, loaded with chains. By eleven, the general firing had all but ceased—only an occasional gun was to be heard. At midnight he viewed from his terrace a "peculiarly grand and sublime spectacle." Everything in the port seemed aflame, and two burning vessels were drifting out to sea. At this moment a terrific thunderstorm came up, and in the vivid flashes of lightning he could see the fleet retiring offshore before a land breeze. Occasionally the scream of a shell or the

flash of a rocket vied with the thunder and lightning. But the battle was spent. When the British landed in the morning, they found Shaler at breakfast on his terrace, served by frightened servants whom he compelled to wait upon him. The British Consul was rescued from his dungeon and a peace was dictated by Exmouth. The Dey was forced to agree to the abolition of Christian slavery, to restore captives, and to pay back the ransom money received under the recent treaties with Naples and Sardinia.

While Algiers was recovering from this humiliation, Shaler awaited the arrival of his instructions and the answer to the Dey's letter. At length in October, Commodore Isaac Chauncey appeared with a fleet of six vessels. His appearance spread consternation among the Algerines, for so wrecked were their defenses that they could expect nothing but a second chastisement. As Chauncey had no dispatches, Shaler decided to sail with him to Gibraltar to await their arrival. After reassuring the Dey that peace alone was desired and that no punishment would be attempted without due warning, he boarded the flagship and sailed off. On finding no word awaiting him at Gibraltar, Shaler visited Morocco, which was under his general supervision. After concluding a satisfactory inspection there he returned to Gibraltar, still seeking his instructions.

The long period of uncertainty finally came to an end when the *Spark* reached Gibraltar with the long-awaited dispatches. Shaler and Chauncey learned that they had been appointed commissioners to settle all difficulties. The Dey was to be told that the United States had been working to persuade the Spanish to surrender the ships. The United States now demanded that the Algerine government sign a new treaty, only slightly modified. In the preceding document it had been provided that United States prizes might be sold in Algiers, a privilege accorded to no other power. Monroe suspected that this might have aroused British opposition and in order to avoid further hindrance, he was willing to drop the point.

The fleet set sail shortly, and on December 7 arrived off Algiers with all plans made and a formal note ready to be delivered to the Dey. Chauncey and Shaler had originally planned to demand that the negotiations be conducted on the quarter-deck of the *Washington*, but the weather was bad and the fleet could not safely run in and

anchor under the guns of the fortifications. In addition, the fleet was short of provisions. It was therefore decided that Shaler should go ashore with the acting chaplain of the *Java*, Charles O. Handy, who was to serve as secretary of the mission. Chauncey in the meantime was to go to Port Mahon, the American fleet rendezvous on the island of Minorca, for provisions. So tempestuous was the weather, however, that Shaler and Handy were prevented from landing for a week; on one wild night the *Spark*, on which they were quartered, nearly foundered in the bay. Had the ship been anchored, it and all on board probably would have been lost.

When Shaler finally got ashore on December 15, he was met by further delays. The Dey, first of all, made much of Chauncey's absence. He then brought up the old question of the ships and the Spaniards, which he claimed the President had not satisfactorily dealt with in his reply. He even called all the foreign consuls to be present while he raised this issue with Shaler. Shaler, however, refused to discuss the matter further, as the President had spoken officially and finally. Then the Dey made another play for delay. He said it had taken eight months and a day, which he counted off on his fingers, for the President to answer him; he would ask the same privilege of time. Because he had just been through a war, he was not ready to make a treaty. If the United States compelled him to sign, he would break it at the first opportunity. He had entered into one treaty with the United States in good faith, but the complexion of things had changed and difficulties had arisen between the two nations. Shaler then said he would have to consult Chauncey who would return in a few days, a demand which the Dey thought unnecessary since Shaler had just certified that he was competent to conduct the negotiation. Shaler demanded ten days and, in effect, threatened war, which finally brought the Dey to agreement.

The following day, however, it became apparent that the monarch believed that Shaler had agreed to the eight-months-and-a-day delay. This Shaler stoutly denied, and concluded not to wait for Chauncey but to inform the Dey that no such delay could be tolerated. There must be an immediate treaty. Finally, the Dey came to terms, but as the next day, Friday, was his Sabbath, Saturday the Sabbath of his interpreter, the Jew Bensamon, and Sunday Shaler's Sabbath, the treaty could not be signed until Monday. During these

negotiations the Dey comported himself with dignity and determination, but with no "hasty ebullitions of temper."

Over the week end Chauncey returned, and Shaler urged him to stay until these protracted negotiations were finished. He did remain a few days, but the return of the fierce storms made it necessary for him once again to take the fleet back to Mahon, leaving only the long-suffering *Spark* in the tempestuous bay. These same tempests delayed the signing which had been set for the 23rd, for a terrible storm on the evening of the 22nd kept the Dey busy supervising the work of saving water-front property. Once again the *Spark* nearly foundered. This strenuous experience gave the Dey an excuse to go to the country for a rest, and it was not until Christmas that the formalities were concluded. That same day Handy boarded the *Spark* to carry the document to Chauncey at Port Mahon, much to the relief of the captain and the crew of that sore-buffeted vessel.

This time the task was finished. The second treaty was to be the law between the two powers for years to come. It had been achieved by two naval expeditions and the havoc wrought by the British bombardment. Despite this successful outcome, however, Shaler was depressed. He was tired of the mission and anxious to return home. Just before Exmouth's bombardment he had written, "In the course of years, this dreary place would hardly furnish a single event worth retailing, unless the roasting of Jews and the strangling of Turks be regarded as such." Also there seemed no future in the post, and so far he had been unable to save anything from his salary. He was a poor man, and, since his brother Nathaniel had perished in the War of 1812, his family was dependent upon him. Worst of all, he had lost his feeling of superiority: "I am not qualified for any employment of a higher grade than this is, therefore, this must be the extreme limit of my diplomatic honors." In order to persuade Monroe to release him, he may have been oversanguine about the durability of peace. Wishful thinking may have convinced him that he might advise the State Department, despite Captain Oliver Hazard Perry's dissent, that the fleet might safely be withdrawn. This was counsel for which he was later to repent.[8]

[8] Shaler, *Sketches of Algiers*, 128–139, 145–153; Allen, 294–302; Irwin, 182–186; Paullin, 116–121; Shaler to Monroe, Sept. 3 and Sept. 25, Oct. 30, Dec. 23, 1816; Chauncey to Monroe, Dec. 28, 1816, Jan. 1, 1817, Mediterranean Negotiations; Shaler to Monroe, Apr. 8, 15, and

With the task at Algiers accomplished, Shaler next turned his attention to his other consular charges, Tunis and Tripoli. Since it would be some time before he could receive an answer to his request for a recall, he planned to visit Thomas D. Anderson and Richard B. Jones, the consuls stationed in these kingdoms. In Tunis, particularly, his presence was needed because of trouble that had arisen over injuries to an American citizen. He set forth determined on a show of authority, "well satisfied that any relaxation of a just and severe discipline in support of our new system [no tribute] towards the Barbary powers will inevitably tend to the injury of our credit and of our interests." He left Algiers on May 8, 1817, leaving his secretary, William Buell, in charge of his office.

At Gibraltar Shaler was delayed by fever, and by a recuperative trip to Italy. His visits to Naples, Messina, and Syracuse caused him to ponder the message "of the crumbling monuments of the greatness of nations whose existence has passed away but the rays of whose glory still shine upon us." It was not until September that he finally reached Tunis and Tripoli in the company of Chauncey who had returned to the Mediterranean. As a result of his tour, Shaler was able to adjust several problems of varying seriousness, including the difficult question of whether the American consul should kiss the foot of the Bey of Tunis. A treaty with that monarch was also concluded. Since Shaler's investigation showed him that there was no natural dependence of the other Barbary consulates upon that of Algiers, he recommended that each be made independent of the Consul General, a recommendation later accepted by Monroe.

Bad news prevented Shaler's return to Algiers. The plague had broken out, and Death stalked the streets. This terrifying Figure was accompanied by revolution and the overthrow of the Dey. The misfortunes of the Algerine monarch had been too much for him: he had been beaten by the British, he had been forced to sign a second

17, May 12 and 30, June 29, July 25 (2 letters), Oct. 20, Nov. 13, Dec. 30, 1816, Algiers Dispatches, IX; Shaler to Shaw, Apr. 8, 1816; Norderling to Shaler, Apr. 9 (2 letters), 10, 1816; Perry to Shaler, Apr. 10, 1816; Shaler to the Dey, Apr. 11, 1816; Perry to Shaler, Apr. 15, 1816; John Graham to Shaler, Aug. 24, 1816; Bernard Henry to Shaler, Sept. 20, 1816; Chauncey to Sec. of the Navy, Dec. 27, 1816; Shaler to D. Ankarloo, Dec. 7, 1816; Charles O. Handy's Journal of the Mission, Nov. 8–Jan. 14, 1817; Chauncey to Monroe, Jan. 1, 1817; Perry to Shaler, Jan. 22, 1817; Chauncey to Sec. of the Navy, Oct. 15 and 29, Dec. 27, 1816, Captains' Letters (1816), IV.

treaty with the United States, and now the plague was scourging his subjects. It was evident that his fanatical people saw him as the object of divine displeasure, so they destroyed him—"the only man," Shaler believed, "amongst them who appeared capable of sustaining their rickety fortunes." A religious fanatic, Ali Khodgia, described by Shaler as an "old imbecile shopkeeper," organized the Turkish Janissaries against Omar, and having killed him with their aid, shut himself up in the fortress and began a high-handed rule.

The first task of the new Dey was to rid himself of the Turkish soldiers and to make his government hereditary. With the assistance of native tribesmen he succeeded in slaughtering a number of the Janissaries. He also sought to make his rule a social success, and gathered about him a harem of beautiful girls. The fact that most of these girls were Jewesses, some of whom enjoyed British citizenship, suggested the desirability of religious zeal for proselyting, and the new Dey began with his Jewish interpreter, whom he insisted should turn Mohammedan. The linguist refused, despite offers of promotion, claiming the protection of British citizenship. Such defiance infuriated the Dey. Immediately he had a fire kindled—he would burn Bensamon at the stake. The sight of the flames caused the interpreter to swoon; when he revived, he found that his head had been shaved and that he was dressed as a Musselman. When the British Consul protested this action, the Dey opened a door and showed the interpreter a number of recently severed heads; he threatened to add his to the collection if he did not acquiesce.[9]

These reports confirmed Shaler in his determination not to return to Algiers until the plague subsided, and he settled himself at Marseilles to direct at long distance the performance of consular duties by Buell. A problem loomed most formidably. The usual semi-piratical fleets which put out from Algiers might well carry the plague infection with them, and woe betide any ship which fell in with them. Buell reported that the Dey claimed to be friendly, but

[9] Shaler to Monroe, Mar. 2 and 5, May 17, 1817; Shaler to Adams, Sept. 25 (2 letters), Oct. 10 and 17, Nov. 25, Dec. 10, 1817; Chauncey to Shaler, Aug. 16, 1817; Shaler to Graham, Oct. 16, 1817; Shaler to Chauncey, Nov. 20, 1817; Gallatin to Shaler, Dec. 4, 1817; Shaler to Russell, Dec. 12, 1817; Thomas Appleton to Shaler, Jan. 7–9, 1818; Shaler to Russell, June 25, 1818; Shaler to Norderling, Dec. 8, 1818; Shaler to ————, July 20, 1819; Shaler to Hughes, Mar. 25, 1820; Stewart to Shaler, Sept. 27, 1819; Shaler, *Sketches of Algiers*, 153.

Shaler was suspicious, partly because Anderson wrote from Tunis that the Bey had repudiated the September treaty with the United States and had made an alliance with Algiers. That cruisers were being armed foretold piratical forays.

Dr. George Eustis, American Minister to the Hague, was wintering in Marseilles for his health, and both diplomats worked on the problem. After full discussion Shaler sent Buell his instructions. He was to tell the Dey that the President of the United States had been informed that Algerines would not molest American ships. Buell was also to tell him that, because of the plague, it was necessary that the Dey "make an explicit declaration that in future all commanders of Algiers cruisers shall receive his positive instructions not to board any American merchant vessel during the existence of pestilence in his dominions on any pretext whatsoever." He was further to impress upon the Dey that such aggression would be considered "an act of hostility of the most aggravated nature."

Buell reported in due time that he had given the Dey Shaler's demands, to which the Dey had replied that the flag of the United States was often flown by others and that he must board some ships in order to prevent this deception. Could not bona fide American ships display a signal? Shaler instructed Buell to tell him the United States would stoop to no signals and would hold the Dey accountable for any violations.

While these policies were being worked out, Shaler left Marseilles for Sicily in March, 1818, aboard the U.S.S. *Franklin*, the flagship of the newly arrived Commodore Stewart. From there he proceeded to Tunis and then to Algiers, where he found the plague still raging. He did not go ashore at Algiers, but learned that the bloodthirsty Dey had died of the plague, and that a new Dey had been legally elected by the Divan. Power was once again in the hands of the Turks. The new regime seemed more inclined to respect American rights, and the Algerine fleet was kept at home that spring. From Algiers Shaler proceeded to Leghorn, the new rendezvous of the fleet, where he planned to settle down with the satisfied feeling that "it has been my lot in Barbary, at least in Algiers, to substitute a system of political relations upon a footing of independence and economy, in the place of one that was tributary and of unbounded extravagance." For all

his satisfaction, however, he was still hoping to be relieved and allowed to go home.[10]

When the cessation of the plague finally permitted Shaler to return to Algiers in the fall of 1819, his responsibilities were relaxed. He had accomplished his mission, insofar as he had made the name of the United States respected on the shores of Barbary. He sought from time to time to be transferred to other duties, but the State Department kept him at his post—none knew better than he how to handle this peculiar people. Save for a leave during the winter of 1821–1822, which he spent in the United States,[11] Shaler was to remain on the shores of the Mediterranean for nine more years. He did not complain too much. Not only was great consideration shown him, both public and private, but some of his driving ambition was flagging with the advance of years. Furthermore, he could now save $1,000 or more a year, and was prospering. He even admitted he was beginning to set a higher value upon the luxuries of fine climate, abundance, and leisure. It was up to the State Department, he felt, to dispose of him. "I am growing fat, I am becoming a water drinker. I have become a moderate reasonable politician but what will surprise you the most I am a poet, and as far as I have gone, no very mean one."[12]

Shaler had really grown quite contented in Algiers, which had become known to Americans in the Mediterranean as the "Old Consul's Bay." Here he kept watch, and grew in his understanding of its strange people. As he wrote Bainbridge: "The Algerines, though a sensible people, pay no attention to abstract arguments; they reason only upon experience and palpable facts. . . . These Barbarians are generally cunning and cowardly but capable of an activity that is really admirable, it is my opinion that they can equip a fleet for sea with more dispatch than any other people. . . . Morocco is null as a marauding power, and in Tunis and Tripoli we have a certain guaranty for good conduct in the hereditary form of these govern-

10 Shaler to Adams, Mar. 18, 1818; Buell to Shaler, Feb. 16, Apr. 12, 1818; Shaler to Adams, Apr. 15, May 10, Sept. 12, Dec. 12, 1818, July 5, 1819; Shaler to President Monroe, Mar. 10, 1819, Algiers Dispatches, X; Monroe to Shaler, July 18, 1820, Instructions to Consuls, State Dept. Archives.

11 Shaler to Adams, Oct. 29, 1820; Jan. 25, July 15, Aug. 27, 1821, Algiers Dispatches, X; Shaler to Johnston, Mar. 1, 7, and 26, May 2, 1822, Johnston MSS., HSP.

12 Shaler to Hughes, Mar. 25 and Oct. 3, 1820; Ankarloo to Shaler, Mar. 19, 1820; Hughes to Shaler, July 11 and 23, 1820; Shaler to Adams, Mar. 25, 1820, Algiers Dispatches, X.

ments. But the Government of Algiers is always that of a predominant faction liable every day to be overturned, the present only is important to them, as they openly prefer to rely alone upon pyracy for existence being without agriculture, commerce or arts . . . the standing that we have acquired here is irksome and vexatious to all the governments of Europe, to some because they wish not, and to others because they cannot follow our example. . . . I have endeavored to make them comprehend that we have nothing in view beyond the maintenance of the positive security of our flag and the respect which is due our character in Barbary."[13]

These years, however, were not without incident. Twice Shaler was called upon to participate in delicate negotiations. In 1822, when he returned from his American sojourn, he found his position in danger. He had left his nephew and namesake, William Shaler, in charge of the consulate when he departed for home, but the youth was irresponsible and prone to escapades. From Commodore Jones his uncle received an unpleasant report. William, it seems, had gone into the country one day on a hunting expedition without "that attendance proper to denote his quality and procure for him the desired security when he quitted the highway," which he had so often been warned to take. He followed an accustomed path and was surprised to be halted by an armed guard. The construction of a canal had recently been undertaken by the Algerine Ministry of War, and a guard had been stationed to keep strangers away from the new work. When young Shaler defied the guard and threatened him with his gun, the young man was tumbled from his horse in the very presence of the war minister himself.

Enraged and humiliated, the young man had tried unsuccessfully to make a diplomatic incident of it; the Dey would not take him seriously. He had already had difficulty with Buell because of the "lightness and irregularity of his conduct," and young Shaler seemed just as irresponsible. The Algerine sovereign sought a meeting of the other consuls to discuss the question. They refused to become involved, and the Dey dropped the matter until the elder Shaler returned. This attitude so aroused William, Jr., that he left the country to await his uncle at Port Mahon. When the Consul first heard the story, he thought the attack might be premeditated. He

[13] Shaler to [Bainbridge], Sept. 5, 1820; Shaler to Stith, Sept. 30, 1819.

soon changed his mind, and sent his nephew home to the United States. Reaching Algiers on November 16, 1822, three months after the incident, he learned that the Dey was inclined to forget the matter. But not Shaler. White men, and particularly citizens of the United States, could not afford to lose face with these natives. Taking a firm stand, Shaler told the Dey "that the outrage which had been offered to the Government of the United States" in the presence of one of his principal ministers "was of a character too serious for me to decide upon inasmuch as it involved peace or war," and he had therefore referred the matter to Washington. He knew that his position was tenuous, but he had to uphold his nephew. Withdrawing to his consulate, Shaler held no further communication with the Dey. This was all he could do, for when he finally heard from John Quincy Adams, he learned that the Secretary considered it only a petty insult for which the youth was in large part responsible, and that it must be noticed no further.[14]

Shaler was, perforce, brought out of his retirement the next year by a new rampage of the Algerine Dey. These were the times of the Greek rebellion against Turkish misrule, and so strong had been the Greek spirit that the Porte had called upon its Barbary vassals for aid. The Dey of Algiers had entered the conflict with some degree of success and had been stimulated thereby to return to piracy. In October, 1823, he decided to begin depredations on European and American commerce and to resume Christian slavery. He believed he could now defy the powers with safety and sought an opportunity to test his strength.

The occasion for this defiance was an outbreak on the Algerian frontier among the Kabyles, an independent group of tribes which had never been controlled by the Turkish rulers of Algeria. In the course of the hostilities a Turkish official had been carried into the mountains as a hostage. The Dey, seeking reprisal, turned upon the consuls of the Powers, because a number of Kabyles were servants in Algiers, particularly in the consular households. Condemning these tribesmen to death, the Dey attempted to arrest them. He made demands upon the various consuls for the surrender of their servants,

[14] Shaler to Adams, Oct. 2, Nov. 2, 15, and 23, 1822, Algiers Dispatches, X; Shaler to Adams, Apr. 15, 1823, *ibid.*, XI; Adams to Shaler, Dec. 9, 1822, Dispatches to Consuls, State Dept. Archives; Jones to Shaler, Sept. 4, 1822; McDonnell to Jones, August 18, 1822; Appleton to Shaler, Sept. 25, 1822; Ankarloo to Shaler, Oct. 26, 1822; Shaler to Russell, Oct. 30, 1822; Shaler to Rush, Dec. 10, 1822.

and most of the consulates complied. McDonnell and Shaler refused. Shaler had two of these young men in his household and had no intention of turning them over to probable death. His house was respected, but that of the British Consul, who was unpopular, was violated and the servants dragged out. McDonnell was anxious that all the consuls join in signing a remonstrance against this action of the Dey. At first Shaler was not willing to comply, because he felt that the other consuls had not co-operated but had weakly surrendered their rights. At length, however, he consented, when he was permitted to draft the remonstrance based upon the general principles of international usage.

During this dispute, the Algerines were preparing for war with Spain. Early in January, 1824, prizes began to be brought into Algiers, their crews quite apparently being enslaved. When the British Consul protested, the Dey declared that the treaty made by Exmouth had expired and that Christian slavery had begun anew. Hardly had this defiance been uttered when a British frigate appeared with orders for the Dey to sign new articles to be added to former treaties. The Algerines were to agree never again to violate a consulate, and to permit the British flag to fly from the consulate in the town. The Dey refused to sign, and on January 29 McDonnell and his family withdrew to the frigate. Although some concessions were made by the Dey, he would not agree to permit the flag to fly in the city of Algiers. The frigate sailed off with the McDonnells, leaving British interests in the charge of Shaler. That day, January 31, the British fired on an Algerine war vessel off Algiers, and the Algerines declared a state of war. Shaler then turned his efforts toward persuading the Dey of the folly of war with England, and even undertook to send a letter from the Dey to the English government through the American minister in London.

On February 22 a British fleet appeared in Algiers under command of Vice-Admiral Sir Harry B. Neale, accompanied by McDonnell. Shaler went aboard the flagship to tender his good offices and to report that the British consulate was undisturbed and that McDonnell's agent was carrying on his affairs. The admiral, in turn, informed Shaler that he was to blockade the port until the Dey signed the additional articles and made amends to the Consul.

After a day of sickness, for Shaler was beginning to suffer from attacks of sick headache which were to occur with increasing fre-

quency, he tried to persuade the Dey to see reason in the affair. This was not easy, for the Dey himself was in a difficult position. It would violate a deep-seated religious prejudice to allow the British flag to fly inside the walls of Algiers. The populace was fanatical about it, and he would raise a storm of protest if he yielded on this point, particularly to McDonnell. The citizens still held the British Consul responsible for Exmouth's bombardment, and the Dey knew that he was dangerous to him as long as he remained. He therefore welcomed this opportunity to refuse to allow McDonnell to return.

Shaler kept up his efforts for a month, encouraged by the desires of most of the Algerine officials to avoid war, but he found the Dey "impractical" and fatalistic. All he gained was the ill will of the potentate. After a month of blockading, the Vice-Admiral pressed for an answer, and at length went ashore on March 28 for an interview in which the Dey again refused to yield. The admiral threatened to leave if McDonnell were not received, but the Dey refused to make any decision until he had heard directly from the British government in answer to his letter. The blockade continued.

After three more months of blockading British patience was exhausted, and by July 11 a large fleet had assembled and made preparation for bombardment. Some skirmishes occurred and occasional shots were fired until the 25th, when an agreement was finally reached. The British retreated from their stand by not pressing the flag privilege and by agreeing, on motives of humanity, not to insist on McDonnell's return for fear of his being killed. The Algerines in their turn signed the articles, again agreed to renounce Christian slavery and to receive a British Proconsul, Danford.

Shaler was disgusted at this outcome because he was attached to McDonnell and his family and thought that the British should have insisted on their return. However, he received Danford into his home and set about advising him on his consular duties. Shaler noted with pride that his own standing with the Algerines had not suffered; he was well satisfied with himself, a fact he did not hide in his dispatches to Washington.[15]

[15] Shaler, *Sketches of Algiers*, 177–244; Shaler to Adams, Oct. 30 and Dec. 12, 1823, Mar. 21 and Oct. 17, 1824, Algiers Dispatches, XI; Shaler to Richard Rush, Jan. 15, Feb. 16 and 28, July 27, 1824; Shaler to McDonnell, Feb. 27, 1824; Shaler to Spencer, May 18, 1824; A. Fitch, Jr., to Shaler, Feb. 27, 1824; Shaler to Wm. Sweetland, Aug. 20, 1824; Shaler to Johnston, Sept. 29, 1824, Johnston MSS.

These later years were not wholly concerned with diplomacy, for Shaler was returning to an old interest. Scholarly pursuits had always attracted him, and he was tempted in the leisure of his consulate to return to this enticing pastime. Just before he had terminated his furlough in 1822, an eminent scholar had sought him out. Peter S. Duponceau, noted Philadelphia lawyer and officer of the American Philosophical Society, had begun a correspondence with Shaler regarding the languages of northern Africa. He was particularly interested in the speech of those tribes descended from the pre-Mohammedan peoples who had flourished before the conquest. No one knew much of the Berber dialects, and Duponceau asked Shaler to gather information regarding them and to supply vocabulary lists. This task appealed to Shaler's scholarly bent and he now went to work on it. In due time, he sent several reports to Duponceau which were discussed in the American Philosophical Society and published by them.

These reports to Duponceau aroused his interest in philology in general. Feeling that he needed more knowledge as background for his Berber studies, he studied Greek and Latin. To his old friend Senator Johnston of Louisiana he wrote: "You doubtless recollect that I stupidly refused to join you in the study of the Latin when I was last in Washington on the pretext of its being too late? Well, I have since become a most devoted classical student, and I have really overcome all the great obstacles in the way of my being rather a good scholar. As I provided myself with elementary books in France I had occasion to remark the excellency of their methods for studying the classical languages. They appear to me superior to ours in simplicity of arrangement and perspicuity of demonstration. My Greek grammar was composed in 1813 by an illustrious professor for the use of the celebrated normal school in France . . . ; it has gone through the 13th edition and is the best synopsis of any language that I have ever seen. It entered into my plan of study to make a complete translation of this grammar and finding as I proceeded that I could do it justice, I have determined to make a fair and correct copy of it in order for publication, if it should be judged sufficiently useful by my literary friends at home." Unfortunately, he was to learn that someone else had published such a translation in Baltimore.

In this work he was aided by the arrival of a competent secretary, William B. Hodgson, who joined him in the spring of 1826. Shaler had urged for some time that he be sent a scholarly assistant, part of whose duties would be the investigation of North African dialects. At one time he had even thought of bringing over a child who would be brought up to speak them, and had written to Duponceau about it. But none could be found. He had then considered having one of his younger nephews try it. Now, however, a young man of scholarly tastes had been selected, and undertook these philosophical studies upon his arrival. Shaler found him apt, and when the Consul left Barbary in 1828, Hodgson continued reporting to the American Philosophical Society on North African languages. These two diplomats had thus extended the bounds of knowledge as well as the interests of the young republic.[16]

Shaler's scholarly interests were not circumscribed by the bounds of philology. He aspired to write for a wider audience. From the very beginning of his sojourn in Barbary, he had been curious about these people and their customs. He had collected a mass of information regarding Algiers, its people, their environment and their behavior. These data he worked into a narrative which had a double purpose—to give information and to promote an idea.

His experiences had demonstrated the necessity of destroying these pirates. The Powers, or one of them at least, should wipe out this nest which threatened Christian interests. Shaler was anxious to do what he could to spread the idea of the conquest of Barbary. He had viewed the terrain of Algiers on various excursions into the country, and he had studied the military plans used by former conquerors. He reviewed his findings at length in his book. He explained that previous expeditions had made their attacks the hard way, by landing in the bay east of Algiers. Instead, the attacking

[16] Duponceau to Shaler, June 6, 8, 12, 14 and 16, 1822; Shaler to Duponceau, June 7, 11, 13, 15 and 17, 1822, Jan. 20, Feb. 18, Apr. 20, May 15, July 10, 1823, Aug. 24, 1824, Jan. 10, Apr. 2, Sept. 3, 1825, July 10, 1826, Feb. 15, 1828; Duponceau to Shaler, Sept. 1, 1823, Nov. 29, 1824, Mar. 31 and May 11, 1825, Aug. 17 and Dec. 17, 1826; notice of election to American Philosophical Society, Oct. 20, 1826; Shaler to G. W. Ewing, Feb., 1826, July 29, 1829; Shaler to Clay, June 1 and Dec. 1, 1826, Jan. 20, 1827; Shaler to Johnston, May 20, 1826, Johnston MSS; Shaler to Van Buren, May 20, 1829, Algiers Dispatches, XI; *Early Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 520, 521, 541, 558, 581–583; *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, n. s., II, 438–465, IV, 1–48.

force should approach from the west. Ten miles to the west of the city was the bay of Sidi Ferrajh. The road from this bay to Algiers could be covered on horseback in three hours, and there were copious springs of water along the way. The only fortification in that direction was a "castle" about a mile from the Casauba in Algiers, so situated that it might be commanded from heights. Shaler believed this could be "scaled and breached by a mine in a short time." There batteries might be planted on heights commanding the citadel itself. While this was being accomplished, the fleet which had brought the land force would sail to Algiers and enter the bay stripped for action.[17]

Shaler supplied with these general strategical directions minute information regarding the fortifications and the strength of the garrisons. From these details he turned to general policy. He was still thinking in terms of a plan he had written in 1812, in which he would divide much of the world between the United States and England. He now argued at length that "it would be for the general interests of the world that Great Britain should determine to occupy and colonize this portion of Africa."[18]

Jared Sparks had recently become editor of the *North American Review* and had asked Shaler for some articles on Algiers. Shaler now looked to him to arrange for the publication of his book. He was anxious that it should appear in print, for he had received no commendation from the State Department for his work as peacemaker during the recent British expedition. He therefore hastily added an account of his part in the difficulties which were brought to a climax in November, 1824. Despite his interest in British advance in North Africa, or perhaps because of it, he belabored the conduct of that armada. He emphasized his own resourcefulness and the "tameness" of the "preposterous expedition" which had ended in realizing the fable of the mountain in labor, "despite the fact that it numbered twenty-three sail" sufficient to "raze Algiers to its foundations." This manuscript he sent off in March, 1825.[19]

17 Shaler, *Sketches of Algiers*, 49–52.

18 *Ibid.*, 167–176.

19 Sparks to Shaler, Feb. 9, 1824; Shaler to Sparks, June 1, 1824; Shaler to Jones, Dec. 10, 1824; John Gray to Shaler, Dec. 10, 1825; G. Folsom to Shaler, Mar. 24, 1826; James Madison to Shaler, Apr. 20, 1826; Shaler to Sparks, July 10 and Aug. 22, 1826; Shaler to Thos. Appleton, Sept. 4, 1826.

Shaler's *Sketches of Algiers* appeared during the next year and attracted a certain amount of attention. The commander of the British expedition, Sir Harry Neale, took quick umbrage, and immediately set about to answer it. In a pamphlet with the formidable title "A Reply to Erroneous Statements and Unwarranted Reflections in a Publication entitled 'Sketches of Algiers' by William Shaler," the British Admiral stated flatly that all Shaler had done was to come aboard his ship upon the arrival of the fleet and communicate the Dey's pacific intentions. He contradicted a number of Shaler's claims, and charged that he could have gotten most of his information only from Bensamon, whose understanding of English was imperfect. On the whole, the criticisms were not serious, and we are led to believe that Neale was more exasperated at Shaler's general contempt for the British, or as Neale put it "the illiberality of sentiment pervading the censure which I have been called upon to repel." Shaler's reply to this has not survived—Sparks would not accept it for publication.[20] It is to be noted that the British made no effort to follow Shaler's suggestions by invading North Africa in the region of Algiers.

Shaler and his book were to have more influence with the French. He spent the summer of 1825, before his work appeared, renewing old acquaintances in France. There he suggested to such influential men as Hyde de Neuville that French enterprise should encompass Algiers.[21] No action was taken immediately, but his words were not forgotten, and when his book appeared it had some French circulation and was printed in a French translation.[22] Events were shaping the policy of France along the lines Shaler had suggested.

Trouble between Algiers and the French was brewing. Shaler had become ill of gallstones and dropsy in the fall of 1826, and by spring

[20] Sir Harry Burrard Neale, *A reply to erroneous statements and unwarranted reflections in a publication entitled: "Sketches of Algiers" by W. Shaler, American Consul General for that Regency* (Malta, 1826). Nicholson to Shaler, Jan. 12, 1827, encloses a copy; Sparks to Shaler, Dec. 1, 1827.

[21] Shaler to Henry Clay, Apr. 12 and June 4, 1825, Feb. 15, 1826, Algiers Dispatches, XI; John Gray to Shaler, Dec. 10, 1825; Shaler to Johnston, Aug. 5, 1825, Johnston MSS.

[22] *Esquisse de l'état d'Alger, considéré sous les rapports politique, historique et civil; contenant au tableau statistique sur la géographie, la population, le gouvernement . . . les événemens politiques et récens de ce pays.* Traduit de l'anglais et enrichi de notes par M. X. Bianchi. Avec un plan d'Alger, du port, des fortifications, et d'une partie de la radé; dressé d'après les documens officiels et rectifié sur les lieux mêmes (Paris, 1830).

was so sick that his life was despaired of. He was taken to Spanish mineral baths where he spent most of 1827 in slow recuperation. During his absence the Dey of Algiers had become incensed at the French. The latter had a concession for coral fishing on the coast of Algeria and had erected a bastion there to protect the industry. The French now undertook to enlarge this fortification without the consent of the Dey. He complained to the French ministry, and felt insulted when the Consul told him that his protests must be made only through the Consul and not directly to the French government. The potentate in his rage struck the Consul and so precipitated a crisis. In June, 1827, the French began a blockade of the port of Algiers which they were maintaining in some halfhearted fashion when Shaler returned in October.[23]

It was plain to Shaler that the French policy was not effective. He himself was winding up his affairs preparatory to returning home. His prolonged illness had warned him that he could stay in Algeria no longer, so he had once more applied for his recall. In February, 1828, the good news arrived. He was further gratified to learn that his scholarly efforts had been crowned by election to the American Philosophical Society. He now hoped to go back to Latin America, having been promised the Havana consulate whenever Spain might allow the establishment of an agent of the United States in that port. The diplomatic grapevine bore rumors that such an opportunity was about due. William Shaler left Algiers on April 3, 1828, nearly thirteen years after he first sighted it, directing his route homeward through France.[24]

Once more he took the opportunity to urge France to take over Algeria. He reported to those in authority on the unsatisfactory state of the blockade and pressed for more decisive action. The French government was not yet ready, but a decision was not far off. Finally, in 1830, the die was cast. In January the council of state adopted a

[23] Shaler to Henry Clay, May 14, 1827; Hodgson to Henry Clay, June 27, 1827; Shaler to Henry Clay, Oct. 19, 1827, Algiers Dispatches, XI; Shaler to Commodore Crane, July 21, 1827; Shaler to A. H. Everett, July 27, 1827; Shaler to [James Brown], Aug. 4, 1827; Shaler to Hughes, Aug. 15, 1827; Shaler to Heap, Feb. 10, 1828; Shaler to Commodore Rodgers, [April 20, 1828].

[24] Shaler to Henry Clay, May 14, June 15, Oct. 19, 1827, Feb. 20, 1828, Algiers Dispatches, XI; Richard B. Jones to Shaler, Jan. 9, 1828; Shaler to Henry Clay, Feb. 20, 1828; Jonathan Russell to Martin Van Buren, Apr. 2, 1829; Shaler to J. L. Johnston, Dec. 10, 1827, Johnston MSS.

plan presented by a young naval officer, Abel Aubert Dupetit-Thouars, for the invasion of Algeria. He was interestingly enough a relative of the famous botanist, Louis Marie-Aubert Dupetit-Thouars, whom Shaler probably had met nearly thirty years before on the Isle of France. Dupetit-Thouars' plan was very similar to that of Shaler, and the French expedition which captured Algeria in July, 1830, followed the general strategy laid down by the American consul.[25]

When the story can be fully told, it will be known whether in mapping out the invasion of Algeria in 1942, the Anglo-American board of strategy studied Shaler's plans. In any event, the American shock troops landed at Sidi Ferrajh and proceeded against Algiers just as Shaler had advised in 1826. American diplomacy on these strange coasts of Barbary had not been without its far-flung and long-range consequences.

University of Pennsylvania ROY F. NICHOLS

[25] Gabriel Hanotaux et Alfred Martineau, *Histoire des Colonies Françaises . . .* (Paris, 1930), II, 102; *Nouvelle Biographie Générale* (Paris, 1868), XV, 298; Playfair, 252–303; *Autobiography of Nathaniel Southgate Shaler* (Boston, 1909), 7; R. L. Playfair to N. S. Shaler, Jan. 24, 1885; H. W. S. Cleveland to N. S. Shaler, Feb. 6, 1891.

NOTICES

I

Conference on American History

The Third Conference on American History, sponsored by The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, will be held on Thursday and Friday, February 2 and 3. By action of the Council, the Society building will be *closed* on those two days.

As has been the practice in the last two years, the April issue of THE PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY will be devoted to the proceedings of the Conference.

II

Grants-in-Aid

The Institute of Early American History and Culture announces that it is prepared to provide a limited number of Grants-in-Aid of Research, for the year 1950–1951, to individual writers or scholars who are carrying on studies in the field of American History prior to the year 1815. Applications must be filed not later than March 15, 1950.

Particular information regarding these Grants may be had by writing to the Director, Institute of Early American History and Culture, Goodwin Building, Williamsburg, Virginia.

III

New Publications

The American Association for State and Local History published in September, 1949, the first issue of a new historical magazine, *American Heritage*. Although the title is an older one, this new

periodical is more of a news magazine in format and content, emphasizing our American heritage as revealed in its "grass roots." *American Heritage* is a publication designed for the general reader, as well as for the educator and historian. Canada, in addition to the United States, will be included in its scope of interest.

The San Jacinto Museum of History Association will sponsor the publication, *Tlalocan*, a Journal of Source Materials on the Native Cultures of Mexico, published by La Casa Tlaloc, Azcapotzalco, Mexico, D. F. It will be of great value to all interested in the history of our neighbor republic.

In Memoriam

LAWRENCE JOHNSON MORRIS

The death on November 18, 1949, of Lawrence Johnson Morris brought to a close a long and useful life. Born eighty years ago at Fernbank in Chester County, the son of Dr. J. Cheston Morris, a distinguished Philadelphia physician, and Mary Ella Johnson, Lawrence Morris seemed destined for a career of service. Though much of his life was spent in important business posts, he devoted a great deal of it to civic responsibility. Most significant, probably, was his long membership on the Board of Managers of the Pennsylvania Hospital, of which he was Secretary for twenty-six years.

His deep interest in history became active when he became a life member of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania in 1915, serving on its Council from 1944 until his death. As a member of this Board, he was for several years the chairman of the Committee on Nominations and as such gave careful thought to the composition of the Society's governing body. He was also a member of the Executive Committee, of the Committee on Hall and Buildings, and of the Board of Trustees of the Gilpin Library.

Mr. Morris as a man of affairs was widely experienced, and over a long life had accumulated a store of wisdom and sound judgment which he was ever willing to place at the disposal of his colleagues in the many enterprises he served. His death is a great loss to the cultural institutions of Philadelphia.

The Council of The Historical Society at its meeting on November 21 adopted this memorial and directed that it be sent to Mr. Morris's family as an expression of the Council's deepest sympathy.

ROY F. NICHOLS

BOOK REVIEWS

Pontiac and the Indian Uprising. By HOWARD H. PECKHAM. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1947. xi, 346 p. Illustrations, maps, index. $4.50.)

Parkman imagined Pontiac to be the mastermind of a continental Indian uprising; and Provost William Smith called the Sachem of the Ottawas the "generalissimo of all the confederate forces now acting against us . . . the Methridates of the West." A legend of the concert of the tribes grew into our literature, the myth of a great purposeful union of Indian nations from Michilimackinac to Mobile, from the Mississippi to the Susquehanna, inspired by the Prophet, fomented by the French, led by Pontiac.

Mr. Peckham's first duty, in this extraordinary book, is to show that no such confederacy existed, that the culture of the Indians, their traditions, their manners of making war, prevented the concept of union from entering their thinking. Yet, curiously, in the year 1763, campaigns were actually waged simultaneously by many tribes over a vast area, all directed against the British. The Indians could scarcely have acted more effectively had they indeed been led by Mithridates. Clearly, British conquest of French Canada, the transfer of the forest forts, the pinchpenny policy of the English commanders, furnished to all the red nations throughout the Northwest the same occasion for revolt. Pontiac was neither commander nor genius of a continent in arms. He was only one of a host of Indian leaders whom the occasion called forth—although by his particular campaign he did in turn improve the opportunity for other nations remote from his influence to rise against distant forts.

Pontiac's role in 1763 was to unite warriors of three villages and various tribes into a force for the siege of Detroit. "As for a general uprising of all the western tribes against all the British posts," Peckham observes, "Pontiac may have thought of it, but his abilities were taxed in uniting his immediate neighbors and devising a surprise assault on one fort."

Still, this was no mean role, and this was no mean leader. "Pondiac," wrote George Croghan, "is a shrewd sensible Indian of a few words, and commands more respect amongst these nations than any Indian I ever saw could do amongst his own tribe." British America had never confronted so formidable a foe in her conquest of the aborigine. Pontiac was brilliant in warfare, shrewd in diplomacy, often magnanimous; he cleverly dominated the French *habitants* whom he kept dependent upon him; and when he withdrew to the country of the Illinois, he went not like one defeated, but moved

like a chief among nations. He could not change the way his people made war—could not fuse the native individualism of the Indian into a European type of military force prepared to spend lives in storming a fort; but he could enforce his personal leadership upon restless, unruly tribes, persuading their chiefs and inspiring their braves. Pontiac is worth a biography.

Now to compose a biography of a man who could not himself write, and all of whose literate contemporaries were his enemies, presents appalling difficulties. Mr. Peckham's ingenious devices, as well as his extensive searching, command respect and admiration. The Scotch-Irish frontiersman has left a detestable phrase in American folklore—"the only good injun is a dead injun." I am surprised Peckham did not from sheer exasperation add to this, "one who could write."

The first third of this book is, in default of any material on Pontiac's youth, a clear, understandable account of the Ottawa nation and the history of Detroit. Pontiac scarcely emerges. But with Holy Week of 1763, when Captain Gladwin and a hundred or so whites begin to stand off Pontiac's three hundred Indians, Mr. Peckham, Pontiac, and the war itself all become spirited and exciting.

Peckham peoples the prairies and forests, the lakes and rivers with characters live and convincing. His pages sparkle with the romance of this horridly quaint war—with comely French maidens and Indian mistresses of white officers, with stratagems, ruses and treacheries, with French insurrection and British stubbornness, with white men boiled and eaten, Indians dying of smallpox spread among them by soldiers of the king. He shows Pontiac helpless to conduct a siege, his face saved only by the sudden victories of far-off tribes in lands Pontiac had never visited. His chronicle reaches from New York to Kaskaskia, embraces Bouquet at Bushy Run and the Paxton Boys at Philadelphia.

I wish he might just once have taken the perspective of this war from Westminster, to show the necessity behind the unfortunate policy of Amherst; though admittedly this policy from the perspective of Detroit, Oswego, or even Philadelphia was disastrous. Mr. Peckham's orientation is American, and this in the long run is the proper approach to the story. He has given us a reliable, authentic, readable account of the great uprising in the West which, with all its sudden political effects, had a large part in preparing the way for the collapse of the empire itself.

Parkman can never be rewritten. This is not the purpose of this volume. But Parkman can be qualified, and this Mr. Peckham has done, with an ability worthy of the great tradition which he must necessarily at times impeach.

Philadelphia J. H. Powell

The British Empire Before the American Revolution. Volume VII. *The Great War For the Empire. The Victorious Years, 1758–1760.* By LAWRENCE HENRY GIPSON. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1949. xlviii, 467 p. Illustrations, index. $7.50.)

In his preface to this most recent addition of his monumental work, Dr. Gipson states that his undertaking "is designed to make its appeal not so much to the readers of popular literature as to those who are seeking to understand and to evaluate facts in their historical setting." With this principle in mind he has arrayed in this volume, as in his preceding ones, a formidable mass of material and detail laid against a historical background which is in itself both broad in scope and detailed in its critical aspects.

The reader is aware that the materials so presented are not drawn from secondary accounts but are based on the author's personal study and evaluation of source materials. This he has accomplished in an exhaustive manner and with freedom from traditional points of view on the subjects under discussion. His masterly ability as a writer of military history is apparent throughout the volume. So also is his ability to express himself in uncomplicated, straightforward terms, which lends a purity and clarity to his prose. His manner of narration does not preclude the dramatic.

Dr. Gipson sets the stage for his book with a sparkling biographical chapter on the facile William Pitt whose contributions to victory were all-important. Throughout the volume one is kept aware of the Great Commoner and his plans, both good and indifferent. After reviewing the situation of the colonies and dealing with the disappointments and disasters of the 1757 campaigns, the author includes a chapter on the contemporary European conflicts and is then prepared for what were indeed the victorious years.

The campaigns of 1758, 1759, and 1760 are unfolded in a comprehensive yet detailed fashion. At the conclusion of the book the British have at long last conquered Canada with the fall of Montreal. The pages on which these events are chronicled present a notable contribution. The original research, the use of sources unavailable to earlier writers on this broad topic, the critical perceptions brought into play have here produced an authoritative book of great value to the student of colonial times.

Year by year Dr. Gipson evaluates the exact contribution of each colony to the war effort. Connecticut, he finds, was the most zealous, possibly because she believed the struggle to be primarily for the rights and interests of the colonials themselves. By way of contrast, Maryland virtually refused time and again to participate in the conflict.

Dr. Gipson takes several cuts at the traditional American point of view that England's tremendous national effort to protect her Empire was the outcome of a selfish, grasping policy. The theory that the wars in North America were essentially the renewal of the old European rivalry of England and France in a new setting is labeled a fiction.

Although the volume is well fortified with some twenty-eight early maps and plans, I believe the reader would have been assisted by a general map which located all points of interest, thereby showing their relationship one to the other. As a minor correction, the activities ascribed to the missionary Frederick Post (p. 330–331), were actually performed by George Croghan. *The Pennsylvania Archives, First Series*, III, 560–563, is in error in crediting the journal there published to Post.

Philadelphia NICHOLAS B. WAINWRIGHT

A Rhode Island Chaplain in the Revolution. Letters of Ebenezer David to Nicholas Brown, 1775–1778. Edited by JEANNETTE D. BLACK and WILLIAM GREENE ROELKER. (Providence, R. I.: The Rhode Island Society of the Cincinnati, 1949. xxxii, 82 p. Illustrations, index. $5.00.)

The Rhode Island Society of the Cincinnati has done a superb piece of work in its recent publication of the letters of Ebenezer David to Nicholas Brown, 1775–1778. Not only are the format, printing, and illustrations beautifully executed, but the editing is thorough and painstaking. It may well establish a criterion for other cultural organizations to meet.

The historical résumé supporting the letters is particularly good, for it gives to the layman a brief account of the chief events of the Revolution. Although there is nothing new, or perhaps historically significant, in any of the letters, the freshness of style and the obvious sincerity of the writer make them invaluable. They may not appear to add much to our military knowledge of the Revolution, but the student of the period will still glean considerable detail from them, as is generally the case in contemporary letters. One note provides a good example of such detail: "This is the only one of the letters which bears any indication of the time required for delivery. It was thirty-six days on the way from Peekskill to Providence."

The letters pertaining to the defense of the Delaware (Letters XIV–XVIII) will, perhaps, be considered the most important, partly because they go into the greatest detail, but also because this small phase of the Revolutionary War has been almost completely ignored by historians. Actually, as far as Philadelphia and the fate of Howe's army was concerned, it was of prime importance—as long as Fort Mifflin and Fort Mercer held out, British ships could not bring much-needed supplies to the army. The British partially overcame this virtual blockade by means of a shallow channel on the west side of the Delaware which was cleared of obstructions. Small boats carried supplies between Hog Island and Tinicum and the shore. However, this was a slow and hazardous undertaking, and it was not until the fall of Fort Mercer after a heroic defense, that the British army was adequately fed. Ebenezer David's letters not only increase our understanding of the great defense of the Delaware, but point up its importance in the over-all picture of the Revolution.

Philadelphia FREDERIC R. KIRKLAND

Lincoln and the Baltimore Plot, 1861: From Pinkerton Records and Related Papers. Edited by NORMA B. CUTHBERT. (San Marino, Calif.: The Huntington Library, 1949. xxiv, 162 p. Frontispiece, notes, bibliography, index. $3.00.)

Allan Pinkerton, on the basis of the reports of his operatives, was fully justified in his fears that an attempt upon Lincoln's life would be made on the President-elect's passage through Baltimore on February 23, 1861. Pinkerton did not uncover a bona fide plot, but he was convinced that secessionist sentiment in Baltimore would provide the setting in which a few reckless individuals could assassinate Lincoln. That Pinkerton's fears were well grounded was tragically proven on the 19th of April, when the passage of the Sixth Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteers through Baltimore resulted in rioting and bloodshed.

In 1866 William Henry Herndon obtained permission to copy Pinkerton's Record Book on condition that he consider confidential all references to Ward H. Lamon, a "brainless egotistical fool." Herndon had the Record Book copied and returned it to the National Detective Agency's headquarters in Chicago, where it was destroyed later by the fire. The transcript of Pinkerton's record was mislaid among Herndon's other Lincoln material and sold to Lamon in 1869, when the latter acquired Herndon's transcripts of Lincoln material. The Lamon papers, in turn, were acquired by the Huntington Library in 1914.

The reality of the Baltimore plot has been the subject of much disagreement among historians, fostered, to a great extent, by the Lamon-Black treatment of the plot. Miss Cuthbert's research has revealed the personal element behind this treatment; this discovery is perhaps the most distinctive feature of her work. In Lamon's *Life of Abraham Lincoln* (1872), actually written by Chauncey F. Black, the Baltimore plot is summarily dismissed as a fabrication on the part of Pinkerton, whose reports were "neither edifying nor useful; they prove nothing but the baseness of the vocation which gave them existence." At the time these opinions were written, Pinkerton's records were in Lamon's possession. Pinkerton had no use for Lamon; after Lincoln's safe arrival in Washington, Lamon, the only member of Lincoln's party who accompanied him throughout the entire journey from Springfield to Washington, wanted to give the story to the press to make, in Pinkerton's words, a "splurge" for himself. Pinkerton felt it vital to his own future service to the government that his investigation of the plot be kept secret, and he threatened to take up the matter with Lincoln to compel Lamon to be silent. With his purchase of the Herndon transcripts Lamon's long-awaited opportunity for revenge was at hand.

Miss Cuthbert's publication of the Pinkerton records is a scholarly contribution to the literature of the Baltimore plot. She has skillfully correlated

relevant material on the plot in text and footnotes. She does not claim definitiveness for her study, but offers it as a good detective story, history more fascinating than fiction.

Mary Washington College HENRIETTA L. KRONE

Free Government in the Making: Readings in American Political Thought. By ALPHEUS THOMAS MASON. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1949. xviii, 846 p. $6.00.)

This is an excellent book of original sources dealing with American constitutional history and political theory. The sources which the author has so wisely selected emphasize the origin of the political and constitutional philosophy of the American Revolution, the Articles of Confederation and the Constitution of 1787, as well as the evolution and growth of democratic ideas from the inception of the national government to and including the presidency of Harry Truman.

The readings in Chapters I, II, and III underline the power of ideas in determining the actions of men. They also stress the origin of the political and constitutional philosophy of the American Revolution which electrified not only the leaders of that period but the common man as well. The readings begin with the debates in the General Council at Putney in 1647 and end with the *Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights* in 1947 and Mr. Justice William O. Douglas' *Freedom Train Address* on May 20, 1948. The first three chapters include, among others, some of the writings and addresses of John Locke, James Harrington, Baron Charles-Louis de Secondat de Montesquieu, Nathaniel Ward, John Winthrop, Roger Williams, John Wise, Benjamin Franklin, James Otis, John Dickinson, James Wilson, Alexander Hamilton, Samuel Seabury, John Adams and Thomas Paine.

The inadequacy of the Articles is vividly portrayed by selections from the writings of Alexander Hamilton, George Washington, and other political leaders of the time. The campaign against the Articles, aided by the general feeling of despair and Shays' Rebellion, produced the desired effect in calling The Constitutional Convention of 1787 to amend the Articles. Instead of amending the Articles, however, a new constitution was written to form a more perfect union. The difficulties that faced the Fathers in the convention and the compromises offered and accepted are all included in the sources incorporated in this study. The author does not overlook materials pertaining to the fight within the Thirteen States to secure the ratification of the Constitution. In presenting this great struggle *The Federalist* occupies a conspicuous role.

Chapter VIII, "The Establishment of National Power: Hamilton and Marshall," presents Hamilton's efforts to restore the national credit at home and abroad. It also presents the nationalizing influence of John Marshall

and the Supreme Court in such cases as *Marbury* v. *Madison* and *McCulloch* v. *Maryland*.

Chapter IX, "Establishing National Power: Jefferson and Taylor," gives the other side of the constitutional argument in letters, state papers, and addresses of Thomas Jefferson to Elbridge Gerry, Gideon Granger, Benjamin Rush, John Adams, John Taylor, Francis W. Gilmer, and in his first inaugural address. The next chapter deals with some of the new state constitutions drafted and ratified between 1820 and 1835 to show the extension of popular government within the United States. Chapter XI, "Jackson and Revolution" includes Jackson's First Annual Message to Congress, the veto of the bank bill, the Farewell Address of March 4, 1837, Van Buren's Special Message to Congress on September 4, 1837, and Roger B. Taney's opinion in the famous court case of *Charles River Bridge* v. *Warren Bridge*. Chapter XII, "Romantic Individualism," includes Emerson's *Politics*, Thoreau's *Civil Disobedience*, and Whitman's *Democratic Vistas*.

Chapter XIII takes up the controversial subject, "Chattel Slavery." The author includes, of course, some of the writings of William Lloyd Garrison, W. E. Channing, John C. Calhoun, George Fitzhugh, William Harper and Abraham Lincoln. Chapter XIV, "The Nature of the Union," presents arguments of John Taylor, John C. Calhoun, Webster's Reply to Hayne, Abraham Lincoln's First Inaugural Address, and Chief Justice Chase's opinion in *Texas* v. *White*.

Space will permit the listing of the titles only of the remaining seven chapters: "Plutocracy or Social Democracy?"; "Liberal Vibrations"; "Does the Constitution Enthrone Economic-Judicial Power?"; "Cynicism, Normalcy, Optimism, Realism"; "Economic Crisis: the New Deal; Inevitable Conflict"; and "Free Government Vindicated."

This study should be widely used by the scholar, teacher, and the interested public. Professor Mason and the Oxford Press are to be congratulated on the excellence of their workmanship.

Lehigh University GEORGE DEWEY HARMON

John Greenleaf Whittier, Friend of Man. By JOHN A. POLLARD. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1949. 615 p. Notes, bibliography, index. $6.00.)

John Greenleaf Whittier has a special interest for Pennsylvanians, and for Philadelphians in particular. He lived in this city for nearly two years, from March, 1838, to February, 1840, where he edited and wrote for one of the leading abolitionist periodicals, the Pennsylvania *Freeman*. During the years 1858 and 1859, he visited the city while courting Elizabeth Lloyd, the poet, who, although she did not marry him, had moved him profoundly. There are several other associations of the poet with the city (and state): he was

a delegate to the first meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Convention in December, 1833, he visited Harrisburg and toured central Pennsylvania in the summer of 1839, and he was present when Pennsylvania Hall, in Philadelphia, at the southwest corner of Sixth and Haines Street (as it was then called) below Race, was burned to the ground by a mob.

It is fitting that a new biography of Whittier should appear, and it is the first time that a biographer has availed himself of the excellent bibliography of the poet by Thomas Franklin Currier (1937). Some years ago a superficial life of the poet was published, but the author did hardly more than consult this work. John A. Pollard has been doing research on Whittier for about fifteen years; his dissertation for a doctoral degree at Yale in 1937 dealt with the early years of the poet's life (1807 to 1836). The biography under review is an outgrowth of that thesis, unfortunately bearing some of the earmarks of such a composition. Trivial facts are set forth without selection; there are no imaginative flights, no originality, no independence of point of view. There is evidence of industry and an uncovering of forgotten material, and, with few exceptions, no inaccuracies.

It was with a nostalgic feeling that this reviewer read Pollard's book, for in the preparation of his own biography of Whittier, *Quaker Militant* (1933), he traveled to the same cities and towns, entered the same libraries, consulted the same old newspapers and magazines, read in manuscript the same letters by the poet, as Pollard did. In fact, Pollard has uncovered very little that is new, often choosing, however, to reprint different extracts from the same article or letter that the present writer has reprinted. Although he has done independent and original research, Pollard has had no hesitation in giving this writer his due, at times with proper acknowledgment (and sometimes without it). His interpretation has often been different. He has treated Whittier within his own boundaries, seldom stepping aside to survey him in an adverse aspect. The numerous lengthy extracts tend to make the work an anthology. The material is so voluminous that it has swamped the author, and he has not been able to co-ordinate it successfully. Pollard wrote the early chapters in a chronological form, the later ones from a topical point of view. Consequently, in these latter chapters he repeats and retraces his story to matters connected with the poet's early life. The final result is a book which is not exciting reading and which merges more into a reference work.

Pollard is a conservative and cautious writer, shunning psychology and any probing into the poet's mind. He will not admit absolutely, for example, that Whittier was really in love with Mary Emerson Smith (whom by a slip he calls Mrs. Smith, although her married name became Mrs. Thomas), and he surmises that the love poems Whittier wrote at the time were mere literary exercises. Even Whittier's authorized biographer, Samuel T. Pickard, had conceded the reality of the poet's affection and the genuineness of feeling in the love poems. Not even some of the poet's burning love letters moved Pollard from his position. Nor does he see any love affair with

Lucy Hooper, although newly discovered material corroborating this was set forth by this reviewer in the *New England Quarterly*, June, 1934. Had he given due consideration to this article he would not have made Pickard's mistake of saying that Whittier met Lucy Hooper in New York (Brooklyn) in the summer of 1837; they had already met as early as March, 1836, in New England.

Critically, this biography has little importance. Pollard almost forgets that Whittier was a poet and an imaginative writer as well as an antislavery agitator and politician. All that he has to say of *Snow-Bound*, beyond quoting a few lines from other critics and instancing a few revisions the poet himself made, is that its wide appeal betokens "a fit poetic subject treated by Whittier in a genuinely poetical way." Of Whittier's longest book, the delightful, scholarly, and self-revealing fictitious narrative called *Leaves from Margaret Smith's Journal*, he has nothing to say except to quote twice the same platitudinous line from it.

Pollard, furthermore, shows no understanding of Whittier's personality because he fears to probe. In trying to explain the poet's bad health, nervousness, and insomnia, he accepts the exploded theory of Dr. George M. Gould, the oculist, that they were due to "hyperopic astigmatism." Pollard adds that no convincing theories have appeared since Whittier's death to explain the poet's nervousness. That is what Pollard thinks of Freud and psychoanalysis! In fact, he raps this reviewer on the wrist for having dared to mention once or twice that great student of our unconscious activities. As a result, we have a rather faded portrait of the poet in the old guise of saint. His beard and clothes of Quaker cut are clear, but there is no attempt made by Pollard to find motivation for the poet's life and work. The book is surface treatment. This writer is pleased to note that Pollard has followed him in accepting Milton and Burke as great influences.

A bad guess, in the reviewer's opinion, is made in identifying an anonymous poem "Who Is My Neighbor?" as Whittier's because it appeared in the Haverhill (Essex) *Gazette* in 1836 when he was editor. It is praised by Pollard, but it is a poor poem. It may be found in *The Prose and Poetry of Europe and America* (1845), edited by N. P. Willis and George P. Morris (p. 478), and reprinted in Werner's *Readings and Recitations* (1892), Vol. 33, p. 68, also anonymously assigned. The poem had been going the rounds for over fifty years, and had Whittier written it, its authorship would probably have become known.

Philadelphia ALBERT MORDELL

Faint Clews and Indirections. Manuscripts of Walt Whitman and his family. Edited by CLARENCE GOHDES and ROLLO G. SILVER. (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press, 1949. xii, 250 p. Appendix, index. $5.00.)

There seems to be a principle of inverse ratio operative in literary scholarship: It seems agreed that, the more important the author, the more we are

justified in publishing trivia about him. Whitman's importance is the reason for this book.

There is almost nothing in the volume that, in itself, is worth printing. The manuscripts are from the collection presented to the Duke University Library in 1942 by Dr. and Mrs. Josiah C. Trent, of which a catalogue was compiled three years later by Ellen Frances Frey. Even before that they had been "available" to scholars, and scholars since Bucke and Perry had used them. There is some satisfaction, however, to the Whitman student and collector in being permitted to study sources for himself without making a trip to Durham or investing in microfilms or photostats. Ably edited, these papers may now be in every Whitman library, however small.

First we have some fragmentary early versions of passages from "Song of Myself," supplying a transition stage of that poem between the notebook versions of 1847–1848 and the published poem of 1855. The term "slatternly" which the present editors apply to Whitman's poetic method as here revealed is more accurate than fair. No precision of technique is evident, but the process is not careless. We are reminded once more that the poetic impulse in him was first buried in prosaic phrases and had to work its way through to poetic expression. Without himself knowing *precisely* how he was working, Whitman was aware this early and by instinct of the effects that he wished to achieve. The process, as reconstructed by modern scholarship, makes more sense than it probably would have to the poet himself, but it is almost painful to follow it in its cruder stages. C. J. Furness in 1928 took us into "Walt Whitman's Workshop"; here we are offered once more some of the chips from his chisel.

The letters of brother George and his mother confirm the impression of humble worth that we have learned to associate with these two members of the immediate family, and to contrast with the worthlessness, or worse, of the others. George's army letters show the closeness of the family bond through adversities and the loyalty of a thoroughly sound and simple person. They help us to appreciate the homespun from which the poet of Democracy was cut. But the other family letters are regrettable and probably should have remained in manuscript. Of what value to scholarship are documents which reveal that a sister-in-law took to the streets after the death of her worthless brother, or that a brother-in-law treated his hypochondriac wife badly? Even where such facts were not previously known—and most of them were—they have bearing on *Leaves of Grass* only in documenting the weakness and ugliness out of which great strength and beauty were born.

It is perhaps time to reconsider the assumption that everything, however trivial, by and about a major author is worthy of print. With improved methods of transportation for scholars and easier and cheaper methods for the reproduction of source material, might we not resort in such cases as this to a complete microfilm of the manuscripts, available on interlibrary loan to any accredited investigator?

University of Pennsylvania ROBERT E. SPILLER

Alexander Pope's Prestige in America, 1725–1835. By AGNES MARIE SIBLEY. (New York: King's Crown Press (Columbia University), 1949. xiv, 158 p. Notes, appendices, index. Paper, $2.50.)

The epigrammatic lines and couplets of Alexander Pope, like those of Shakespeare, have become, although generally unidentified, a part of our speech today; as a poet, Pope is little read outside the classroom. In his own time, however, and for a century thereafter, his works were much in vogue. The cultural affinity of the American colonies with England in the eighteenth century made it natural that Pope should be read in America, but the extent of his influence and popularity is surprising.

Miss Sibley, in a style which is fresh, nonpedantic, and wholly readable, has undertaken a study of this prestige of Pope's in America. She admits that her work is not definitive, but the sources she has used in her study provide an acceptable basis for evaluation: booksellers, "public," private, and college libraries, American editions, and references in contemporary newspapers, diaries, and letters. Many of the great figures in American political and cultural life were familiar with Pope's works, and his poems are found and mentioned as well in the hamlets of the colonies.

Although the greater part of her story pertains to the eighteenth century, the emphasis on Pope as a poet and the American editions of his works figure more prominently after 1800. The *Essay on Man* was the most read and reprinted of all Pope's poems; his translation of Homer and the *Messiah* were next in popularity in the American editions.

The appeal of Pope for the Americans of that century lay in his reputation (*Essay on Man*) as a moralist. His ethical concepts were in harmony with prevailing religious ideas; his rhetoric, with its attendant moral teaching, was used in schools and by orators; his poetry met the Puritan standards of combined moral and literary quality; it was not until the nineteenth century that his worth as a man was challenged. An appreciable amount of colonial poetry gained inspiration from Pope; much was written in outright imitation of it.

Miss Sibley has included appendices tabulating information on the American editions of Pope's works, individual and collected, and on the sale of his works by American booksellers.

This paper-bound book should more properly, perhaps, fall within the limits of American literature; it is also very much a part of our cultural history, for, even from its limited and directed focus, it adds to our broader understanding of the "American mind."

L. V. G.

Franklin, Jonathan Williams and William Pitt. A Letter of January 21, 1775. By BERNHARD KNOLLENBERG. (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Library, 1949. 24 p. Notes. $1.00.)

This first pamphlet of the Indiana University Library Publications is another contribution to the body of source material on the American

Revolution. Bernhard Knollenberg has presented, with a brief historical background, a letter or draft of a letter to an unnamed correspondent by Jonathan Williams, Benjamin Franklin's great-nephew. This letter, dated January 21, 1775, in the Indiana University Library, recounts the debates in the House of Lords on January 20, 1775, prior to the rejection of a motion by William Pitt (Lord Chatham) for the withdrawal of British troops from Boston. Its "terseness and vivacity" make it superior to other, better-known reports. Franklin, because of his efforts in the American cause in London and because of the respect in which Chatham held him, had been requested by Chatham to attend the debates on this occasion. Franklin did attend, and gave his own reaction to them in a letter to his son William. Jonathan Williams' long account (twenty folio pages) provides not only the matter of the debates, but some insight into the prevailing mood of the Lords and the personality of the speakers.

The Minutes of The Board of Proprietors of the Eastern Division of New Jersey from 1685 to 1705. With an Introductory Essay by GEORGE J. MILLER. (Perth Amboy, N. J.: The Board of Proprietors of the Eastern Division of New Jersey, 1949. xvi, 280 p. Illustrations, index. $10.00.)

This attractive volume constitutes a valuable addition not only to the proprietary records of New Jersey, but as well to the general story of early colonial government in America. "The Journal of the Procedure . . ." of the Proprietors of East Jersey, in a modernized transcript, comprises the major portion of the book. George J. Miller, Registrar of the Board, has contributed an introductory essay which deals with the personnel of the early Board, the secretaries, registers, and receiver generals, the business coming before the Board, and the most important problem of land division. Chapters are also devoted to quitrents and to the principal cities of the Eastern Division. The publication of these minutes will provide a new perspective to the early history of New Jersey, particularly when it is realized that they have been made public for the first time in 264 years.

Lincoln and Gettysburg. By ROBERT FORTENBAUGH. (Gettysburg, Pa.: The Bookmart, 1949. 56 p. Illustrations. $.65.)

The need for an accessible account of the story and documents relating to Lincoln's Address at Gettysburg prompted the publication of this booklet. The story of the circumstances surrounding the event is supplemented by pertinent documents, including the various versions and drafts of the Gettysburg Address itself. Illustrations provide added interest. The presentation of the publication is more popular than scholarly.

E-F

APR 28 1950

THE

Pennsylvania Magazine

OF HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY

APRIL 1950

REPORT OF THE

THIRD CONFERENCE ON AMERICAN HISTORY

HELD UNDER THE AUSPICES OF

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA

FEBRUARY 2 AND 3, 1950

PUBLISHED SINCE 1877 BY THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA

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Publications Committee

CONYERS READ
BOIES PENROSE
ROY F. NICHOLS
WILLIAM W. COMFORT

Editor

R. NORRIS WILLIAMS, 2D

Assistant Editor

LOIS V. GIVEN

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Third Conference on American History

"Graduate Training Problems in History"

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA
February 2 and 3, 1950

THE
Pennsylvania
Magazine
OF HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY

The Third Conference on American History

On February 2 and 3, 1950, a group of scholars attended the third conference of American historians called by The Historical Society of Pennsylvania. The subject of this year's discussion was "Graduate Training Problems in History."

Although the general organization of the meetings followed the pattern of previous years, panel discussions were substituted for the prepared papers which had been presented for discussion in the past.

The first of the three sessions was concerned with a description of European methods. Roy F. Nichols presided as Moderator; Bailey W. Diffie discussed the problem in Spain and Portugal; Hajo Holborn dealt with German methods; Caroline Robbins treated the English system; and Arthur P. Watts described French training.

In the second session, Dexter Perkins, Joseph R. Strayer, and Richard H. Shryock presented their views on the American graduate system.

The third session was conducted by Theodore C. Blegen, John A. Krout, and Elmer Ellis, all deans of graduate schools. They considered the feasibility of suggestions made in the earlier meetings and brought out certain procedures that are currently being experimented with in the graduate schools.

In connection with the Conference, Roger Butterfield addressed an open meeting of the Society on the evening of February 2.

Mr. Butterfield, formerly National Affairs Editor of *Life* magazine, is well known for his interest in things American. Among other efforts, he has explored many of the possibilities attending the use of illustrative material in the writing of American history. In 1947, he published *The American Past*, an outstanding record of our national history "told with the aid of a thousand pictures." In his paper read at the Society, "The Folklore of Politics," Mr. Butterfield discusses another type of historical illustration—the folklore themes which have become almost traditional in our political evolution. He is currently writing a definitive biography of the novelist, George Lippard.

It has again been necessary to edit somewhat the proceedings of the meetings to comply with space limitations, but a virtually complete transcript of the Conference discussions is presented in this issue of the MAGAZINE.

Those who attended the meetings were:

THEODORE C. BLEGEN.....University of Minnesota
CATHERINE DRINKER BOWEN.....Biographer
CARL BRIDENBAUGH.....Institute of Early American History and Culture
LYMAN H. BUTTERFIELD.....Princeton University Library
ROGER BUTTERFIELD.....Writer
THOMAS C. COCHRAN.....New York University
BAILEY W. DIFFIE.....College of the City of New York
EUGENE E. DOLL.....The Historical Society of Pennsylvania
ELMER ELLIS.....University of Missouri
RALPH HENRY GABRIEL.....Yale University
LOIS V. GIVEN.....The Historical Society of Pennsylvania
HAJO HOLBORN.....Yale University
CHARLES F. JENKINS.....The Historical Society of Pennsylvania
EDWARD C. KIRKLAND.....Bowdoin College
JOHN A. KROUT.....Columbia University

HELEN TAFT MANNING . . . . . Bryn Mawr College
RICHARD P. MCCORMICK . . . . . Rutgers University
RICHMOND P. MILLER . . . . . The Historical Society of Pennsylvania
JOHN A. MUNROE . . . . . University of Delaware
JEANNETTE P. NICHOLS . . . . . Historian
ROY F. NICHOLS . . . . . University of Pennsylvania
DAVID OWEN . . . . . Harvard University
DEXTER PERKINS . . . . . University of Rochester
JOHN H. POWELL . . . . . Historian
CONYERS READ . . . . . University of Pennsylvania
JOHN J. REED . . . . . Muhlenberg College
CAROLINE ROBBINS . . . . . Bryn Mawr College
RICHARD H. SHRYOCK . . . . . Johns Hopkins University
JOSEPH R. STRAYER . . . . . Princeton University
NICHOLAS B. WAINWRIGHT . . . . . The Historical Society of Pennsylvania
ARTHUR P. WATTS . . . . . University of Pennsylvania
EDWIN B. WILLIAMS . . . . . University of Pennsylvania
R. N. WILLIAMS, 2D . . . . . The Historical Society of Pennsylvania

The Folklore of Politics

ALMOST everyone agrees that pictures are entertaining and at times quite useful in the understanding of history. But there are widely varying opinions of what might be termed their cognitive value. One opinion, said to have been expressed many centuries ago by a Chinese philosopher, is that a single picture is worth a thousand words. A quite different opinion, stated not so long ago by Noel Busch, a writer for the picture magazine *Life*, is that one well-chosen word is easily worth a thousand pictures!

I believe there is some justification for both these opinions, and since the first has been repeated so many times of late that it has definitely become a bore, I am inclined to lean a little bit toward the wisdom of my friend Mr. Noel Busch. And this despite the fact that my only substantial publication in the field of American history has been a book which contained 978 pictures and weighed approximately five pounds—or five and a half pounds when boxed for shipment, as my publishers like to add. Incidentally, I feel some sympathy for the lady reviewer who once inquired rather plaintively whether *The American Past* was to be regarded as a book or as an article of furniture. When the first copies came off the press my publishers came to me in a sportive mood and asked whether I would be willing to reverse the statement that is made so often in book advertisements: instead of calling it "the book you can't put down," they suggested that we might say, "the book you can't pick up."

Perhaps the most touching comment I had along this line came from another *Life* editor, John Chamberlain, who told me that he had presented a copy of my book to his father for hospital-bed reading, but the poor man had been unable to make use of it because every time he picked it up it hurt his incision.

Fortunately, the topic assigned to me on the printed program is a broad one, and I have been advised that I may interpret it even more broadly. The words "Illustrating American History" naturally bring to mind pictures. But there are many ways other than the use of

pictures in which history can be illustrated—and much illuminated—over and beyond the actual telling. I am thinking of such things as the slogans Americans have adopted in peace and war, the songs they have sung about their heroes, the propaganda which they have fallen for at various times, and all the tangled growth of popular beliefs, superstitions, myths and legends which might be lumped together under the general heading of folklore.

It is "The Folklore of Politics," then, or rather certain phases of it, that I should like to discuss, partly in terms of pictures, but mostly in terms of words. Much of this folklore, I will concede at once, is neither true nor factual. Yet it has often had more effect on determining the course of history than the real facts, or what the politicians are pleased to call the "issues." It is a subject worthy of serious consideration for it has had—and is having—the most tangible effects on our personal lives and national destiny. To what, for instance, do we owe the fact that one of the gravest decisions in the history of mankind—there are some who call it *the* gravest—has just been taken in Washington by a man who happily calls himself a "plain old country boy" and "just a farmer from Missouri"? There are those who argue in all seriousness that the beginning of a hydrogen-bombmaking race between the United States and Russia may well lead to the extinction of the human race. Yet the final decisions on this and other matters like it have been placed in the horny hands of an ex-farmer and ex-small-town politician named Harry Truman because we Americans still hold, in general, to the folk belief that a plain old country boy makes a better president than a city slicker—and especially a city slicker with a mustache.

This abiding faith in country boys is one of the oldest and most persistent components of our political folklore. It dates back, I presume, to Revolutionary days, when Americans gloried in the caricature of themselves as awkward, gawking Yankee Doodles who were making mincemeat of the British King's plans and all his smartly clad minions. Although it has been submerged at times by other issues—and other forms of folklore—it has never died out, and it has had a lusty revival since April 25, 1945. We have now reached the point where such a seemingly suave and sophisticated dweller in the realms of high diplomacy as Secretary of State Dean Acheson has just the other day described himself as "a simple country boy."

Almost all of our thirty-two presidents have managed, in one way or another, to associate themselves with the "country boy" tradition. Some of these attempts have not been too convincing, as in the celebrated case of Calvin Coolidge and the hay wagon. Back in those halcyon days when Americans still believed in stock-market booms and feared no weapons more grievous than Al Capone's pineapples, some publicity genius persuaded President Coolidge to pose for a series of "haying" photographs in Vermont. My favorite from this collection shows the freckled President poised nervously on the back of a wheeled hay rig, minus his tie and detachable collar, but with his white shirt still firmly fastened at the neck. He is also wearing a pair of freshly starched overalls and newly polished, high-buttoned shoes. There are many things wrong with this picture, but what really makes it a collector's item is the fact that the presidential Pierce Arrow is plainly visible in the background, waiting to bear him away from the scene of his "toil" to some less strenuous appointment. There is a Secret Service man standing on the running board of the car, and I would be willing to swear that the President's tie and stiff collar are also waiting on the seat.

Harry Truman's first book-length biography, published very soon after he became President, lays heavy stress on his farm and "country boy" background.* According to this work, Truman the dirt farmer could plow "as straight a furrow as could be found in all Missouri," and he also was "an expert in the surgical art of castrating pigs." It was, the author tells us, a standing joke among the neighbors that "when Harry sharpens his knife the pigs run out to pasture." We are also told that Truman liked to "ride along on the Emerson gang plow, holding the levers with his hardened hands, while the earth curled in a black, sweetly fresh ribbon at the side of the shining steel moldboard." "Riding one of those plows all day, day after day," Truman himself is quoted as saying, "gives one time to think. I've settled all the ills of mankind in one way or another riding along, seeing that each animal pulled his part of the load."

This widely accepted affinity between plows and political wisdom goes back at least to the times of the Roman Cincinnatus. It is of long standing in our own folklore, though even Parson Weems did not presume to tell us that George Washington ever actually manip-

* Frank McNaughton and Walter Hehmeyer, *This Man Truman* (New York, 1945).

Courtesy of Brown Brothers, N. Y.

CALVIN COOLIDGE "haying" in Vermont

John F. Francis, *Artist* Albert Newsam, *Lithographer*

JOSEPH RITNER "ploughing" in Pennsylvania

ulated a plow in person. My own researches into pictorial matters have disclosed what may be the earliest actual representation of an American statesman with a plow, although much to my regret I was unable to include this picture in my book. It is a splendid black and white lithograph, dated 1838 and published in Philadelphia, entitled "Joseph Ritner, Governor of the State of Pennsylvania." It shows the portly and silver-haired Governor—who was sometimes referred to as "a damned Dutch hog"—standing at the handle of an unhitched and primitive looking plow, at the end of a long and shallow furrow. Like "Silent Cal" some ninety years later, the Governor has shed his coat and cravat, but he has on a silk vest, somewhat distended by his impressive paunch, and an enormous pair of black broadcloth pantaloons. Instead of a Pierce Arrow there is a Conestoga wagon in the background, but it is not waiting for the Governor—it is hurtling along a country road with a cloud of dust behind it. The giveaway in this picture is the Governor's tall black beaver hat, which has been carefully laid in the grass beside a nearby stump. Since this was put in intentionally by the artist, John F. Francis, and presumably with the subject's consent, we must conclude that this picture was never intended to fool anybody—obviously, no real farmer would be wearing a beaver hat and broadcloth pants to plow in. It is, rather, a charming portrait of a typical politician of his or any other day, with enough props inserted to denote both his rustic origin and present high station in life.

It is sad to reflect that such genre portraits are not often encountered in our more sophisticated age, except, perhaps, in the exaggerated form of cartoons. Imagine, for instance, a handsome lithograph of Mr. Truman pursuing a pig with a sharp knife, with his celebrated White House balcony and the presidential airliner in the background!

Within a very short time after the lithograph of Governor Ritner appeared, the nation was flooded with pictures of plowing politicians, of a much more dubious sort. The "country boy" theme probably never found more hectic and confused expression than during the presidential canvass of 1840, when the embattled young Whig party insisted, in the face of all available evidence, that its candidate was a plain old farmer who lived in a plain old log cabin, dealing out dippers full of hard cider to all the plain old soldiers with wooden legs

who happened to stop at his door. (Actually, of course, General Harrison lived in a stately white mansion and was rather fond of good wines.) The Whig propaganda did not go into the barnyard detail which enlivens the Truman biography I have cited, but in other respects it was quite similar, and perhaps a bit more jolly. Here, for example, is a verse from a campaign song which the Whigs of 1840 chanted to the tune of *Auld Lang Syne:*

What though our hero's huge hard paws
    Were wont to plow, and sow?
Does that disgrace our sacred cause?
    Does that degrade him? NO!
Whig farmers are our nation's nerve,
    Its bone—*its very spine!*
They'll never swerve—they did not swerve
    In days of old lang syne.

The Whig campaign of 1840 was so resoundingly triumphant that log cabins became a permanent feature of our political folklore, appearing again with great success in the Lincoln campaign of 1860, the Grant campaign of 1868, and the Garfield campaign of 1880, among others. Unfortunately, the supply of candidates who were actually born in log cabins has now dwindled almost to the vanishing point. I can say this with some authority, because in 1940, when it seemed possible that Cordell Hull might become the Democratic nominee for president, I made a safari into the hills of Tennessee with a *Life* photographer and brought back pictures of the genuine log cabin in which Secretary Hull really had been born. At that time our researches indicated that no other available candidate could boast a similar birthplace. This, it may be noted, was exactly one hundred years after the log cabin and hard cider campaign of 1840. We at *Life* did our praiseworthy best to uphold both ends of that venerable tradition. We could not find a hard cider barrel to photograph, but we did locate and take pictures of a hole in the mountains where Mr. Hull's father had once kept a still.

In tracing back the "country boy" theme in our politics, one comes inevitably to the great figure of Thomas Jefferson, who put it this way: "Cultivators of the earth are the most valuable citizens.

They are the most vigorous, the most independent, the most virtuous, and they are tied to their country, and wedded to its liberty and interest, by the most lasting bonds. . . . Corruption of morals in the mass of cultivators is a phenomenon of which no age nor nation has furnished an example. . . ."

It would certainly be going too far to call Jefferson himself a plain old country boy, even though he did invent a plow and knew how to use it. But he was the formulator of many of our basic political issues, he organized the first indigenous American political party, and he undoubtedly shaped much of our political folklore as well. The first two presidents, Washington and Adams, had sought to invest that office with stately pomp and awe-inspiring dignity. Jefferson made a political issue of such "aristocratical" behavior, and ended it when he became President. He abolished Washington's cherished levees, and, if we may believe the accounts of certain British travelers, lounged around the White House in corduroy trousers, an old brown coat, and heelless carpet slippers. Jefferson's supporters were apparently a little embarrassed by these revelations; they did not deny that their hero's personal dress was informal, but they insisted that he was always "fastidiously neat."

It was Jefferson who introduced another long-lived theme into our folklore by his consistent disparagement of big cities. "I view great cities as pestilential to the morals, the health, and the liberties of man," he wrote, and he predicted—with commendable foresight—that "When we get piled upon one another in large cities, as in Europe, we shall become as corrupt as in Europe, and go to eating one another as they do there."

Since Jefferson's time, or indeed, since Washington's, no president or would-be president has been willing to admit that he was the full-time in-town resident of a big city. (Now that I have said this, I can think of a possible exception, Chester Arthur, but he is the only one.) In our own time, we have seen the ex-president of a billion-dollar utility corporation rush from his Fifth Avenue apartment to the small town of Ellwood, Indiana—which he had left behind some twenty years before—to receive his nomination for president in the presence of more Republicans than had ever before been assembled at any one place. Similarly, the former District Attorney of New York has twice made dutiful pilgrimages, not only to his own birth-

place at Owosso, Michigan, but also to his wife's, at Sapulpa, Oklahoma, as an indispensable part of the campaign ritual. Wendell Willkie's return to Ellwood was, on the whole, an impressive spectacle, but Dewey's first visit to Owosso was marred by a most undignified accident. The photographers had suggested that he pose sitting on an old-fashioned porch swing which he had once hung with his own hands for his widowed mother. Unfortunately, so many well-nourished Republicans from Michigan and elsewhere crowded onto the swing with him that it collapsed and dropped to the floor.

The present occupant of the White House is, quite naturally, a great advocate of small towns, although his own rise to pre-eminence was made possible by the decidedly corrupt politics of nearby Kansas City. "I would rather see a thousand banks than one National City Bank," he has said. "I would rather see a hundred steel companies than one United States Steel Corporation. These small institutions give some two or three men a chance to be big shots in their own communities. When you go into those big city places you will find only one big shot and a hundred or so vice-presidents."

Perhaps the most telling tribute to the blessings of small-town life has come from yet another "just folks" president, who also liked to play poker and take an occasional drink, and who often expressed bewilderment at the "bigness" of his job. It was Warren G. Harding, who proclaimed in a campaign speech of 1920: "What is the greatest thing in life, my countrymen? Happiness. And there is more happiness in the American village than in any other place on the face of the earth!"

We have now considered briefly two steadily recurring themes in our folklore of politics: the country boy theme, and the virtues of small towns—or, conversely, the evils of big cities—theme. I should like to mention at least two others, one of which is not faring so well these days. This one might be called the "indispensable warrior," or "military hero," theme, and it has not had a really sound revival since the glorious return of Colonel Theodore Roosevelt from Cuba in 1898.

This particular theme, or argument, is set forth in its most naked form in a campaign pamphlet issued by the Republican National Committee for the election of Grant in 1868. "It is not surprising,"

said the committee, "that great military leaders in all ages and among every people should have been rewarded with the highest public honors. Aside from the fact that the heroic qualities essential to military success are of all qualities the most universally admired, there is the more cogent reason that no other public benefactors put a nation under more direct and manifest obligations. The benefits conferred by the writer, the man of science, the inventor or the promoter of useful arts, may sometimes be more valuable than those conferred by the victorious military chieftain; but when the successes of the latter are achieved in the service of liberty, or in defense of the very existence of a nation, they transcend all other forms of public benefaction."

Similar arguments had, of course, been raised for the election of General Jackson in 1828, General Harrison in 1840, General Taylor in 1848, and Generals Scott and Pierce in 1852. But in the years after the Civil War they reached their peak of effectiveness, and undoubtedly a majority of the voters who were then qualified agreed with them wholeheartedly. Backed by the veteran Boys in Blue, a steady succession of Union generals and near-generals filed to the presidential chair, sometimes with unhappy results for the nation.

In 1880 the desperate Democrats—who included many former Confederates—were driven to adopt the same tactics, although in a somewhat backhanded fashion. An official campaign biography of their candidate, the "gallant" and "stainless" Union General Winfield Scott Hancock, informs us rather lamely that "There can be no successful criticisms against General Hancock because he is a military hero. Military heroes are good Presidential stuff, and it seems to be necessary that they shall be accepted whether they have the qualities necessary for statesmen or not. General Hancock will make a good run." In the ensuing campaign the Democrats insisted, with truth, that their General had done a great deal more to win the war than the Republican General Garfield. But they were unable to sway the voters with this display of "We-too"-ism.

It is a striking fact that while all of our earlier wars produced general-presidents, our two latest and greatest ones have not—at least, not yet. Since 1945—indeed, since the victorious and elegantly postured Pacific campaigns of General MacArthur began a while earlier—we have been hearing and reading arguments very similar

to those just cited. But they do not seem to have stirred large numbers of voters to a feverish pitch. Perhaps our former G.I.'s feel differently about their leaders than did the superfervent Boys in Blue of the Civil War. Perhaps this part of our political folklore has outlived its usefulness—and then again, perhaps not. We shall see in 1952.

But if it has, it was surely speeded to its grave by a very eminent authority. For it was General of the Army Dwight D. Eisenhower who wrote, in his letter to a newspaper publisher in Manchester, New Hampshire: "The necessary and wise subordination of the military to the civil power will best be sustained when lifelong professional soldiers abstain from seeking high political office." There is a sentence which might have been written by Thomas Jefferson himself.

We come now to a part of our folklore which is by no means dead and probably never will be. I have taken the liberty to call this the "White House spendthrift" theme. It is necessary, in the manner of scientific cataloguers, to divide this particular theme into two subdivisions, the first relating to alleged personal extravagance, and the second to public spending. In recent years, and especially since the advent of the New Deal, the second subdivision has grown to such vast proportions as almost to obliterate the first. But it is in the first that the searcher for folklore will find many of his choicest and most entertaining specimens.

Many of you are familiar with the celebrated "golden spoons" speech of Congressman Charles Ogle of Pennsylvania, which was really the opening gun of the "log cabin" campaign of 1840. It was in this colorful—and highly imaginative—oration that the Congressman (who was surely some kind of ancestor to the present-day Pennsylvania Representative known as "Where Are You Going to Get the Money" Rich) invited his colleagues and the voters generally to tour the White House, with its Blue Elliptical Saloon and all its Democratic splendors of "spacious drawing rooms, glittering and dazzling saloons, French bronze lamps, gilt framed mirrors of prodigious size, gilt and satin settees, sofas, bergeras, divans, tabourets, and French comfortables, elegant mahogany gilt eagle mounted French bedsteads, gilt plateaus, gaudy artificial flowers, rich gold and blue bonbons, tambours, compotiers, ice cream vases, olive boats, silver tureens, golden goblets, table spoons, knives and forks. . . ."

It did not much matter that the Democrats could and did prove that Martin Van Buren had never bought any spoons at all for the White House, much less gold ones. Congressman Ogle went right on, in an unending gush of words that later filled forty-six pages of fine print, listing all the President's perfumes and toilet waters, his costly wines and costlier paintings, every single item of furniture and decorations down to the tassels on the curtains, and demanding, with a proper show of Whiggish indignation: "Mr. Chairman, how do you relish the notion of voting away the hard cash of your constituents, of your farmers, mechanics and poor laborers, for SILK TASSELS, GALLON, GIMP and SATIN MEDALLIONS to beautify and adorn the Blue Elliptical Saloon? Suppose, Sir, after you have returned to the prairies of Illinois, some plain, honest, republican 'Sucker' should inquire what use a real genuine hard-handed locofoco democrat like Mr. Van Buren can have for silk covered pillows, footstools, and TABOURETS in the Blue Elliptical Saloon? Wouldn't you acknowledge yourself fairly stumped? But suppose he would ask you what sort of animals these TABOURETS—or TABBY CATS—are? I will endeavor to tell him, for I have lately given some little attention to this curious subject. The TABOURET is an article of furniture, which in Europe or Asia, is met with only in the richest saloons of monarchs. It is a convex seat, without arms or back, and in form bearing a close resemblance to the Turkish standard, or the moon in her first quarter; it is composed of Gilt Wood, cushioned and stuffed with very fine black horse hair, covered with crimson damask, figured satin, and garnished with silk lace, GOLD FRINGED TASSELS, TUFTS, and STARS. It is supported by an X. Even before the Crusades the HONORS OF THE TABOURET were held in the highest esteem. This honor consisted in the distinguished privilege of sitting upon a TABOURET IN THE ROYAL PRESENCE. By long and established court ceremonial no individual in the kingdom was entitled to enjoy this high distinction on grand gala days save a DUTCHESS OF THE ROYAL BLOOD. . . ."

Several years before Mr. Ogle discovered tabourets, an earlier congressional committee had come across, among the items ordered for the household of President John Quincy Adams, a billiard table with cues and balls costing $61, and a set of handsomely carved

chessmen costing $23.50. This produced an outburst which was similar in tone, though by no means comparable in scale, to Mr. Ogle's. "Is it possible, Mr. Chairman, to believe," one agonized congressman asked, "that it was ever intended by Congress that public money should be applied to the purchase of gaming tables and gaming furniture? And if it is right to purchase billiard tables and chessmen, why not, also, faro banks, playing cards, race horses, and every other article necessary to complete a system of gambling in the President's palace, and let it be understood that this is a most splendid gambling administration?"

But this sounds a little pale and spiteful when compared with the lush researches of Mr. Ogle. It was not, in fact, until 1880 that the issue of presidential extravagance again made its appearance on a fairly broad scale. By this time it was the Democrats who were making the charges, and the Republican Presidents Grant and Hayes who were on the receiving end. My source for this is a wonderfully fat and entertaining volume entitled *Democratic Campaign Book*, which is really a bound-up collection of all kinds of party pamphlets issued in 1876 and 1880, and is the kind of material often overlooked by the more sober historians of the period.

One of these pamphlets is headed "PRESIDENTIAL LUXURIES. How the People are Taxed to Pay for Dogs, Coupes, Carriages, Croquet Sets, China Dinner Service, Etc. for the White House." The golden spoons of Mr. Ogle, alas, seem to have vanished by this time, but in their place we have new forms of presidential self-indulgence. "With the advent of Grant," we are told, "thousands of costly gifts were showered upon him. Hambletonian colts, blooded bull pups, gold-tipped cigars, expensive libraries and the like, were among the gifts that found their way to the White House. The giver was almost invariably rewarded with a fat office or remunerative contract.

"None but the most elect were permitted to visit the official dog kennels, or the official stables, built by Babcock at a cost to the people of $10,000. The display of blooded animals, poultry, ponies, coupes, splendid carriages, sulkies, drags, and other costly things was amazing. And it must not be forgotten that all of this expensive stud, including the dogs and their keepers, were maintained by the taxpayers of this country."

It is the croquet-ball scandal, however, that rouses the anonymous author of this pamphlet to almost Ogleian heights. "Mr. Hayes," he writes, "soon discovered a taste for sports, for works of art, and refined luxury. The taste of his household ran in the same direction. Having a salary of only FIFTY THOUSAND DOLLARS a year, he could not think of gratifying this taste at his own expense. So he decided to make a raid on the Federal Treasury. The healthful and innocent game of croquet was then in fashion. He could have bought a set for $10, but it was agreed that nothing but *boxwood balls* would answer for the White House, and that would cost *six dollars more*—a drain that his private fortune could never bear. The following voucher will show how he obtained them at the expense of the taxpayers. It will be observed that the purchase is brought under the head of 'Repairs and Fuel' for the Executive Mansion, a simple device that only a Christian statesman like Mr. Hayes could invent."

It is difficult to estimate the effect of this grave charge against Mr. Hayes, who, at any rate, was not running for re-election in 1880. It is quite possible that the numerous croquet addicts among the population applauded and sympathized with his preference for boxwood balls, while those who preferred the more strenuous outdoor game of badminton may have been turned against the Republican Party for years to come. In these times, when our government is quite willing to spend two billion dollars for an atom bomb, and perhaps four billion more for the first hydrogen bomb, one cannot help but look back wistfully to the good old days when a president was satisfied with a set of boxwood croquet balls—even though they did cost $6 extra!

I have said enough, I hope, to indicate that the folklore of politics —as contrasted with actual political history—is an interesting field, and one which deserves further and more scientific investigation. As a starter I should like to recommend a careful study of *all* the campaign biographies which have been written during presidential campaigns since 1828, which is about the earliest date at which they appear. I have found such books and pamphlets extremely fascinating and rewarding in getting a contemporary view of history in the making. In the main they are useless as factual source material, but

they are of the greatest significance to the student of popular mores and myths.

I hope you will pardon me for bringing in a personal reference again—I do it only to point another parallel. In 1944 I was assigned to write a profile of the Republican candidate for president for the magazine *Life*, which, as time will doubtless show, is itself a rich repository of current folklore. In the course of this article, I wrote, with what seemed to me at the time very pointed irony, the following paragraphs:

"In the language of the success stories, the youthful Dewey was a doer, not a dreamer. He had pluck, and he had luck. Somehow he always managed to have his childhood illnesses during vacations—he had measles one Easter, and was back on his feet the day school opened. He was never tardy, either. In fact, he was such a model boy that his schoolmates looked upon him with suspicion and frank disapproval.

"Dewey, for his part, could not understand why the others had difficulty in learning things which he grasped very quickly. He liked going to school. When one of his grandparents died he told a teacher he would not take the whole day off for the funeral. 'I can get my work done in the morning and go to the funeral in the afternoon,' he explained. 'After all, school is a preparation for the future.' "

I had thought, of course, that this picture was something of a caricature of earlier campaign biographies. But not at all. Some time later I happened to look through one of Rutherford B. Hayes, written by—of all people—Russell H. Conwell of "Acres of Diamonds" fame. And here I found my description of schoolboy Dewey almost word for word.

"Young Hayes," wrote Mr. Conwell, "was always waiting at the steps of the old stone schoolhouse when the door was opened in the morning, and never late in returning to his seat at recess. He did not splinter his desk with his penknife, nor throw paper balls or apple cores at his next neighbor. . . . He engaged in no quarrel with his schoolmates; and he strictly obeyed every direction and command of his instructors. He was a model boy. To him the teacher pointed with pride, and set him before the school as a standard of good behaviour."

The writing of campaign biographies, incidentally, is no ignoble tradition. Horace Greeley contributed to several of "Old Tippecanoe" in 1840, and wrote one of Henry Clay in preparation for the campaign of 1844. Nathaniel Hawthorne wrote one of his friend Franklin Pierce. William Dean Howells wrote the best one of Lincoln in 1860. All these are pretty well known. But it is perhaps not so well known that William Taylor Adams, better known as Oliver Optic, wrote a truly delightful one of Grant in 1868, while the incomparable Horatio Alger himself carried on the tradition with his volume on Garfield, entitled *From Canal Boy to President.*

In our own time we have had frankly political biographies of Earl Warren by Irving Stone, the author of *Lust for Life* and other historical novels, and of Willkie and Dewey both by Stanley Walker, who also wrote *City Editor* and *Mrs. Astor's Horse.* Not every candidate, of course, has found such a talented Boswell, but there have been enough campaign biographies written to form the basis for a really entertaining and important study. Particularly in the realm of political folklore, such books are unexcelled.

Hartwick, N. Y. ROGER BUTTERFIELD

Introductory Note

In this third Conference there were no prepared papers except the preceding one and no material distributed in advance. The Society therefore presents a nearly verbatim report of the discussions as they occurred. These remarks have had a minimum of editing in order to preserve much of their spontaneity, and this method of reporting explains the conversational rather than the literary style of the presentation.

It will be noted that the Conference did not reach any conclusions; in fact, the discussions were planned with that end in view. Those who attended participated frequently and informally for the most part, and many ideas were introduced.

A careful reading of the accompanying report *in extenso* will serve to emphasize many points both of agreement and disagreement. The significant word that was most frequently repeated was "communication," and one senses a certain fear that in this matter of communication graduate teachers and their students have been too inarticulate, that the schools are failing to do that which needs most to be done.

There was likewise a pervasive dissatisfaction with the failure of graduate instruction to teach students to teach. This was accompanied by a feeling that the graduate schools, despite the fact that they were designed to extend the bounds of knowledge, had neglected the fact that teaching is an essential avenue of communication. The result in the minds of some was a lost opportunity. It is hoped that the reading of the statements of those maintaining these implications, as well as the words of those resisting them, will stimulate a continuing interest in these and the many other unsolved problems of graduate training which were discussed at this Conference.

Proceedings of the Conference

FIRST SESSION

"European Methods"

Panel: Roy F. Nichols, *Moderator*, Bailey W. Diffie (Spain and Portugal), Hajo Holborn (Germany), Caroline Robbins (England), Arthur P. Watts (France).

Roy F. Nichols: I am not here this afternoon in my capacity as a professor. I am here in my capacity as a member of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania. This Historical Society has been operating now for one hundred and twenty-five years and has in the last seventy-five years seen many generations of graduate students come and go, and one of the things that has been most interesting is to find out how the best-behaved graduate students and those instructing them in their rather difficult task fared. So as the conference of last year suggested through certain of its members that it would be a fine thing if the Historical Society this year devoted its conference to this question of the problems of graduate instruction in history, we are very glad that we were given that topic and we have followed it.

As you have seen from the program, we have undertaken to devise three sessions. The session this afternoon is designed to give perspective. We have four scholars who have studied at European universities, who will explain to us how it is done abroad. Then tomorrow morning we have three American scholars who are going to give certain information and certain comments upon the nature of the problem in the United States, and then as a grand climax we have secured the attendance of three deans of graduate schools who are also historians, who are going to give us the benefit of their experience and comment upon the feasibility, or the lack of it, of the various suggestions that have come out in the two days' sessions.

We are going to conduct this in a very free and easy way. We have done the daring thing of providing no presiding officers after today,

because it was suggested last year that presiding officers talk too much, and I am going on to demonstrate that that is also true this year. Nevertheless, I am the only presiding officer we have, and tomorrow the panels have got to get along without any. Therefore, the meeting is going to be in your hands, and everything you say is being taken down, not to be used against you, but to be used by the Historical Society for preparing a report which we hope will be full of suggestions and will go out to the historical and to the scholarly world as a ray of light in darkness.

The darkness that we face is the fact that for seventy-five years we have been giving graduate instruction in history. At the time when this was undertaken, the idea was to provide for better, more accurate, more scientific history, and thus create in the world a more accurate knowledge of the past which would undoubtedly throw light upon the future. But the difficulty has been that we have gotten into certain paradoxical situations which make it essential that wherever two or three professors are gathered together, there they will speak about the difficulties that they are having in the graduate training, because a program which was originally designed to extend the bounds of knowledge has become somehow or other inextricably entwined with teacher training, and we find that we are mostly engaged in teacher training without realizing it. Although we are somewhat neglecting it, the fact still remains that the chief reason why we have so many students is that they want to get teaching jobs. Therefore, what was designed originally to make written history much more dependable, has become, shall we say, something in the line of a pedagogical exercise.

Then, in the second place, an art, a science, which was designed to make for bigger and better history has for some reason or other produced a form of paralysis. Various students have worked out statistics to show that so many Ph.D.'s never go beyond the first book. In other words, that which we designed to light a torch in the wilderness has somehow been turned into a fire extinguisher.

These are certain of the problems that we have to face, and we are facing them also at a time when there seem to be more and more who want this instruction, and at a time when instructorial staffs, at least in our institution, are not expanding very much. So we are confronted with another idea—that you spend all your time trying to

nurse the mediocre to a point where they can present dissertations that you will not blush to see. What are you going to do for genius? Are you going to allow genius to flourish by its own efforts while you are weighed down and tired out by the men and women who crowd our classrooms?

I have just indicated to you that there are a variety of problems, and I hope that during the course of this next day and a half we can have a full, free, and disorderly discussion of them. Therefore, stand not upon your speaking; interrupt at any time, interject any remarks that you may have. Your only responsibility is to say what you feel without let or hindrance—please don't have any inhibitions here; we are all experienced, we are all over twenty-one, we all know the facts of academic life. Be as radical as you like or as conservative as you like, bearing in mind that there will be three deans to sit on it tomorrow afternoon and possibly squelch anything like enthusiasm which may come out, because they know the difficulties of which we irresponsibles, of course, are unaware.

With this brief introduction, and bearing in mind that this is the last chairman you are going to have, we are going to turn now to the program of the afternoon.

Professor Diffie, of the College of the City of New York, who has had the benefit of experience in Spain and Portugal, will tell us how it is done in those Latin countries.

Bailey W. Diffie: I want to begin by calling attention to certain differences in doctoral training in the United States and in Spain and Portugal. One is the recruitment of personnel. The students in Spain and Portugal are recruited almost exclusively from a small group of intellectuals who have followed intellectual training for centuries. They are born expecting to become intellectuals. That is not true in the United States, because most of us were neither born expecting to become, nor succeed in becoming, intellectuals. Secondly, their high schools and their colleges prepare them for an intellectual career. I think that is a difference in our schools, too. They go through a course of training in the high school, or at least the liceo (which I think is more advanced than our high school), and they take a number of subjects which we do not study at all or study very summarily in

our American schools, and study them very attentively. Latin is the obvious one, but I am going to mention some others.

There is a third difference. When a man starts helping a young man train for a doctor's career in Spain or Portugal, he can assume that that young man, as a graduate of a Spanish or a Portuguese university, can speak, as the case may be, either the Spanish or the Portuguese language—that is, his own language—that he can write that language and that he can read it. That is an assumption we certainly cannot take in a vast number of cases in our American schools. When I went to Spain to study, they did me the honor to consider that I knew English already—and I am from Texas.

When you are entered as a candidate for a doctor's degree, by law in both countries you have to have an A.B. The quality of that A.B. is not stated in the law. In practice, it is supposed to be an A.B. with honors, and for their own students, as a rule, they exact that requirement. The Spanish are an extremely courteous people; for me they waived a great many things.

In Spain you have to present a thesis in typed copy only, five copies of it, more or less standard American practice here, and you are examined on that typed copy. You do not have to print it ever unless you want to. In theory, thus, the only requirement to get a Ph.D. degree in Spain and in Portugal is the presentation of a thesis and an examination on it, and you are through.

However, in fact, there are certain other things to which I wish to call your attention. In Spain there are some things of which you are presumed to have knowledge; in other words some things which they give you credit for knowing but do not examine you on. Latin is one. They just presume you can read Latin. One of the five men on my examination panel in Spain talked to me exclusively in Latin. I have often thought it would have been very interesting to know what he said.

Another language required until a few years ago in Spain of the candidate for the history degree was Arabic. Only the year before I went to Spain they waived that for candidates for some types of degrees, and waived it for all foreigners. Otherwise I would have had to come back to America to trudge my way here. They do not give any examination in French, English, or German, or any modern language. However, without asking me any questions of what I could

or could not do, the man that I picked to direct my dissertation assigned me a topic that required French. I knew a little college French from the United States. I had to solve the problem in some way, so I married and went to Paris on my honeymoon.

They also presume you know certain things that they call the auxiliary sciences. Frankly, I had never heard of them until I got to Spain; at least I had never heard of them as such. For instance, numismatics. I went to the dictionary and looked that up, and I found out that it consisted of a lot of what I had very little of. They just presumed I knew about it and even asked me some questions about it. Then there is Roman epigraphy, and, of course, paleography. Any student in any Spanish or Portuguese university is required to take a full year of paleography. That is in the sophomore year.

You don't have to go to class at all. Theoretically, I could have gone through my whole career and never attended a single class. The Spanish students do that; I met a lot of my classmates on the day of my examination. Actually, they advised me to attend, and I did. I went to the classes with the greatest of regularity—except when I was in Paris on my honeymoon.

There are no seminar classes. There is no group of half dozen or a dozen people who get together and read each other poor papers. However, I attended what my professor called a seminar, which he and his auxiliary professor held. I was usually the only student. Once in a while there would be another student and we would call it "reporting to the professor." They called it a seminar. I did that seven or eight times in the two years I was in Spain. It usually amounted to something like this: I would write a chapter, take it to a friend of mine who was a Spaniard and he would correct the Spanish —I could have written it in Latin, by the way; it is one of the privileges they offer you. After he had corrected it, I would take it to the auxiliary professor and he would correct that Spanish; then the directing professor would sometimes make a great many additional corrections on it because they wanted it to be correct by the time they faced the committee with it.

Those are the normal requirements; the final examination is more or less like the American system—a panel of five professors, but in various fields. For example, the man who talked to me in Latin all

the time was in the field of geography, and he was there to ask me questions particularly about Western European geography—and I presume he did.

The Portuguese doctorate is a little different and I think considerably more difficult. The Portuguese doctorate also begins with a requirement of an A.B. degree, again a requirement by law. Anyone, then, who has that degree, at least in theory, can come forward with a published dissertation or a published work.

The entrance requirements are all roughly the same as those in Spain, but after presenting your printed dissertation, they admit you to the candidacy for a degree. In other words, you write something, present a printed dissertation, and apply to become a candidate for the degree. If they admit you to candidacy, then between January and March they hold an examination. The examination consists of five days of work. On the first day, there is a written two-hour examination. This is examined by all the professors of the history faculty, and it can include all of the fields of history from ancient times to the present. In fact, you literally draw a number out of a hat, and you may find yourself faced with two hours of writing on Roman history, Greek, Egyptian, or modern Portuguese history. That is considered an eliminatory examination! If you are found worthy, you are then admitted to the oral examinations.

The first day of oral examination is only one hour, a minimum of one hour in five or six general fields which you have presented as a candidate. You can name those fields within certain general limits. There are two professors—or all may sit if they wish—to examine you on these five or six topics which again cover the whole field of general history. On the second day you have another oral examination. This is a minimum of one hour, and it is an examination on Portuguese history, anything in Portuguese history, modern or medieval or ancient.

On the third day, in Lisbon University in Caimbra there is a slight difference—you are given an examination in the auxiliary sciences. They examine you in archeology, epigraphy, paleography and numismatics. However, in the college course everybody is required to study these subjects; you don't come to them absolutely as a novice.

After this examination, the history faculty meets again and decides whether you will be allowed to stand an examination on your

thesis. If they decide that you are good enough to stand an examination on that already-printed thesis which you have brought to them, then you undergo an examination of about two hours on the dissertation, given by all of the history faculty, or any who want to come. There must be at least two. A grade is given which is 16, 17, 18 or 19 or 20; 16 is a very low-class doctor's degree; 20 is perfect. If you get 20, you are considered an outstanding person; I found out that by courtesy most people get a 19.

Mr. Nichols: Thank you, Professor Diffie.

Conyers Read: I would like to inquire what percentage of the students who apply succeed in getting through?

Mr. Diffie: Practically all in Portugal, because they have already published a work first, so that in many cases they are practically certain that that work will be accepted before they ever present themselves as candidates.

In Spain I don't know the percentage, but I heard of a great many people who didn't get through.

Mr. Nichols: Professor Holborn of Yale will speak to you about training in Germany.

Hajo Holborn: In contrast to Mr. Diffie—who came as an American, or at least as a Texan, to Spain—I grew up under both the German school and university system, and now after fifteen years of academic teaching in America I find it extremely difficult to set up more or less objective standards on which to compare the German and American systems.

I think the first point to be discussed, and to some extent this conforms to Mr. Diffie's experiences, is the question of recruitment of students. Those Germans who become university students are without exception, or practically without exception, the graduates of what is usually called the gymnasium—the Germans call it high school as well—which is a nine-year high school. After four years of grade school, sometimes less, about ten per cent of the German children,

usually merely on the basis of the ability of their parents to pay the high school tuition, are brought into the gymnasium and are there, in nine years, prepared for university studies. As a matter of fact, half of them flunk on the way, so that altogether the student population of a German university is about five per cent—that is a very rough figure, of course—of the youth of Germany.

There is practically no hope for somebody who has missed on the entrance into the gymnasium, which means at the age of ten, ever to reach the university. That has very serious implications, because no German child of grade school training will ever have any position of influence in society. To a limited extent, some may arrive through business, but in general, German society is not a business society, but rather a society of civil servants. I do not propose here to discuss the social implications of that school system. That seems to me the worst obstacle to a democratization of Germany. I am talking here merely about the intellectual and academic aspects of that system.

Before Hitler, the university professors—again only intellectually speaking—were in a very privileged position. They had students who were very specially, and in many cases very specifically, trained for the university. Consequently, they could from the outset raise their standards to a very high level. They could expect that languages were well known and were well used. Actually, the least known of all languages, I should add, probably was the German language, because less emphasis was placed on the teaching of German in the schools than was placed on the teaching of Latin, Greek, and, incidentally, mathematics as well. But in any case, from the outset you could start with advanced work.

Broadly speaking, I should say the German university—I do not consider the last twenty years or so when things were of course entirely mixed up and declining, but I am taking the better period—the German university in American terms started with the junior year and ended probably with second year of graduate school; something like upper class college plus work up to the M.A. That would be the basic group of the German university.

Undoubtedly the effectiveness of that system was decreasing probably through the last fifty years. I think the very period when the German university was at the peak of its effectiveness, intellectually and scientifically, was probably the period between 1850 and 1900.

At this point I do not want to compare the German and American systems. I would like to say only a few things. I am quite convinced that the German system in the twentieth century was no longer the ideal system, and I am not advocating or extolling it. On the other hand, in considering and comparing the American graduate school system and the German graduate school system, it should be understood that what the Americans took from Germany were certain aspects of that system, and these parts were fitted into a very different social and intellectual climate. A great deal in the American graduate schools that is blamed on the German system of graduate training would still have to be analyzed very carefully, because it is quite obvious that a good many American students misunderstood the German system and brought over here, in some respects, a somewhat distorted idea of this German organization.

So much about the general background of the German system. Now, what about the organization of study? A German high school graduate would enter the university in one of the faculties, and for our purpose of history teaching and study, that would mean the philosophical faculty. He was not allowed to study history exclusively. In most universities, even as late as 1920, one of his fields had to be philosophy. In addition, the whole field of European and Western history was required, and usually some other field, whatever it might be—economics, linguistics, history of literature, and so on. Actually, I think that was one of the strongest points of the German system, that there was no history department. There was only a philosophical faculty, and the individual student of history had to relate his historical studies to studies in some other field.

The German student received no guidance whatsoever as far as the selection of his courses was concerned. That was all up to him. He had to present at the time of his application for admission to the examination, some kind of statement of what courses he had had—not listened to, but had paid for—and was consequently supposed to be asked questions in them. There was no required attendance. I think even a fairly diligent student, which I think I was, would probably register for twice as many courses as he really attended—the examination might be organized one way or the other and he might have difficulty if he had not taken a particular course. He wasn't quite sure what professor would examine him. Consequently,

he had better put him on his list and pay him his tuition. But the attendance was limited; I think on the average even fairly assiduous German students would probably pick not more than twelve hours a week in lecture courses, and then, probably beginning with the second year of his studies, register for seminars.

In connection with our examination of the present American writing system, it is interesting to note that much more emphasis was placed on the lecture courses than most of the foreign students in Germany realized. A seminar was, of course, much easier for foreign students to get into and to follow because it was a complete subject, whereas the more oratorical presentation in the big lecture course, with a good many literary hints which were probably difficult for a foreign student, seemed a more superficial performance. I must say from my experiences that I can't think how I could have become a historical scholar without seminars; but for the problem of the organization of more extensive historical material, for the whole problem of the presentation or the writing of history, I must say some of the lecture courses established in my mind the kind of standard under which I try not to fall. In this respect, particularly in history more than in linguistics, I think the lecture course seems to be a very important educational influence.

The German seminar I don't think I have to describe in any detail because it is pretty well known among this group. Seminars probably on the whole are a bit more specialized than the usual American seminar, though that is very hard to say. Some were and some probably were not. Incidentally, the seminar is not only a German invention, but an invention of the German historians. The first seminars were given in German universities; they were given by Ranke, and the professor of history who institutionalized them around 1850 was Joh. G. Droysen. Originally, the professors held them in their own private residences, and that developed into the more serious and institutionalized effort of the seminar.

Usually the dissertations were developed in these seminars. Here I would like to make, I hope, as fair a statement as I can on the German dissertations. I think on the whole the German dissertations of 1900, let's say, as compared to the dissertations in Yale and Harvard and Pennsylvania, were probably of an inferior character. I think the American dissertation in a good many places nowadays

must rather be compared to the books presented by those who applied for lectureships. Undoubtedly, some dissertations were written which could stand up to any criteria, but the vast majority of German dissertations were rather small and insignificant works. They served as a whole not too much purpose, because the mass of the German history students actually went into high school teaching. Only a very small number aspired beyond that. The number of German academic teachers, university teachers, was unusually small.

Let me say that a university like Heidelberg, at the time when I taught there, had altogether six historians on its staff—medieval and modern and one in ancient history—and for those, other requirements applied. First of all, their dissertations had to be good dissertations and had to be published immediately and *in toto* after they passed their Ph.D. Beyond that, they had to present something for scholarship ready for the press and had to go through a very searching examination before the full philosophical faculty at the university where they applied. There were few academic teachers of a graduate level of training, something corresponding to a level between the M.A. and the Ph.D. here. It is very hard to define it exactly.

That was the general system. I hope I will be asked questions which I can answer in the course of our further conference.

Mr. Nichols: Thank you, Professor Holborn.

Our plan is to have the four members of the panel speak in order, and then devote the rest of the afternoon to the exciting discussion which is going to arise, rather than break the train of thought.

We are fortunate in having Professor Robbins of Bryn Mawr to tell us of her English experience.

Caroline Robbins: I have a feeling that when I get through you will all think a lot less of me, but a true confession is good for the soul. I will try to tell you what I did in England, and I will safeguard myself against too much criticism in your mind by saying that I had the benefit of a year at Ann Arbor, Michigan, after I was through my English Ph.D.

The comparison of the entering graduate student in England and in this country is very hard to make, because in England a great deal

the preparation for graduate research in history is supposed to ive taken place in the undergraduate training. I do feel, then, that must just briefly describe for those of you who are not familiar with e English picture as a whole what the English university tries to do r its students who are going to be able to do graduate work there-ter—that is to say, those students who take their honors degree at e of the English universities. They have entered the university on standard which is nation-wide, that is, the matriculation standard its equivalent examination. Oxford and Cambridge have their own aminations. I took one of those, with a supplementary examination Latin, as I had planned to be a scientist, in order to enter an arts urse at the University of London.

Those examinations, whichever they are, are pretty uniform in the raining given for them. The student goes up to college with presum-bly so much Latin, so much English, so much—rather little—istory in my case, some considerable amount of English history and just one year of European history with very little examination before college level in it. The languages—French, and in some cases German —are also supposed to be coped with at school level.

The English student in any university is expected then to survive about a year of more general training, though the honor students are separated already from the pass students at the time of entry. At the end of that year they may be permitted, if they have survived it well, to change from pass to honors or they may be demoted, but their line is already set when they enter, and in most cases remains the same. This varies slightly from university to university, but is more or less the same in all.

At the end of that year some form of examination is given; you are thrown out if you don't pass, and you are continued if you do pass. In the case of the historian, ancient history, general English history, Middle and Modern and English literature (which are regarded as inseparable), Latin and Ancient history (which is regarded as inseparable to it), would have to be part of the course. There may be others. Oxford and Cambridge sometimes still demand Greek. London, Manchester, and Birmingham do not.

Then two or three years are occupied for the bachelor's degree, and those years are divided between lecture courses, which the student may or may not attend—you are allowed to cut a third of them, as

I recall, and quite a lot of us did—and the seminar. The only thing that concerns us here is that seminar training, because it is in effect the only training that most English graduate students get of a very detailed and specialized kind. If you survive ten final examinations in the University of London, my own Alma Mater, you get your degree. They cover your languages—Latin, French, and German, in most cases—your political philosophy, which is required of all students, your general, English, and European history. There are also examinations on the seminar.

The seminar, which continues through the two years, is on a special field, and it is generally presumed that you will proceed, if you intend to take a doctorate from that special field, into the seminar for work necessary for your master's degree or your doctorate. It has, therefore, some interest in the present connection.

In my case, I was exposed to medievalists, very good ones too, one of whom was Miss Hilda Johnstone. I went into a seminar in the reign of Henry III, a thirteenth-century seminar, and a seminar in medieval institutions. In those I worked once a week through rather short terms for two years, and on those I survived three three-hour examinations as part of my ten final examinations for the B.A. degree. I received a pretty thorough training in them in all sorts of subjects. I can't say they were as daunting as those which Mr. Diffie's Portuguese and Spanish students had survived, but it was not bad training, and the seminar on the reign of Henry III was not unlike an American seminar of the sort which does not require papers from the students every week.

We worked on certain portions of the documents assigned by the university in that subject, that is to say, the royal letters of Henry III, in Latin, and several Latin chronicles, and from those we worked each week with our professor, when the professor came, which was not always. We had a room called the seminar room, not unlike the American library seminars which are so nice, with the books around the walls that were appropriate to our field.

There were other seminars in the university: one on South Africa during the Boer War and Unification Period, and a seminar on Henry VII that Professor Pollard had. From those special seminar subjects, the university drew most of its postgraduate students, its students who were going to work for the master's degree and Ph.D.

I decided to take a higher degree. I started with the modest idea of a master's degree and sat for a fellowship examination. That was because I needed money. But having survived that and being given the fellowship, I was then permitted by the university to register for a master's degree. About three months after I had done that, I made up my mind I was coming to America, and I had heard that the Ph.D. was a useful degree. So I wrote to the proper authorities an engaging letter and said that I had some new material on the subject and thought I could survive my Ph.D. degree; might I change my registration? With a payment of a double fee I was allowed to do that.

I am suggesting this to you simply to show that the distinction between one kind of degree and another was not in those far-off days very different, and although I think the time limits in which you may do the Ph.D. have now been extended and there are some regulations about them, they have not changed very substantially since I went into that course in 1924.

I was then asked what I was going to do it in, since everybody assumed that I would do it as a medieval student. I had been permitted to do it because my medieval examinations were good. I however announced that I was going to do it on the seventeenth century, and after a great pause in the university—I don't know what happened during that pause; I suspect my instructors fought it out—I was told that I should be allowed to proceed into a seventeenth-century field if I wished, and if my subject met with the approval of the university. The university passed on all subjects, excluding the biographical, the purely theoretical, and various other categories from the subjects which were regarded as proper for history post-graduate students. The regulations were extremely simple and very easy to fill. I was obliged to attend a year of paleography. The professor had a very liberal attitude toward me. He explained at once that he thought I could do more by studying my own handwriting, perhaps, than by learning the techniques of the medieval world in which he was interested, and he used to hand me out various handwritings which were no worse than my own, to practice on, while other now famous people studied medieval paleography with him. At the end of the year he was kind enough to give me a testimonial, but on what I was never quite sure.

We were also obliged to take a course in historical method, which consisted of six lectures, every word of which was valuable, but they didn't take up much time. There was no reading required with them, no examination at the end. All university students in my time were expected to attend those lectures.

I was told that it would be sensible if I were to register at the Institute of Historical Research, which I still consider the best institution I have ever been connected with, and to attend a seminar in it. There was no seminar in the seventeenth century that directly concerned my subject, but I registered in a seminar which Mr. Adair, a specialist in sixteenth-century history, held the first year, and in Mr. Syke's, a specialist in the eighteenth century, in the second year.

There were about eighteen or twenty of us in the seminar and we were all working on our theses, on subjects selected by ourselves but approved by the university. We had someone working on code, someone working on early parliamentary bureaus, someone working on the Chancellor; we had someone working on an early eighteenth-century subject which never became very clear to me. I was working on Andrew Marvell and his career in Parliament. We met for two or three hours most weeks in the Institute, and we discussed the progress of our researches. I also met at intervals one of the staff at the college I was living at, who asked me how I was getting on and who gave me a glass of port wine occasionally—she has a curious taste for that—and who very kindly read such chapters as I gave her, but never, as I recall, read the whole of my thesis. Mr. Adair now at McGill gave me a great deal of advice on the side. He would meet me in corridors of the Institute, address me as to what I was doing, and send me to people at the Record Office whom he thought would be useful. Miss Johnstone, who very generously forgave me for leaving the medieval world, from time to time suggested that I should write to people who were working on Marvell and get their advice, and Mr. Margoliouth, who was editing Marvell, was extraordinarily kind and helpful. During these two years, I wrote my dissertation, had it typed during the general strike of 1926, submitted it to the university, and was told that I should not have to submit to an examination. But examinations could be demanded, and some of my colleagues sat for written examinations at the time of their Ph.D.'s.

I was questioned as to my linguistic abilities and answered as truthfully as possible about them, but I was not tested or examined. I was then told to appear at the Institute, where Mr. Feiling of Oxford examined me closely on my thesis, with Miss Johnstone, who remarked on rather poor spelling in it, and I was then assured that I had a Ph.D.

The thesis in the form it stood would be considered by the university suitable for publication, but I was not obliged to publish it. I had to deposit a typed copy at the Institute for Historical Research where for all I know it still reposes in the safe. I bore a carbon copy of it to Ann Arbor to display to the university lest they should question my attainment.

That was more or less the history of my Ph.D. work. I have given you my own simply because I can speak more truthfully about it. Some of my friends whose theses required highly technical training, as did that of one friend working on sources of a sixteenth-century writer, had to acquire five or six languages, and the university took it for granted that she would go abroad. She spent about four years on her thesis. Other people who required highly technical training in medieval documents or other things of that sort were expected to acquire it. If their director was a specialist in their own field, no doubt they were supported, questioned, and helped. But if, as in the case of myself and quite a lot of other people that I know, no one in the university was particularly interested in the field of study which had been selected, there was practically no special instruction at all. The university required, in the first place, literacy from the student presenting the thesis, then an undertaking by the examiners, one of whom had to be external to the university, that the thesis contained some new material, documentary or interpretive. That was in effect the training that we got.

I won't bore you by giving you my reflections on that training. To some extent, I have regretted that I hadn't been exposed to some of my colleagues in this country who would certainly have done a lot more for me. In other ways I think the experience, which was a very happy one—I thoroughly enjoyed my graduate work and I sometimes wish my students enjoyed it as much as I did—did develop independence and a feeling of responsibility. The university did flunk Ph.D.'s without the slightest hesitation. My only classmate, a

fellow collegian of my own, who took the examination at the time I did, and I might say with a great deal more assistance in the special field of her director, was peremptorily failed and told she could not reappear for examination with thesis for two years, and that she would have to survive a written examination in that field as well as the thesis. Since she was reputedly a very able, learned woman, I don't know what the trouble was, but the university did quite frequently accord that sort of treatment to people.

The regulations now haven't changed very much. It isn't possible now to write your thesis and submit it within two years after the A.B. degree as I did. I think it now has to be three. There are further regulations about the progression from the master's to the Ph.D. in the case of those students whom the university won't permit to proceed straight to the Ph.D. There are regulations about students from other countries. The School of Economics, which has always had a rather different system from the rest of the country, very different from Oxford or Cambridge and quite different from the rest of the university of which it is a part, the University of London, examines its master's candidates in those cases where it feels it is necessary, before they present the thesis, which is essential in all cases. But on the whole, I should say that it has changed very little. The student who proceeds to a higher degree is expected to have a subject in his head which will be criticized and may be changed somewhat as he proceeds either in the seminar to which he is attached, or by the director of subjects, or by the university itself, which criticizes the subject selected. But he will be regarded as having had the necessary training in research as an undergraduate.

English education, on the whole, has never interested itself in information as such, either at the school or college level. The fact that people haven't had courses in any field has never been felt to be important at all. I think it has probably been underemphasized. Depth is the philosophy. You go down into some one thing thoroughly as an undergraduate—at Oxford and Cambridge particularly that is the philosophy. That fits you to attack any historical problem which you have, and you are expected to fit yourself thereafter by your own efforts, voluntary exposure, if you wish, to further teaching.

The systems and the problems it faces are very different, I think, from those we have to face here, and I myself wouldn't feel that

except in certain psychological aspects we could adopt a similar system.

Mr. Nichols: Thank you, Professor Robbins.

We now turn to the French experience, and Professor Watts of the University of Pennsylvania will speak on that.

Arthur P. Watts: It might be well to begin with the statement that in France there are two degrees for a doctorate. There is the old degree which comes out of the medieval period, the *Docteur-ès-lettres d'état*, a state degree. All of the seventeen universities of France—the one in Algeria and the other sixteen in France—are under a centralized system under the Minister of Public Instruction. So the same regulations hold good in every institution. The *Docteur-ès-lettres* is really for very mature students. The normal Frenchman goes through the university, gets his *licence*, which is the equivalent of his master's degree, the old idea of a license to teach, and then takes a very competitive examination for appointment in the lycées, the *agrégation*, and only the number required to fill the vacancies in the lycées are taken. He spends the next five or ten years teaching in those high schools, finally makes up his mind that he wants to come up for his doctor's. During that time he has not only done his teaching, but is doing a great deal of research and scholarly work and taking some courses in the university. He is, therefore, usually thirty-five years of age when he comes up for that degree. The university acts as an examining committee. It certifies to the government that that individual has passed his doctoral examination. The government grants the degree.

As soon as the thesis is presented and accepted, the man automatically gets his degree, but the catch is this: there are three grades of passing the examination. One is *très honorable*. Now, if the candidate passes with a "very honorable mention," he gets an appointment at the Sorbonne right away. If he passes with "honorable mention," he gets a position in one of the provincial universities. If he gets a mere pass, he remains the rest of his life teaching in the lycées. Because of that, the number of "honorable" degrees given usually equals the number of vacancies in the seventeen universities, making it again most competitive. That is the state degree.

Just after World War I, France wanted to attract to French universities those American students who would like to study abroad. They had felt very keenly the fact that Americans usually chose before the war to go to Germany, and they wanted to attract American students to France. So with a committee of American professors and French professors, they worked out a scheme to put in a degree that they considered equivalent to the American Ph.D., and by that means did attract a great many American students.

The difference between those two degrees is that the French degree takes usually four to five years after admission to candidacy. The *Docteur de l'université*, as it is called, the one that is intended to be equivalent to our Ph.D. degree, requires two or three years' work and one thesis, whereas the *Docteur-ès-lettres* requires two theses. The university acts as the granting institution in the case of the degree of *Docteur de l'université*. Those are the two main differences.

No Frenchman will take the degree *Docteur de l'université*. He wants to take the old, the more firmly established, degree.

Perhaps the best way to explain the difference in requirements is, if you will pardon personal recollections, to tell about the conversation I had with Professor Seignobos when I applied for admission to candidacy. Just a little background because of the fact that you know a number of the people that I am going to mention. I had begun my graduate work with Henry Morse Stephens out in the University of California. He advised me to go to Oxford to study with a very close friend of his, Charles Harding Firth, and, having been granted a fellowship from California, I spent a year with Firth, and a very profitable year it was. Finally he said, "I would advise you to go down and work for a little while in London."

I went down to London as he had advised. Two of us in the seminar were from overseas, one from the University of Toronto, and myself. The professor evidently didn't like people from overseas. He began each session of the seminar by saying to the rest of the class, "Well, of course, we will have to be very easy and go very simply today because we all know that in Canada and the United States historical training is very, very poorly managed."

That of course made the University of Toronto boy and myself quite angry each time. Finally, in a conversation with the professor, he said, "Don't you want to come and take your degree at the

University of London? You know there is no better degree in the whole British Empire than one from the University of London." He didn't regard Oxford or Cambridge very highly. I said I wasn't sure, I didn't think so, and he said, "Well, as a matter of fact, there is only one better degree in the world, and that is the University of Paris." I said, "That sounds interesting." "Oh," he said, "you never could make it." Well, that was the one thing I needed. I thought I would try and show him—that's why I went to Paris.

After I got to Paris, I spent a year getting thoroughly acquainted, as thoroughly as I could in a year with spoken French, then went to see Professor Seignobos, whom, of course, I had known from his book on the study of historical method. The conversation went something like this, and here is the difference between the American and the French systems. After he saw my credentials and talked them over a little while, he abruptly said, "Have you chosen a thesis?" I said, "Yes, it is. . . ." "I don't care what it is," he said; "that is immaterial." He said, "You know in France we feel that no one should go into graduate work who doesn't know how to choose a thesis topic properly. That is up to the candidate." I said, "Supposing the candidate chooses a topic that you don't like, and works on it for four or five years?" He said, "That's too bad; that is the candidate's error." "Then he can work four or five years and present a thesis of which the topic isn't even acceptable?" He said, "Certainly; that is the risk you run."

Next I said, "How long does it take normally?" He said, "You'll find out." "When I am writing the thesis do you want me to hand it in chapter by chapter, or two or three chapters at a time, so that you can revise it and hand it back with suggestions?" He said, "No, don't hand me in anything. I won't look at it. I only want to see the thesis when it is complete." Then I brightened up a little. "Of course, after it is complete then you take it, read it through, make suggestions, and I get it back and go through it and revise it." He said, "Certainly not. You never see it again until it is ready to print. We go through it and it is either acceptable or it is turned down. If it is turned down, that's all. It has to be a finished piece of work ready for publication."

Then I tried another tack. I said, "What is the examination like?" "You'll find out the day of the examination," he said. I said,

"How long is the examination?" "You'll find out the day of the examination." "What does it cover?" I then asked. "You'll find out the day of the examination."

I saw I was getting nowhere and I tried something else. I said, "Of course, I have gone through all the archives in England that I could find dealing with my subject (which was Cromwellian expansion in the West Indies) and I have read a good deal about French archives. (I had by this time got out to him what the thesis was to be about. He never let on whether he liked it or not.) Would you mind advising me which archives it would be best to begin in?" He said, "No, I can't tell you. That is for you to find out."

That is just typical of what went on for about forty-five minutes. Finally I said, "Oh yes, there is one other thing. What lectures should I attend?" He said, "If I see you in a lecture hall you will lose your candidacy. Lectures are for undergraduates."

I asked, "What about residence?" He said, "You matriculate if you are accepted, then you can go to the North or South Pole as far as I care. All we care about is what kind of work you have done when you have finished." Then came the criticism of American methods from Professor Seignobos. "You know, over here in France we have this theory. You have gone through the university, you have taken your master's degree, you have studied everything that is necessary in the way of auxiliary sciences, you know the languages you need, you have had all your proper background training. You choose to go on to a doctoral degree—you choose; we didn't choose you. We believe in sink-or-swim. If you do it, you do it all alone. You choose your thesis and you write it up. You turn it in in finished form. Certainly you can work five years and have it all wasted time because it may not be accepted. That is your risk. But if you do it and get your degree, then you will at least have the satisfaction of knowing that from the choosing of the thesis down to the published book, it is all your own.

"I understand that in America you are spoon-fed in graduate days just as well as in the undergraduate. Your professor chooses your topic for you nine times out of ten. You hand in your thesis chapter by chapter. He makes the necessary corrections and revisions, and before you know it, it is no longer your work, but in reality that thesis is the work of your professor. Then you never feel that you

have done one piece of work on your own before you get the degree. We don't do it like that. You sink or swim. You do not take lectures; you do not go to seminars; you merely work."

Then I went to work. Professor Seignobos, though, had this method. He would invite you every once in a while, once every two or three months, to come and visit him in his home. He wouldn't talk about your thesis; he might not even talk about the field of your thesis. It would begin with a little discussion about current events. That conversation would last for three hours. You would get two blocks away from his home and then you would have the uneasy feeling, "Well, my goodness, I have been through a combination of a high pressure tutorial, a seminar, and an oral examination." Professor Seignobos was the most marvelous teacher, I think, that I ever came into contact with. But it was not done in seminars; it was done in personal conferences without the student really being aware that he was being taught or that he was being examined.

According to a catalogue of the University of Paris, you have a final examination on your thesis. I found out what that meant. "On your thesis" meant that not only the field of the thesis was included but anything you referred to in it. If you referred to diplomatic history or military history, these fields were opened up. As I was writing at the time on colonial history, anything I mentioned by way of introduction or anything that I mentioned by way of comparison for a later period, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, was included. The field of the thesis was as broad as all modern history.

The candidate chooses two of his committee. There are two theses, and he chooses the chairman of the major committee, which in my case was Professor Seignobos. The candidate also chooses the chairman of the minor committee, and the university appoints four others —and deliberately appoints four others that the candidate does not know. The committee that knows the candidate, therefore, are two as compared with the four who do not.

I thought perhaps that I had an advantage taking a topic in West Indian history dealing particularly with the English viewpoint. There again I was mistaken. I was continually being misled and mistaken in France. I found that from the time they knew my topic they had had plenty of time to read up on it, because the French professor only teaches about two hours a week. I found that they knew a great

deal more than I ever suspected on the field of my thesis when the examination came.

A week before the examination the candidate pays a courtesy call to each one of the professors so they will recognize him when he is sitting in front of them. He passes the time of day for five or ten minutes and then leaves. The next time the candidate sees them, he is required to dress in full morning costume, striped trousers and a frock coat, feeling very uncomfortable, sitting in what amounts to a replica, in a way, of a French courtroom with a very high *banc*, with the six professors glaring down at him in the well below. Back of him, and this is true of all doctoral examinations, particularly when it was a doctoral *d'état*, there are about 400 in the audience, scholars from the university, scholars from all over Paris. With that in mind, the professors of course can never go into a huddle and let somebody by who is a borderline case, which we have so often seen here, you know. There are 400 witnesses as to how they examine and as to how the candidate answered. The examination lasts never less than four hours, and it has frequently been known to go up to six and seven hours. The poorer the candidate does, the longer the examination. It begins with a fifteen-minute summary on the part of the candidate in which he explains as succinctly as possible what he thinks he has accomplished of an original nature in the thesis.

By the way, with regard to that thesis, you cannot come up for your examination until the book has been published. You hand the thesis in; it is gone over very carefully by a committee of the faculty, finally approved, and sent to the Ministry of Public Instruction; it is surveyed, an official imprint on the front page, "Permission to Print," is placed upon it, and it is then printed. In one way, luckily, that provision held good in my case because it was by having to wait for the printer that I changed my degree from the *Docteur de l'université* to the *Docteur-ès-lettres*. The thesis was ready; I had been given permission to print it; the printer was slow; the examination period came up in April, and the thesis wasn't bound. I went to the university and asked for permission to take the examination on the page proof, but was told, no; the book wasn't bound yet. When I asked when I could take it, I was told I could take it a year from then. Time didn't mean anything in Paris. I saw Professor Seignobos who said that the delay was a good idea, because I thought I could

do a second thesis in a year. Of course, the second thesis need be only an edition of a manuscript, or something like that. The first thesis had to be written in French; the second thesis in any language taught at the Sorbonne. Of course, my second language was English. I quickly got together a thesis in a year, which was an edition of manuscripts, and came up for the examination. There were two hours on the main thesis and two hours on the supplementary, with an intermission in between.

The great object in a French doctoral examination is not only to be very searching, but to bully the students. The idea seems to be to try to make the student angry, to see if he can't be scared and thrown off balance. It is so entirely different from, you might say, the ladylike way in which we treat our candidates for degrees, because it is clearly the old medieval idea of the defense of a thesis. The candidate has to stand his ground.

Two weeks before my own examination, there was a Frenchman who came up with a thesis topic on the career of Carrier at Nantes. One of the professors said, "On page 100 you say this; on page 125 you say that. It seems to us that those statements are contradictory." The student said, "Well, maybe they are." The professor said, "On page 200 you say this; that is a new idea; I don't think it is right." The student said, "Perhaps you are right." After two minutes of this, the chairman of the committee became almost purple and said, "Monsieur, if you are not willing to stick by what you say and defend it against all comers, we will stop the examination right now."

So they usually begin by saying to the student, "You don't know anything about your subject; you are wasting your time by coming up here; you have done a high school piece of work; why should we waste our time?" After a little introduction like that, they expect you to be coherent and answer carefully!

At the end of a few hours the candidate feels pretty tired, and is given a fifteen-minute intermission. The day of the examination, he is assigned a little room above the lecture room, and is given a valet for the day to see that his tie is straight and that he is in good condition. As I passed out of the examination room, Professor Seignobos said to me, "What are you going to do?" I said, "I am going to go up to my little room and sit down and have a cigarette and collect my thoughts." He said, "No. You know in that corner

over there, there is a café. I would advise you to go over there and get a cognac and come back. The second part of the examination might not seem so long." In fact, the second part of the examination wasn't. At the end of four hours the examiners come back and give a verdict as to the degree.

Now then, to go back for a moment to what it means. To foreigners, and there were only two of us that year when I took mine, myself and a Chinese student—that Chinese student had done a perfectly brilliant piece of work in Chinese philology—to us, in a way, it wasn't as serious as it was to Frenchmen. It was bad enough because the French, I thought, would say, "Well, maybe we will use the taking of a degree in France as a little bit of propaganda for friendship with America." But I found out that they are so jealous of the degree that it is anything but that. They try to make you remember that, after all, you are trying something that is difficult. They are not easy on foreign students, in a way, not as easy as they are on the Frenchman. But for the Frenchman it is very, very hard, because it means his place in the university work. As a total number of degrees in what we call arts and sciences, seventeen universities in France usually give not more than thirty-five doctorates a year, about two apiece. They know what theses are coming up; they can allow to get the honorable degrees only those whom they can place in universities, making it an extremely competitive proposition. The average, as I said, is thirty-five degrees a year.

Now that is the French system: no courses, no seminars; you live where you like. There is one other great difference between that and American education, too, and that is the cost. Fifty francs for matriculation, when the franc was four cents; fifty francs for the day of the examination, when the franc was four cents. That is five dollars as a total fee to the University of Paris for matriculation and for the examination, the total fee for the whole doctoral degree.

I think the conversation with Professor Seignobos illustrates perfectly the difference between the French and the American systems of granting Ph.D. degrees.

Mr. Nichols: Thank you, Professor Watts.

It is obvious that there is one word that sums up this whole discussion, and we need compare that one word with a phrase which

describes the American situation. The European situation can be described by the word "freedom," and the American by the words "the lockstep." You have a great deal to do to reconcile those two systems, and when you recollect that ours grew out of the European, you wonder why it is that it has become what it has, and what can be done to readjust the balance between freedom and direction.

Mr. Read: Mr. Chairman, I would like to address one question to Dr. Robbins. She described the situation in the University of London. She said that that description fitted Oxford and Cambridge. Is that so?

Miss Robbins: I don't think the situation in Oxford and Cambridge is quite as difficult as at the University of London. At the moment I have two graduate students who come from Cambridge and from Oxford, one from each, and I have had others in the twenty years I have been teaching at Bryn Mawr, so that I think I know about what the regulations are. Those students are not obliged to register for a seminar, do not always have a director, although if they have a good director they are much better off, and the situation is perhaps more like the Sorbonne in the sense of complete freedom once they have been accepted for graduate work. There are obstacles there. Their degree has to be good. They have to offer certain recommendations from their tutors and teachers, but thereafter the production of a thesis for the Ph.D., or whatever degree they enter, is the chief thing, and I don't believe that they usually have an examination, which is something that was always held over our heads in the University of London but was not always, as in my own case, enforced. But I think that if anything, it is rather simpler there once the preliminary requirements for an English student have been met.

I know that at Birmingham and Manchester the situation is somewhat more formalized. There are certain requirements for students who are entering for the doctorate, but they are not very onerous, although I believe that a seminar of some sort is expected there. Quite often the Oxford and Cambridge students come up to London and register for one of the seminars at the Institute of Historical Research, which I suppose is familiar to all of you as an institution supported by all of the colleges in England and by some in this

country. Should a student wish to enter one of those seminars, they could leave Oxford and go attend it for a while, and then return and produce their thesis. But I should say there were fewer regulations rather than more, as far as my present information stands.

Mr. Read: When I was in Oxford they had no Ph.D. The nearest equivalent I guess was the B. in Litt. As far as I could make out, there were no requirements at all, no requirements of residence, nothing except the thesis, upon which you were, however, examined.

Miss Robbins: The lapse of time is a requirement in every English institution, but varies among the institutions. That is, it must be two years, three years, or something of that sort, after taking the undergraduate degree. That varies, but it is usually not less than two and generally three years after the degree.

Mr. Watts: I can answer one part of your question. When I got over to Oxford I intended to get an Oxford Ph.D., and I put a period in there first. Then I found I would be able to be in Europe two more years. I went to my director and said, "I wonder if I could have a Ph.D.?" He said, "I would love to have you do it but we cannot grant you time for this year you have put in. It must be three years from the time you are accepted for candidacy." At that moment I didn't see how I could spend three years more, making it four years in Europe altogether. I had intended to take the degree at Oxford, but they will not give you credit for any time spent in graduate work before the time you are officially admitted.

Mr. Read: Of course it is only fair to say that you probably had short terms, which meant three terms of six weeks. You only had to be eighteen weeks in Oxford altogether.

Helen Taft Manning: I very much want to ask Dr. Diffie a question which shows my ignorance. I would like to ask as to the quality of the publications such as you have there beside you.

It had seemed to me that in histories of Imperial Spain, some of the best work had been done by Americans, and on the whole they were not repeating the work of Spanish historians. Also in Portuguese

history, recently a great deal of work has been done at the University of London, which I have used in teaching, of course very casually. It didn't appear to be repeating work done by Portuguese historians.

I have also heard some of our scholars, in talking about work in the papers on the Indies, speak as though they were very rarely used by Spanish scholars, as though Americans were almost the only people working in the field.

I wondered, therefore, whether it was simply that the fields in which foreigners have done such effective work were not the fields of interest of Italian and Spanish scholars, or whether I am speaking from mere ignorance.

Mr. Diffie: Many American and British scholars have studied subjects which the Spaniards and Portuguese did not, but I am inclined to think that a part of that impression comes from a habit we have of introducing our books and articles in the United States with a beginning phrase which says that "owing to the inexplicable fact that in the past this subject has been neglected. . . ." In other words, we immediately justify doing it.

Frankly, I have seen a good many good American works that were not entirely honest in their acknowledgments to their Portuguese and Spanish predecessors. They were better books than their predecessors had done, but they didn't always acknowledge the earlier works, or cite them in footnotes.

Mrs. Manning: That is perhaps the point I would like to stress a little. That is, are they getting as good results with their system? We seem to have assumed all along that these systems have produced far better results than ours could possibly do. Therefore, I raise this question, which seems to me perhaps a little more open to debate here than when applied to France and Germany. Actually, we have discussed it for many years, and the only real historian from the Iberian peninsula that has ever been suggested, probably the only one, is Professor Madariaga. I wonder a little, therefore, whether there are the outstanding historians in Spain recognized the world over as there are in England and France, for instance.

Mr. Diffie: The Spaniards and Portuguese are not recognized the world over. But I want to defend; I will stand up, as Professor Watts

has said. I believe there have been and are some extremely good historians in both Spain and Portugal. I spent last year in Portugal and I was extremely well impressed with a half dozen men I met there, and the quality of work that they were doing. It tends to be on Portuguese history, and it tends to be on the explorations. One of the firm requirements, by the way, is to pass an examination on the Age of Discovery in Portugal. Every candidate has to present that as one of his subjects.

I think my experience is different from that of Mr. Watts. I think I got through far more easily in Spain than my Spanish fellow students did.

Mrs. Manning: I am not questioning for a minute the difficulty, the much greater difficulty of getting a doctorate in any European country than getting it here. Of course, the English situation is somewhat different because the doctorate is so new. But I do wonder how much connection there is between excellence of scholarship and the difficulty of getting a degree. I wouldn't even be sure in the case of France that the mere fact that the doctorate is hard to get has produced great historians.

I would like to get down to the discussion of how much connection there is between all the fine trappings which have been put on the getting of a degree, and good research. That is the question I am raising, not the question of what frightful tortures people have to go through to get the degree.

John H. Powell: I think this is an awfully important question. I kept thinking that the anecdotal nature of each one of the descriptions of these countries furnishes us too little to think about and discuss in general terms unless we push further into this area that Mrs. Manning has opened up.

Certainly one issue of great importance is the fact that the doctorate in France, as Arthur Watts described it, is limited at least to a specific state in society. I observed in Mexico this summer that the career for the trained historian is a very meager one in Mexico, and all the great historians of Mexico seem to have two or three different jobs. There would be archivists, there would be professors, and then there would be two or three writers for newspapers on the side, and even then they barely made a living.

But surely the question has to be here, does this method of training produce a sense of professionalism, a profession of historians in each nation, which is at once activating and activity-creating as a profession? Ours does. Does the sense of professionalism go too far so that the historian becomes, as it were, isolated in his own professional concerns? I think ours tends to.

Is the great central core of historical scholarship in each one of these nations traduced by the Ph.D. system, by the graduate training system? Where is the search for the moral values of the past? Where is the effective historical work most fertilized? Is it in the Ph.D. system? Is it in the writer who never has gone through the Ph.D.?

Mr. Read: Dr. Powell has suggested a question I should like to ask Dr. Holborn, which I am not clear about. Does everybody who completes the work in a German university get a Ph.D.?

Mr. Holborn: No. As a matter of fact, I think even as of 1930—I don't want to clutter up my discussion with the Nazi period at all, so let's take the period even before 1930—I should say the majority of students majoring in history did not take the Ph.D., but took at the end of their university studies the so-called state examination for higher teaching.

Some of the future high school teachers, thinking it a nice and decorative thing to have the title "doctor," which in Germany becomes powerful, take it, but only a small number. Of those who actually take the Ph.D., again only a small number will ever gain admission to university teaching. What exists for example in France doesn't exist in Germany at all. The Ph.D. does not give you any claim with regard to your future social or state or university position.

Quite a few of those will go into the free professions, such as journalism, or may go into the publishing business or other pursuits; there is only one profession in Germany which probably is as large as the fairly small group of academic teachers: the archivists.

Mr. Read: You said early in your discussion that the university was the one gateway, the *sine qua non* to a position of any eminence. Now what happens to the civil servants?

Mr. Holborn: That statement applies in the first place to the law faculty. I have not really discussed the whole German academic scene, but have attempted to stick to the history aspect. Of course the greatest gate to future prominence in German government or administration was the law faculty rather than the philosophical faculty. Most of the philosophical faculty were teachers, future high school teachers, picked by a rather haphazard system by professors in power as the academic heirs to their chairs.

Now, you have, of course, in Germany one system which I think contributed a great deal to the German university life. You had a half-time teacher. Let me say in the historical case, that a prominent archivist would be honorary professor at the university and would give one lecture a week on archival science. Or perhaps you had, let's say, in the law faculty, a very prominent lawyer who might give a course on his specialty, financial law or whatever it might be. And so you would draw some experts into the faculty who were related to the faculty but did not participate in the administration of the university.

Theodore Blegen: Dr. Watts, if you had gone to Paris simply as an independent student, an American student, would your training, would your writing of the monograph that you did write, have been any different from what it was because of the university connection that you had? I am curious to know what part the university really played in this training. It is a most interesting training and I can see that your conferences with Professor Seignobos were very important, but what is the role of the university in the whole training which you described?

Mr. Watts: The role of the university is merely that of an agent of the state in this case. That is, we have to keep in mind that all French universities are state universities under the central government. It is an examining agent and certifies to the government that you have fulfilled the qualifications for the degree. The individual professors under whom you are working may spend a good deal of time with you. They don't want to see you in lectures, but there is a great deal of individual instruction. Professor Seignobos wasn't unique in that; he was unique in the way he did it, the skill with which he did it.

But the reason for teaching only two hours a week in the French universities is not only to give the great professors time to do their writing, but it is to give them time to have these individual conferences. That is where their work is done. So they are just acting as agents for the state.

I should like to reply to Dr. Manning's question a few moments ago as to the value of that type of training in France and its effect upon the life of the profession in France. I didn't state earlier, as perhaps I should have, that there is a very heavy mortality at the time that the students hand in their theses. There is a great deal of weeding out there. There is a second weeding-out process in the conferring of the three different degrees—you actually have your doctorate when the thesis is accepted. But it is only the "very honorable mention" that gets you to the Sorbonne, the "honorable mention" that gets you into a university. That means that only a small, a very small, percentage of those who start out for their doctorate ever get into university life. But those who do make the doctorate yet are not qualified for the university—that is, those who pass with "mention" alone, who just pass—fill the lycées, although we in this country would say that they are fitted to teach at the college level.

To get the comparison, let's say that probably one half the Ph.D.'s awarded in the United States would never do anything but high school teaching. That would mean, then, that you might balance off the great names in American history against the great names in French history. Those who get the doctorate over there may be large in number, but those who get into university teaching are very, very few. Keeping that comparison in mind, it is like comparing our best with their best; anybody, then, is a judge as to which system might be the better. In France it does improve the high school standard of teaching immeasurably; the lycée is so far above our high school that we should be ashamed of ours.

Mr. Blegen: Let me sharpen my question a little bit. Would it be unfair to think of the system that you have described with respect to yourself and the other students of that level as basically a weeding-out system rather than a graduate training system, granting that you had self-training in all that you did?

Mr. Watts: It is a weeding out, yes. You might say there is no training beyond the lycées. The rest you do on your own.

Mr. Blegen: It is a testing system. I am wondering then, to sharpen still further our own consideration of our problems here, whether we shall not need to make comparisons perhaps at a lower level than the one you have described.

Mr. Watts: You might make those comparisons with the *licence*, which in some ways, as to the requirements, is equivalent to the type of training we give in our Ph.D.

Richard H. Shryock: Mr. Nichols suggested that we have at least two systems, the European and the American, the contrast between freedom and what he termed "the lockstep." Assuming that that is a fair analysis of the situation, and certainly it seems to be valid to a considerable degree, I am quite curious as to the origins of the American type of procedure. I would like to raise the question with the group as a whole, if you will, as to whether anyone is familiar with the early status, the evolution, of the American graduate school system. We usually assume that it was transferred, or that the basic ideas were transferred, largely from Germany in the late nineteenth century. Apparently it suffered a sea change in crossing the Atlantic.

Do any of us happen to know how or why this change occurred? Was it a matter of misinterpreting the German system, as Dr. Holborn suggested may have occurred in some cases? Was it a matter, perhaps, of projecting up into our new graduate school something of the regulations which already were established in the colleges below them? What were the circumstances? This may be quite familiar to some of you; it just occurs to me in passing. I don't really know what happened to bring about this striking contrast.

Richard P. McCormick: You are taking a system from European institutions where the number of students is relatively small, and grafting that institution on an American situation where you have a large number of colleges, a relatively high percentage of people attending college, and, therefore, a relatively large proportion of individuals preparing themselves for college teaching, which means tak-

ing graduate work. You are, therefore, dealing with a problem of quantity which is bound to have its impact upon this European system, which dealt not so much with quantity, but rather with a small selected group.

I think that in itself would lead to a transformation of the system. You have to adapt that European system to the mass-production technique of turning out the large number of graduate students required to staff American colleges and universities.

Mr. Shryock: Are you sure those circumstances obtained in the early days of American graduate study?

Mrs. Manning: There is one point I should like to make. Miss Robbins made it very clear that the actual training for research in the English university is given before the student receives an honors degree. That seems to me extremely important. The actual training for research has never been given except in very recent years—somewhat modeled on the English system, and by very few colleges, I think—as a part of undergraduate work. Therefore, it has had to be given as a part of graduate work. I feel that whatever we may say about freedom, it would be impossible to go ahead with research without some training or some experience, which is certainly in the English university given before the student graduates at all.

Mr. Powell: One of the things that rather oppressed me, which seemed to run through the discussion of all four of these systems, was a sense that each one is nationally oriented somehow. Each one has in it the spirit of a self-contained national cultural unit, and I didn't find in anything that was said the sense that here is a teaching of a profession that looks to an international orientation.

Mr. Watts: I didn't mean to give that impression if I did. It is merely that the whole university system is under the French government. But I never noticed in any conversations with Seignobos, for example, that nationalist approach that you mention. It is a type of training. There is the idea that after all the Frenchman, when he begins his work for his French doctorate, is already far along; he has done all of this preliminary work. His thesis is to be his first scholarly piece of work, not a student essay.

Mr. Holborn: I would like, if I may, to answer Mr. Shryock's question about the transfer of the German system, and I may, perhaps, link that up with what Mr. Powell said.

I didn't want to say anything more than this, that inevitably any educational system is closely linked to the social conditions existing in a given country. I did not talk about the nationalistic spirit; there may be a relationship between them, but I did not apply that at this moment.

Obviously, the German Ph.D. system, to put it briefly that way, came out of a very specific social situation in Germany at a certain moment in German intellectual history. On the whole, as far as one can trace it to any single person, it was the system of Wilhelm von Humboldt, and comes from that period.

What I meant to say was that very few American students could within a period of three years really imbibe the whole system. In the seven years I had been teaching in Germany, from 1926 to 1933, I had taught American students every semester and had talked a great deal with them about their problems. Two years of study in a foreign country inevitably doesn't give you the full grasp of that situation, but even assuming they had had that grasp, they still had to fit it into a very alive American society, had to fit it to the conditions here.

Then I should say a second thing: the most important influence of the German Ph.D. system happened at a time when the German system probably was no longer at its highest strength. As far as I can judge from my reading of history—I have been very much interested in this problem, of course—it is chiefly in the eighties and nineties that the German system makes its impact felt. At that moment it was much more specialized than it was in the beginning. It was much more positivistic than it was in the beginning, and I think a good many of the American university builders, or rather expansionists—I mean the expansion of the original small American college into a first-class university—now tried to build up merely a kind of mosaic of departments, and each field and each technique had to be filled, a system which the European universities never had attempted to that extent. At least their strongest representatives rather believed in the philosophy that the basic approach and the basic ability of the individual would be the decisive one, and not the covering of all fields in all details.

Member: May I ask Dr. Holborn a question right there? I am a little puzzled because from your first remarks I got the impression that you were emphasizing the idea that in Germany, at the time perhaps of the transit over here to the United States of some of their methods of graduate training, the emphasis was on the philosophical faculty, let us say, and not on the specialization of departments. Now, what you have just said leads me to feel that perhaps that transit did occur at a time when the emphasis was on specialization. Do you think that helps to explain the reason why we developed this concept of departments and didn't use the broader basis?

Mr. Holborn: Two things are true. I think the original German system, the nineteenth-century system, was built on a very universal philosophy which, however, in Germany herself was lost. I think there was more of it after 1900. Probably the most arid period in this respect was the period of 1880 to 1900.

On the other hand, the Germans have maintained the principles that nobody can study history exclusively, but that the Ph.D. is a Ph.D.; that although they have not always lived up to it themselves, at least they have that precious heritage. This issue is much harder to arrange in our day and in the American graduate school, because the American graduate school seems now to be so irrevocably committed to the departments and so definitely broken in its unit as a scholarly institution that it is much harder to call it back to something broader than that. So both things are true.

Mr. Nichols: To answer Professor Shryock's question, it seems to me that one of the characteristics which most marks this is the fact that in most cases, except in your European institutions, graduate work was imposed upon a faculty which was primarily undergraduate in its concept. It was also a time in which disciplinary problems were particularly unfortunate. The boys were wild, and the faculty spent a good deal of time with discipline. Also they had acquired registrars who were mathematically minded. So this concept of the need of discipline, definite credits, and grades, seemed to flow up from the undergraduate setup. As I understand it, in Johns Hopkins, which was created as a university, they never were bothered by these problems.

Mr. Shryock: I was going to raise that point, and I quite agree with Mr. Nichols' suggestion. Quite obviously what happened was that this graduate program was brought about by a faculty accustomed to the glorified secondary school, if you will pardon me putting it that way, which in this country was called the college. And much of the control that was necessary in the latter institution had to be carried on, and Hopkins may have provided a test case.

Remember, Hopkins was established without any arts college, on the model of the German universities in the sixties and seventies; and I am struck by the fact that to this day, from the little impression I have had, there are still elements at Hopkins suggesting these freedoms noted in connection with the European system, which I have not encountered in the few other American universities with which I happen to have been associated.

For example, departmentalization does not seem to be so emphasized. There doesn't seem to be the same feeling that all fields must be represented. There is little or no attention to a credit system in the work done by graduate students, and the examination of the candidate seems to be the responsibility of the entire faculty rather than of a department. To the extent that that is true, it at least seems to fit in with the thesis you are suggesting.

Mr. Powell: I would add to that. It would fit in also to the fact that by the time graduate study had begun, American tradition was firmly fixed as to the residence college. There was never the possibility of the peripatetic.

Secondly, though this seems like carrying coal to Newcastle to mention it to Professor Shryock, there had been before graduate training, specialized schools of medicine and law and theology, and our graduate departments, our graduate degrees, and techniques of graduate training certainly borrowed heavily from the technique of training in those fields in which the universities were engaging.

Lastly, I would suggest that perhaps the greatest single impetus to graduate training in a specialized way was the Morrill Act. The first colleges set up under the Morrill Act were set up, as the act provides—though we have forgotten it now—to include training in the humanities as well as the agricultural and mechanic arts. The immediate development of graduate work beyond the A.B. degree, in

home economics under Welsh and in agricultural and mechanic sciences in each of the Morrill Act institutions, followed the patterns that were familiar already in the schools of theology, medicine, and law in American practice.

I don't mean to underestimate the importance of the German borrowings. They far preceded Hopkins, of course: there's Longfellow and the whole of the story of the first part of the century. But it seems to me that I hear too little in the East, though I am sure, Dean Blegen and Dean Ellis, we have heard too much, of the Morrill Act and its influence in the development of specialized schools.

John A. Krout: I don't think this point needs any more reinforcement, but you have I think a very good illustration of it in what happened when Burgess went to work in Columbia College to create what he liked to call his "faculty of political science." He certainly felt that he was borrowing from the Germans, and that that was the big contribution he was making. But when you go back and study what happened to him as a result of his conflict with the faculty of Columbia College, you realize that some of the most significant things that happened were the concessions he and his colleagues had to make to the stalwarts on the faculty in the undergraduate college who refused to go along with what they thought was the whole European method that was being transplanted here. They compelled him to modify constantly and to trim his sails to the breezes that they thought were important for Columbia College. It is just another illustration of what all of you have been saying in the last few minutes.

Miss Robbins: Could I raise the point of freedoms and restrictions? Obviously, I have given an account of practically an absence of training, which has shocked you all, but this freedom exists at a level after very much severer discipline has been imposed.

Very few American students, not to go back to the schools but just to go back to the undergraduates, would submit to the rigid curriculum of an English university. You have almost perfect freedom as to what lectures you attend or what seminars, for that matter, but with the curriculum once adopted, you have no freedom whatever and you have to survive it.

At school the story is almost the same, even in quite recent years. I was lucky enough to make a tour of some English schools in 1946 for the American Embassy. When I was there I was interested to find that it hadn't changed much even with modern ideas. The curriculum is pretty rigid. This, perhaps, has made Mr. Powell think I am nationalistic. I am not. I am describing a situation which exists in a small country with a limited number of students, though they are increasing very rapidly, who are all submitted to the same discipline throughout school and college, to a very large degree. They can be given freedom there in a way that I don't think we can give freedom to the graduate students who come to us for training, because we don't want to depend on any such uniformity. We are obliged to secure some training, some information—I think our emphasis is too much on the information myself—before we can embark on the thesis work where we might be freer. But that freedom seems to me to come at such a late point in the English educational system that you mustn't overstress it.

I would agree with the general statement, but I would like to add that as a rider to it. And to a limited extent, that is true of the European system. The school and early years of the college, of the lycées, or whatever they may be, are very straitly bound, and educational experiments—as a girl I went to an experimental school, but it would surprise you what they thought was experimental—are not very drastic, and most children are submitted to a curriculum which is nation-wide, in Scotland even to a greater degree than in England. So that once embarked on graduate work, it is expected that they should grip it.

Whether the English think the graduate system is going to produce historians is another matter. I would say on the whole, no. It is a useful way to keep a person at work a little longer to see what he is like before you hire him as a university professor. But English historians don't take it too seriously as a preparation for historians.

Mr. Watts: I think I can back up everything that Dr. Robbins has said with regard to France. That liberty doesn't come until a time when it is taken for granted that you have had a very good background.

Mr. Blegen: We are obviously finding ourselves in comparisons that I think we are not quite ready to make, and shall not be ready until we have had the discussion tomorrow morning. We must take into account the many purposes that really have to be met, both at the graduate and undergraduate levels.

But I am a little curious to know at about what point this severe training that you describe fits in with the American system.

Miss Robbins: I don't think it does. My whole point is that the system is not comparable. When I first went to Ann Arbor and saw Mr. Van Tyne, with whom I worked there, he explained to me that I should find American seminars very different from the English. I found that that was true. But his statement was that he was trying to see that each of his students learned historical method and at the same time picked up some general history, which, he felt sure, in most cases they had missed at the institution from which they came. I have always thought that he told me fairly truly what his attempt was.

My own feeling is that the comparison is a very difficult one to make, and I don't feel that the American system can derive a great deal from the European.

Mr. Blegen: About what age do the English students who have not been interrupted in their career as students, emerge into that atmosphere of freedom that you were describing?

Miss Robbins: I think that the English age level is younger than the American. If there is one thing rather than another that I would like to see taken over here, as well as some freedom during the work on the thesis, it would be to get the Ph.D. through with as an exercise, rather than have it protracted later in life. I can't think that is an advantage for students. But most English students who proceed straight from college into graduate work, who don't teach in between, are younger. At about twenty-five or twenty-six, they are prepared to settle into their teaching positions. My impression when I got to Michigan was that everybody in the seminar was very old. They probably weren't more than twenty-eight or twenty-nine or thirty, but I felt they were old.

Jeannette P. Nichols: In speaking comparatively of this discipline and freedom in England and the United States, I would like to mention a little experience that I had when I lived in London, with a number of American teachers who were teaching in the English primary schools. Some of them taught in public schools and some in the free schools, that is, schools where you didn't have to pay tuition. So I became extremely interested in their heated and unhappy assertions about English education, because I had always heard that English education was so infinitely superior to that in the United States.

Since I could hardly believe some of the things these people who taught in the free schools were telling me, I went to the authorities in London. They told me last June that in London they were very proud of the fact that whereas only ten per cent of the children in the free schools formerly had a chance to go to the grammar school, which is the compulsory passageway to college, now twelve and a half per cent of the children, of the mass of the children, had a chance to go to grammar school.

Now, if it is true that so small a percentage of the children get to go to grammar school (unless their parents are well enough off to send them to the public schools, and those are very expensive), you have there a selective process that is very severe. A lot of our people who go to college, under that system would never even have a chance to begin to prepare for college. Many very, very poor children can get to college in the United States, work their way through, who wouldn't even have a chance to go to grammar school in England unless they passed some of the competitive examinations, which very few of them are able to do. For, at the age of eleven, children in England take an examination and on what they do on that day depends the rest of their educational opportunity. Only the top twelve and a half per cent do well enough to get admitted to the grammar school which is the passageway to college, isn't it, Professor Robbins?

Miss Robbins: I don't quite know what you mean by grammar school. Grammar school in some places is simply the locally endowed school. There is an examination between the primary and the secondary school in England, and much, too much, importance is at-

tached to it, I think. But as to the high school and the school-leaving certificate, you would certainly have to get the school-leaving certificate to get to college. It would be absolutely impossible to enter college without it.

The earlier situation, the situation as between primary and secondary school, when I last heard about it, was being discussed. But the general assumption was that only the clever child would go to college.

Edward C. Kirkland: How important assumptions are! As Mrs. Nichols spoke, I thought that American educators are doing just the same thing, but with entirely different assumptions. On one day now, at the end of the fifth grade in America, they take intelligence quotients of those students, and on the basis of those intelligence quotients of students in the fifth grade, Americans have decided that the college population of the United States should be doubled. We treat them just the same as the English. The twist is quite different and the assumption, therefore, the exact opposite.

Mrs. Manning: I would like to get back to the question I asked before, while we still have the Europeans to cross-examine. This applies mostly to Professor Holborn.

I perfectly accept Mr. Nichols' concept of "the lockstep." I am not defending our national system of education for a moment. I don't feel that I can accept with quite as much conviction the concept of freedom in European education. The question to me would be, how far has the system actually encouraged good historical writing, how far are the examiners and those who read the dissertations looking for originality and new ideas, and how far has it perhaps set a pattern for Ph.D. theses which, on the whole, has been almost as sterile as ours? It seems to me to be the crux of the question. But if it hasn't produced good historical writing, then why should we have to pause breathless in admiration?

Mr. Holborn: There are many questions involved. In the first place, the writing of good history is probably not exclusively the result of training; we must leave a bit of room for genius.

Mrs. Manning: Excuse me. My question is not whether it is the result of training, but whether the system of education has not

actually set a pattern which was discouraging to originality. Now take the analogy of the French Academy, for instance. Undoubtedly all good painting was thrown out by the experts in France throughout the nineteenth century, and it was only by organizing new schools of painting that any good painting ever got done. Now, are we sure that the system of producing and selecting Ph.D. theses hasn't had somewhat the same effect?

Mr. Holborn: I think actually the French and German systems in a way cannot be compared. The doctoral examination that Mr. Watts has described is actually an examination for appointment as a professor. The German doctoral examination has no such intention. It is an attempt to give the student a diploma, some privileges in society, after three or four years of university study. Originally, it was the medieval trivium. For all practical purposes, at least at the better universities, those where the requirements were raised and more highly enforced, it amounted to four or five years of study.

It was on the whole the aim of the Ph.D. thesis merely to demonstrate the candidate's ability to handle the techniques of scholarship in a given department. If he wanted to rise beyond that, then, first of all, there would be no admission to a university lectureship for the next two years, during which time he had pretty much to go through the process that Professor Robbins has described, or Dr. Watts described. He then had to write a book ready for publication that would show originality and ability of presentation, and this book was judged by the whole faculty, not only by the philosophers.

I do not deny for a moment that in the last two generations of German scholarship, always prior to 1930, the specialization and the positivistic treatment had enormously increased. On the other hand, there were strong efforts to counteract that and to judge historical works in terms of their general significance for education. The great difficulty in this process in Germany was the problem of how a man should maintain himself during this period. Actually, only a man from a fairly well-to-do family could just lead a private life. In most cases they had to fish for assistantships, or what not, or they had to enter in some of these big research organizations like the *Monumenta Historica*, and they had to work in preparation for general education.

That system was very dangerous and has pretty much broken

down, because the next step after a man was admitted to a lectureship was to make a living somehow, and again that very often forced him into specialized research work, for which there are various foundations. On the other hand, of course, if he was a very young lecturer and attracted students, he had begun to collect some fees, and slowly then began to get a financial basis.

That system was a very difficult one, and entirely unworkable in present-day Germany. I would, however, still rise to the defense of the German system. When critically and enthusiastically handled it would make for good history writers.

Mr. Krout: There is one question that has been raised this afternoon that I suspect will receive a good deal of attention tomorrow. As I gather from the discussion so far, the whole orientation of graduate training in Europe is to produce historical scholars. I suspect that tomorrow we will be somewhat interested in the matter of the role of graduate work in training university teachers.

I wonder whether there is anything represented in the European experience that might bear upon that problem? Is there any place in the European system where consideration is given to the matter that the doctor is presumably going to earn his livelihood standing before undergraduate classes, and that he might also presumably require some special training for that purpose? Is any consideration given to that in any of the European systems?

Mr. Diffie: Every Spanish Ph.D., except foreigners, automatically gets a place on the civil service list. They had to pass a special law excusing foreigners from that and preventing them from getting a civil service rating. But every Spaniard that gets a Ph.D. gets an automatic place on the civil service list, and it is presumed that most of them are going to work for the government. On the other hand, I have had some wonderful teachers.

John A. Munroe: I was going to ask Dr. Watts whether, in choosing the same teachers in France, any consideration is given to teaching ability or are only scholarly attainments considered?

Mr. Watts: As far as I can make out, it is both. It is the teaching ability and the scholarly attainment. That *agrégation* that they have

to pass is a very stiff competitive examination in all that they need to know both in the technique of teaching and the knowledge of their subject to get into the lycée.

To combine the last two questions that have been raised, as far as ability in university teaching is concerned, the French doctorate is only undertaken after the man has been teaching eight to ten years, along with other teachers, a great many of them who already have a doctorate. He has had considerable practical experience, therefore, before he takes this *Docteur-ès-lettres*, which is a professional examination as to his value as a university teacher, from the standpoint of his professional knowledge and his scholarly knowledge of his subject. It is taken for granted that he already knows his teaching because he has been teaching for ten years in the lycée. The lycée, in general, is at least on what we would call the junior college level. They are that much further advanced all the way along in their college education. They take their French A.B., then there is the period for a *licence*, which is a master's degree; there is the *agrégation* after that. It is a long preparation, so they very rarely take the degree until they are thirty-three or thirty-five, much older than our Ph.D.'s.

Mr. Holborn: I have stated already that the majority of history students would go into high school teaching. The university doesn't prepare them for teaching at all, except that if they want to take the high school teaching examination, they have to take some philosophy of education, and educational psychology, and so forth. But after that, after three years, they are put into a class of assistant teachers and are given special courses and educational advice, into which we do not have to go here.

As far as the academic teachers are concerned, the Germans probably use the cruelest system you could find. No help absolutely; you have to show what you can do.

No course in Germany is an obligatory course, and since there is no requirement for attendance, the selection of the good academic teachers is done pretty much by the students, which, of course, is a very disappointing experience. The first day you might have one hundred students, and you might end up after two weeks with two or three.

Then there is the matter of the appointment of professors, paid professors, so-called professors extraordinary, which are, let us say, associate professors. The faculty are often very anxious to get academic platform figures, particularly in such fields as modern history, because the modern history professor in a philosophical faculty is very often a public speaker and represents the faculty on public occasions.

Miss Robbins: I should like to say that as far as England is concerned, I don't think any attention is given to training university teachers, and I should think the result on the whole is rather poor. I don't mean that there are not great teachers in England and have not always been great teachers, as, let us hope, is true in every country in the world. But it is an accident; it is not policy. Very little attention is devoted to the quality of a person's teaching.

Some of the Oxford teachers practically write the examination paper themselves, but then there was the teacher, for example, in Oxford who said to a friend of mine, "Mr. Smith, you are a friend of mine; I think if we saw each other next March that would be soon enough. This is now October."

I don't think any attention is paid in England to teaching, and I don't believe that on the whole English students are as critical of their teachers. They take it for granted that most of them will be dull and that most of their work will be done in the library. If they get a good one, they are lucky. If their tutor is good, they are fortunate beyond words. But we always took our lectures very much as they came and didn't regard them as a very important part of our career.

Mr. Watts: I can add something there about the French. You asked whether they were trained to teach. In spite of Professor Seignobos' instructions, I went to lectures. French lecturing is not at all like American lecturing. The French professors read their manuscripts of the scholarly books that they are at that time working on. It is not an extemporaneous lecture on a broad field. I never found one of that type. Seignobos read marvelously scholarly lectures that were very, very good and beautifully written, and horribly delivered.

There, as in England, the emphasis isn't necessarily upon the amount of faculty information. Most of their good teaching, and there they are as expert as in England in many cases, is in that sort of tutorial experience that I got from Professor Seignobos, individual conferences where you are not really aware of the fact that you are being taught. You are having a discussion, which in many ways is the most effective way of teaching.

Richmond P. Miller: I have one question about these four systems that are being described to us this afternoon. Here in this country, certainly within the last fifty years, the various parts of our educational system have changed tremendously. It seems as though we started out experimenting in the lower school level and have come up through the college, and we are here for two days under the assumption that perhaps we can improve the graduate training on the higher level. Have these four systems abroad been crystallized? Is there any possibility that they will move in any direction that we might see? If we are going to study our graduate schools and possible change in them, is there anything that we could learn from these systems? Are they going to continue in the future as they have in the past?

Professor Holborn, you say you go back to 1930 in Germany. What about 1960 in Germany? Will it be just about the same?

Mr. Holborn: I am afraid so. There is only one new type of university developed in Germany, and that is a French importation, the new University of Mainz, which to some extent uses not only French but English systems. I am not familiar with it in all details, but it is, for example, the first German university which boards its students in dormitories, whereas the German university never attended to the extra-classroom needs of its students. Now Mainz for the first time goes back to the medieval college type. There is a change.

Otherwise, the resistance of the German professors to any change in the German university system has been furious.

There is still another question that is relevant to this discussion, but it can only be asked after the American system has been presented tomorrow. That is to think over the fundamental philosophy of the founders of the nineteenth-century university and find out to what extent the American graduate school has perhaps misunder-

stood, or could not emulate, certain of the strong points which were in the German system while it was still flourishing.

Mr. Nichols: Ladies and gentlemen, you have heard the discussion, and while you have seen that there are many differences in the systems abroad and here, there seems to be one similarity—the preparation for definite pedagogical or civil service careers, except in England. In Spain it seems to be to get on the civil service list. Somewhat the same is true in Germany. In France there's very definitely, shall we say, the practical purpose of seeking a professorship. In other words, abroad and in the United States we have had something which was seemingly started for a very high and lofty purpose, that is, to produce a better and greater history, which has been sidetracked into practical channels to aid a large number of people in earning a living.

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SECOND SESSION

"*American Methods*"

Panel: Dexter Perkins, Joseph R. Strayer, Richard H. Shryock.

Dexter Perkins: Since there is no chairman this morning, it behooves me to open this meeting and to present some considerations with regard to the subject under discussion.

I thought yesterday that the chairman of the meeting hit the nail on the head in his preliminary remarks when he said that the function of the American graduate schools was primarily to train teachers of history. I may have misunderstood him. He seemed a little melancholy about it. If he is, I don't share his point of view.

On the contrary, I think there is presented to us in America one of the greatest challenges that has ever come to the members of an honorable profession from that point of view. If history has values, they are values to be communicated, and they are values to be communicated as widely as possible, for we happen to have here in the United States a unique situation as compared with any of the European countries which were the object of our discussion yesterday.

I taught in Cambridge in 1945–1946, and at that time there were in all the British Isles 50,000 university students. True, there was an article in the London *Economist* advocating an enlargement of the British universities and pointing out that something must be done about it, something drastic; this was followed by a proposal that they have 75,000 students by 1970. But, we have two and a half million students in American universities, and I repeat, if there are values to be communicated through history they are values to be communicated to the undergraduates in American colleges, and they are to be communicated through us directly or through us as teachers of those who teach undergraduates in American colleges.

I do want to make it entirely clear at the beginning that in emphasizing the importance of teaching I am not in any sense de-

preciating the importance of research. There are a good many defenses of research, if research needs any defense at all. For one thing, of course, it is just plain fun for most of us. It is good to do. If you are a diplomatic historian as I happen to be, it affords an excellent rationalization of many trips to Europe, and it is very convenient as a means of getting leaves from time to time. If it were not fun it would still be very, very essential, because there is in my judgment no such thing as good teaching except the teaching of an inquiring mind, and research is no more than the asking of questions. We hope it is the asking of important questions—although sometimes I doubt how important some of the questions we ask are—but it is a matter of asking questions, and when a teacher has ceased to ask questions, when he has ceased, in other words, to cultivate the spirit of research, he has ceased to be an effective teacher.

A teacher of mine at Harvard years ago put it in a way that seems to me to tell the story. He said of the classroom teacher, that we learn by example in this world. A good teacher is a man thinking, and somehow or other the spectacle of a man thinking may, by the grace of God, communicate itself to some of the undergraduates before him. I think that is true. If we were not researchers, if we did not want to write books or articles or at any rate ask questions—and perhaps sometimes the end product isn't half as important as the spirit—but if we did not want to do this last and ultimate thing, we could not be effective teachers from our own point of view. We could not do the kind of job that is set for us to do.

So, very far indeed from apologizing for research, I think it is an essential part of the equipment of a teacher. Yet I do think we should ask ourselves a couple of questions about it. Teachers ought to be from time to time imbued with a spirit of humility, and it seems to me that one of the questions we may readily ask ourselves in our generation of college teaching is whether we have lost, at any rate in writing, the art of communication with other people. We write beautifully for each other, and almost always in the historical reviews we praise each other's works, which is no doubt good for everybody concerned. But for whom else do we write? How able are we, through the written word, to communicate with an important audience? We can assign our books, of course, to our classes or we can get our friends to assign them; sometimes it is reported that they like to read

them, a fact which must be very bracing to us. But how far in the long run do we know how to communicate with other people? What have we lost? It has been said that the era of a Parkman or a Prescott or a Bancroft has passed. It does seem to have passed. I wish someone would appear who did what George Macaulay Trevelyan did in England. But most of us will have to confess to ourselves, and I hope shamefacedly, that we have lost the art of communication in writing, in any broad sense of the term.

I think there is another question we should ask ourselves about our research, wholly apart from the fact that we do it for one another. The question naturally arises as to what it accomplishes from a broad point of view. Historians oftentimes go back when this question is asked to the analogy of pure science. They say you never can tell what a given piece of research will do. It may be fundamentally important. I suppose it is true—I am told so by scientists and they ought to know their own business—that the scientist can putter about with an idea that has never occurred before, and possibly come up with something that is of tremendous importance. But how often do our ideas become really important? How often are they fertilizing, in any broad sense of the term? How often do they enlarge and alter or stimulate historical research in general?

I am not asking my question of you alone. In a sense, this is soliloquy. I am asking it of myself, but it is a question and an important question, and when I ask it of myself I come back to the generations of undergraduates that I have taught and find some comfort in the belief that from time to time I have impinged on the realities of life through undergraduate teaching.

Let us assume then, and I don't expect universal agreement with the proposition—and why should there be, anyway—that teaching is of fundamental significance, that the instruction of our graduate students is a matter of great importance from every point of view. Can we do anything about it? Are there any things that ought to be said about it in such a meeting as this? It would be absurd for me to presume that in a simple effort to undertake a rather new approach, I have an answer to the question. I am still asking questions in what I have to say here this morning, and if my tone isn't always interrogatory, it is merely because it will have to be from time to time

descriptive. But it is surely not a dogmatic tone and it is more intended to be suggestive than it is to be in any sense pontifical or decisive.

It seems to me the first question is the question of selection of our graduate students, and the problem that bothers me from time to time is the emphasis that some of us, though not all of us, place on grades. We know what grades are like: we know what "A's" are and what "B's" are, and we know that sometimes a "B+" when your digestion isn't quite right would be an "A−" when you felt a little different about it. But we take grades tremendously seriously at times, it seems to me, and talk reverently of the man who has a straight "A" record as if that were a passport to effective work in the classroom. In my thirty-five years of undergraduate and graduate teaching, I have had two men who got straight "A" records, really straight "A" records. Well no, one of them got a "B+" in education. Neither one of them could have communicated anything that was particularly important, and neither one did I encourage to go on into graduate work. When we see graduate students, when we are talking to graduate students—and it can't be done, incidentally, by the forms that we fill out for one another, which seem to me a most barbarous method of assessing people—the thing to ask ourselves or to realize is that while there must be capacity, there must also be the zeal for communication, the desire to get ideas across. I would much prefer to see in graduate work a man whose academic record was a little less superior, but who had that quality. I think, too, in this question of judgment, which is a difficult question, as are all our questions of administrative choice in the academic profession, that we must allow for maturity and immaturity, for the different tempos at which people develop. There is a certain type of man whose undergraduate work isn't very brilliant, but who should be given a chance if he has somehow or other "gotten religion" and wants to practice it. And I think we must not be too certain that the academic ratings which we set up are the most accurate measurements.

It seems to me, too, that the number of our graduate students must be small. You see, the idea that is going to run through everything I have to say today is *communication*—communication with our students, communication through our students with larger areas. You can't have communication if you are too busy to communicate.

We have deliberately at Rochester restricted our graduates to five a year, and we try really to know those fellows and, by informal as well as formal contact, to make it clear what we think history is all about. I think far too large numbers are now being taken by the great graduate schools. I don't care much for the process by which they go into them and then are thrown out. It is not pleasant, you know, to be at that kind of dead end. It might be better if we took fewer people and then put our hearts and our minds into them, and, in the process, something of the spirit of this humane study, rather than bog ourselves down with numbers. It seems to me that the limitation of numbers is one of the most important aspects of the whole problem.

There is another aspect of it that is extremely important from my angle of vision—the financial aspect. When I got my doctor's degree at Harvard in 1914, it was a simple matter, relatively speaking, to get the money for such a degree. I graduated in 1909 and had two years of my work abroad, but I was able without any undue strain to do my work for the degree. Today it is a very expensive business. Tuition itself is expensive, as we all know, and I do think we need more money for graduate fellowships almost everywhere. I do not believe that it is quite right to cross off considerable numbers of students by declining to give them fellowships until they have been a year at a graduate institution, as sometimes actually happens. We must lose some students that way, and I am afraid we are going to lose more rather than less, because we happen to be in a different social climate from that in which I grew up in graduate school. Early marriages are much more the vogue among young academicians than they were thirty or forty years ago, and the whole problem of finance has become very, very important. Somehow or other, we have got to meet it in a more generous way than we have met it up to the present time.

Now, what is the character of the training? Here I speak with great tentativeness and with the hope of learning a good deal from this meeting this morning. I am merely going to make some general observations, and I would be glad to be told that I am on the wrong track in some of the things that we are trying to do. What we are attempting at Rochester in our seminar work is something broad instead of something highly intensive. I give a seminar on the Amer-

ican historians. We have a seminar, of course, in bibliography and criticism, because the use of the tools is fundamental. We have a seminar in the philosophy of history, and we have a seminar, which is narrow, on the relations of America and Europe in the intellectual and cultural, as well as the diplomatic, sphere. But sometimes I think that if we are too minute we are in danger in our teaching. I may be wrong about this. I don't feel half as strongly about this as I do about the general principle that I am trying to enforce at the present time. But I just wonder whether the examination of minutiae is necessarily the best kind of graduate training; the same consideration applies in connection with the thesis.

I wonder whether in graduate work we don't sometimes carry analysis and minute inspections to the point where the gifts of synthesis are almost entirely lost—not always, of course; this is no blanket indictment of our methods, it is rather thinking about them and is an attempt, as much as anything else, at some criticism. It wouldn't bother me if a student wrote a thesis in the field of biography which was simply a reinterpretation. I wouldn't want him to take somebody who had been done in a superior way, of course, in our own day or in a relatively recent period, but there are plenty of first-rate figures in American history of whom it could be done with usefulness. It wouldn't necessarily bother me if a student were to take as a subject a reintegration of well-known material, with an attempt at private judgment. It wouldn't bother me if, from time to time, a thesis were a work in which there was an attempt at synthesis rather than an attempt at minute investigation. And I am sure of one thing: we must be certain that a student is interested in what he is doing when he writes a thesis. I have seen students who were not. They must be. They must carry that interest into their work, their creative work, because it is creative work, a presentation in a spirit that does not die while the work is being accomplished. The skillful choice of a subject adapted to the man and his mentality has a good deal to do with that.

There is something I think still more important with regard to our technique and process—the question of what we are trying to communicate. I asked my graduate students that at their last meeting and they all were appalled at the question. They were obviously excited by it, but they really didn't have any answer. I think a good

many of us, too, have never bothered much about it. We earn honorable and respectable livings at what we are doing, but what are we doing?

I want to answer that question in personal terms. Each of us has his own individual answer. Each of us, if he has anything more than the driest attitude of an antiquarian, is communicating something through history. What he is communicating is a matter of his individual temperament, of course, of his individual quirk or way of life, but he is communicating something. If you are dealing with art, for example, you will want to know a lot about the history of art, you will want to know something about the technique by which artists go to work, but a great teacher of art will sooner or later communicate something of the spirit of doing. If you are teaching literature, you will want to know something about the origins of literature, you will want to know something about the life of the men concerned and the social milieu, but you will also want to communicate something of the value of that man's life and of his contribution. Why was he great? Why was he important? What does he make you feel? Those are the central questions to ask.

We are dealing with history, we are dealing with the multiplied experience of human action in a glorious pageant, and if we can't communicate something out of that pageant more than the bare bones in it, we have not accomplished our task. I would say that history is only worthy of the name when it is a suggestive interpretation of the past based, of course, upon sound and exact scholarship, but the catch is in the word suggestive. Until we have made it suggest something, we have not done much with it.

Purely for purposes of illustration, I want to say a couple of things that appear to me to be important, and I may be the only person in the world to whom they are important. It doesn't matter as long as I am trying to express something that I deeply feel. For one thing, history is change, and when I talk to some of my friends in Rochester who have been in a state of acute nervous and spiritual torture ever since Mr. Roosevelt's election in 1932, I have the feeling that if they learn a little more history they might be a little more comfortable. If they could only recognize the process of social change and somehow or other move along with it, not blindly accepting it in all its details, if they could only think of it as a process normal in itself,

normal and necessary, and necessary to comprehend, they would be better equipped to deal with a great many practical problems in a practical world.

Sometimes when I see some of the boys I taught twenty-five years ago in Rochester, I catch just a glimpse in them, in their middle lives, of what I hope I tried to communicate to them a quarter of a century ago.

The other thing that I think is necessary is personality. I think we have had some important and very fundamental developments in history in the last twenty-five years, but we seem to be analyzing and dissecting and investigating out some of the greatness of history and some of the greatness of our great personalities. In the last analysis, the biography of today, and there have been some very excellent biographies lately, almost always ends on the critical note. It tells you the weaknesses of our great men, but it doesn't seem usually to ask the question, why was it that thousands of people or hundreds of thousands of people thrilled to them in their own day? Surely there is something to be learned from greatness. The story of Lincoln is most significant when the magnanimity of Lincoln exerts some influence over our own spirits. The story of Washington is greatest when something of his selfless tenacity can be translated into the personal lives of those who study Washington. And somehow the great people of the past can live in an effective sense if we will make them live, instead of analyzing them down to the point where the sense of larger aspects is lost.

Those are only personal observations and they may have little or no relevance, but they are what I mean when I say that there is something to communicate besides facts.

As I was thinking about what I was going to say today, I couldn't help going back to my commencement in 1909 at Harvard, when Woodrow Wilson gave a speech on the spirit of learning—which I regard as one of the great Phi Beta Kappa addresses of all times, perhaps greater even than the Emerson address of 1837—in which he said much more eloquently than I am able to, something of the kind of thing that I am trying to say. He ended with a sentence which to me is vital: "By this means (that is, by the cultivation of a scholarship that enriches others than scholars), the classroom itself may sometimes come to seem a part of life."

Joseph R. Strayer: I'm afraid that I shall disappoint Mr. Perkins by agreeing with a good deal of what he said. That is also a disappointment to me because it knocks out a certain part of the remarks I was going to make, but it is a blessing to you because it will mean that my talk will be a little shorter than it would otherwise have been.

I shall begin at the point of training for teaching and training for research at the graduate level. I don't need to repeat what has already been very well said about the relationship between the two. I simply want to ask—this is a place where the varied experience of everybody will be helpful—whether the legend is true that our graduate schools devote most of their time to training men for research. The ones which I know well don't do that. The normal pattern runs something like this: a man goes to graduate school and in his first year takes, on the whole, rather broad general courses. In fact, in many places, he simply takes top undergraduate courses; the senior-graduate course at Harvard is an example of that. The complaint I hear most often from the young men who go to graduate school is that they can't tell the first year of graduate school from the last year of college. That first year, then, is certainly not a year spent in research activity or training.

During the second year the student will get more intensive work. I suppose normally he would take at least two seminars during that year, but all his work isn't seminar work. For one thing, we can't take care of graduate students at that rate, and for another thing, they couldn't stand the pace. Also during that second year he is beginning to worry about his general examination, and the general examination, again in most places I know, is very general indeed. One of the things we are worrying about at Princeton is the fact that it has somehow become so general that it isn't really fair to expect a man to do awfully well on some of his fields. We just had a man come up in a joint history-classics program, who was to be examined with a few gaps, but not very significant ones, on everything from ancient Greece down to the French Revolution. It just happened to be the way his fields had been chosen. A man preparing for that type of examination, which I fully admit is just impossible, is certainly not devoting himself primarily to research. He has to do a great deal of general reading before the general examination, and I suspect that that occupies at least as much of his time during the second and

perhaps part of the third year as the work for the seminar, and very likely more.

After the man takes his general examination, he gets to work on his thesis. Here, again, I don't know what the general experience is, but it's certainly not unusual for a man who is beginning work on his thesis and who is still able to stay in graduate school, to take one or two more courses to fill in gaps in his information, his acquaintanceship with various fields. But even if he doesn't do that and is able to devote one year, full-time, to the thesis, that is about the maximum, and very many men are not able to do that. They have to get a job, they have to do part-time teaching, they have to find some way of making a living.

I agree in fact with what was said about the need for financial support. I am going to emphasize that even more a little later. But even if we make no change, it is still true that the ordinary career in a graduate school can't be more than fifty per cent on research, and I suspect it is considerably less than that. The real charge to be made against our graduate schools is not, I think, that they devote too much time to training in research technique, too much time in making a specialist out of a man, but rather that they do try to give him both these abilities, the ability to do research and the ability to understand history in its broader patterns. They try to do both things, and they don't do either of them very well.

That situation carries on long after graduate school. Of course, publishers are people with special interests. They would like to persuade historians, for a variety of reasons, that they aren't very good, but even allowing for these special interests, publishers are pretty strong and pretty unanimous in saying that a good many historians don't know how to write. At the other end you have the college administrator who tells you with deep disgust that a great many historians don't know how to teach.

What is wrong there? I think the great trouble is that we expect that at the end of three years we are going to have a man who is a first-rate scholar and a first-rate teacher. We expect too much at the end of too short a time. With very rare exceptions—there are the great men who are great at the age of twenty-two—you are simply not going to get a graduate student up to the level which is expected of him when he leaves and takes his first job. You all know what

happens to him. He goes, let's say, to a quite respectable place. He is put in three courses—probably takes a couple sections of the freshman survey and two advanced courses—he has to work up a pile of lectures overnight, he has to deal with a great mass of students. Very likely the atmosphere of the place is very different from the one he came from, so he has to adjust himself to his environment. Since he probably hasn't got it finished by the time he begins his teaching, he is told that he has to get his thesis done. In other words, he is being given full responsibility at a stage at which he is not prepared for it.

Worse than that, the field of history is growing all the time both in depth and in breadth. I think someone could write a very interesting book called "The Expansion of History." One reason why we don't have, I would say, the Macaulays and the Parkmans is that even a Macaulay or a Parkman would have a very difficult time in mastering the material which is available and which he is expected to master under present conditions. When history was past politics, it was not too difficult to learn the history of a country or a period, and it was not too difficult to write about it, because past politics is full of good stories, it is full of personalities, the intrigues of a court, the maneuvers of a commander. They made good reading, and they still do. Whenever we get on to military history in our undergraduate courses, we always find the attention of the undergraduates suddenly picking up. That is something they can understand; it is something definite; it is something that is exciting. But a modern historian with a conscience can't stick to that. He has to go into social history and economic history and intellectual history where he is dealing with impressions, where he can't be very precise: he can't say that the intellectual change of the eighteenth century began on a certain date, as you can say that the night of the 4th of August brought about a decisive change in the French political and economic structure. Because of that lack of definiteness and also because of the lack of picturesque outlets, the movies have discovered that it is very hard to make a movie about the life of a thinker, because all you can do is show him sitting in his study thinking—and that is not very exciting.

The same thing is true in teaching and in writing. When you get into those very important but intangible developments in history,

the pace slows down. The reasoning has to become tight, and you lose your audience. That is not an alibi. I admit that we don't write as well as we should; we are sometimes pedantic, we are dull and we don't need to be dull. All I say is that the man who labors under none of these handicaps still has a very difficult time in writing history according to our present understanding of the historical process, and in making it interesting.

Then we must add to that great increase in depth—we are going deeper, we are trying to find out what lies under the surface of politics—an increase in breadth, which arises from the fact that Europeans are now convincing themselves that they ought to know something about American history, and that we, in turn, are reluctantly convincing ourselves that we must know something about the history of Russia and the Far East. A man can't write or teach very intelligently, certainly about the events of the 1900's, without getting out of the narrow framework in which we are accustomed to operate. There again you have a great increase in material and a great deal of trouble in assimilating it, pulling it into shape where it can be used and understood.

What I am saying is that we are foolish to assume that the job of training the graduate student is finished when he has passed his general examination and has begun working on his thesis. To become a good historian now is a process that takes years, years of slow development, years of reading and reflection and trials, attempts to put material into some shape which makes sense. And the man going into history doesn't get that time.

Here is where the financial problem becomes acute. Is there any way in which we can give him a little more time, without expecting him to do the complete job three years after he enters graduate school? Of course, the ideal thing would be to get ourselves into the same position as the doctors who take six years, but financially that is completely impossible. What I would argue for is what I think is being done already at some places—the idea of apprenticeship. Your young man has a start, but that's all that he has. When he has passed his examinations, when he has gotten to work on his thesis, don't put too much on him. Realize that he still has a great deal to learn. Keep him on for two or three years as a part-time instructor or a research assistant, the title doesn't matter very much, but give

him a chance to earn a modest living and at the same time to continue to develop as a scholar and as a teacher.

When he begins teaching, pay some attention to him. I know that visiting classes is a painful business both for the person who is visited and for the man who does the visiting. I wish I could think of a better way of finding out about a man's teaching, but I don't know of one. At any rate, take an interest in his teaching, try to find out what he is doing. Give him hints. You can't give a man a course on teaching and expect him to get much out of it, but I have discovered that just a sentence now and then makes a real difference. I noticed that one man we had, who was having trouble, always sat down when he was teaching a small class. I suggested that he get on his feet, and somehow that helped. It does help occasionally; I don't know why it is. Maybe it gives you a feeling of superiority, or control, or maybe you have to be more vigorous when you are on your feet than when you are sitting down, but that little change of technique made that man a better teacher.

In the same way, I don't see why we should rush them too much on their writing. The dissertation is a good exercise, granted. It is certainly a necessary thing to do. But I don't know why the dissertation should be a finished product as soon as we expect it to be. If the man has to have his degree quickly, all right, let him have it as soon as he has shown that he can do a competent job of research and that he has reached a conclusion that is something for further study. But don't rush him into publishing the thing until he has had time to think it over. I think the French system there is perhaps exaggerated, but at least on the right track, where the doctoral dissertation is usually not published until the man is well along in his scholarly career, when he has had time to think it over and to do a complete job on it.

I think that we should either accept that position, or else, perhaps, accept the position that the doctoral dissertation is an exercise. Don't try to combine the two, as we are doing now, and expect a man in a couple of years to turn out a production which will rank with the work of men who are greatly older and more experienced. If we can adopt the attitude for, say, two or three years after the man begins work on his thesis, that he is still an apprentice, that he is still in need of help and counsel and isn't yet ready for full responsibilities,

that he should be given just as much counseling as before, probably more, that he should be encouraged to read widely and to think about what he reads, I think then there might be some chance of our turning out men who are better qualified to go into the heavy load of teaching and writing which they are expected to pursue now on their first appointment.

Richard H. Shryock: I am in somewhat the same position that Professor Strayer was in, in that I will have to agree at many points with both his own analysis and that of Professor Perkins. I shall make a desperate effort, however, to disagree with them on one or two specific matters.

First of all, I would suggest that we break the discussion down under two headings: first, those problems which we face which are common to the graduate training program as a whole. You will recall that many of the specific items raised have not related in any peculiar sense to the training of historians. We are, of course, involved in a good many problems which face the graduate school in general. Then we have, secondly, more specific issues which concern us particularly as historians.

With regard to the first category, I am in thorough accord with both Mr. Perkins and Mr. Strayer that it is wise to approach this whole matter in terms of our basic objectives. What are we trying to do? The point has been emphasized this morning that we are not only trying to train men to do research, but that we also wish to train teachers, and that especially in the American environment this function, perhaps because of the scale of our college program, is a very necessary and a very vital one.

I am in entire sympathy with Mr. Strayer's suggestion that insofar as this teacher training function is concerned, we can do considerably more than we have done in the past to improve the average level of college teaching, assuming that it is possible to improve teaching by any training process at all. For example, some of us have the impression that a quite effective method of training college teachers is to encourage the exposure of these teachers to preliminary experience in the grade or secondary schools. At least those of us who have had the experience of teaching in the grade or secondary schools often feel that that preliminary experience with the teaching process on that

level was a real asset. Let me say as an aside that this is a level in which the teaching process is far more difficult in many respects than it is on the college level, a level in a sense, to change the figure, in which you are fighting in the front line trenches of education, and where you are forced to give careful attention to the teaching process and techniques if you wish to survive. If that is true, then perhaps there is something to be said for the types of teacher training which are today imposed upon teachers in the elementary and secondary schools, and perhaps we have something to learn from them in the training of college teachers.

At this point a few of you may feel the chill shadow of professional education or pedagogy stealing over you, so let me hasten to add that I do not wish to see the training of college teachers—and by that, in this connection, I mean the training in the technical processes of teaching on the college level—turned over to the schools of education. I happen to be a product of that particular tradition, and having seen professional education from the inside at all levels, despite the fact that I think it has certain merits in some connections, on the whole I would not wish to see that tradition or that orientation applied to the technical training of teachers on the college level. I would rather see that training process remain in the hands of the department which is providing these students with their major program.

But isn't it true that that is just where we have fallen down in most cases? It is true, as Mr. Strayer pointed out, that we are in a certain sense training these future college instructors when we give them general courses, when we are equipping them with a knowledge and understanding of the content which they will have to handle. But I think we have pretty generally fallen down on the more technical aspect which we also mentioned. We are all aware of the fact that there is some very poor teaching done in the colleges and universities. Of course that doesn't apply to us here, but we all know colleagues whose teaching procedures are little short of outrageous! It is all very well to say that we don't want to have this program turned over to professional educators, but if we don't take it on, it ought to go to the professional educators by default. That is why I should like to see us do something about it. I think we can do some very simple and very easy things that would make quite a difference, and Mr. Strayer has suggested the approach which I think we might employ.

Many a graduate student goes through his whole program of taking the Ph.D. without having anyone even call his attention to the fact that the way in which he is going to teach will be important in the future. In many cases no one ever discusses it with him, no one ever observes his teaching, and no one ever gives him any suggestions. Perish the thought, however, that anyone would ever ask anybody in a doctor's examination about the method he expected to employ in the future in the classroom! I think we can do a great deal with purely informal discussions, either in groups or as individuals, as Mr. Strayer suggested. If we did nothing more than call the attention of this future instructor to the fact that, although we now have given him all this content and have tried to give him all this understanding, it is all going to be wasted if he can't communicate it. Therefore, he had jolly well better think about the procedures and processes he is going to employ.

Some of these very simple technical matters—whether you sit down or whether you stand up, whether you use ridicule and irony and sarcasm as a method of communication, such simple matters as the man's mannerisms, his personal attitudes toward the students—are important. You don't have to have series of courses in comparative pedagogy, educational methods, educational psychology, and all the rest of the professional education paraphernalia, in order to make these young people at least conscious of the importance of this teaching process, interested in examining their own procedures and in attempting to improve them. In addition to that, I think we might well, as a supplementary procedure, actually observe them from time to time. It is a little embarrassing; it makes us nervous; it isn't in our tradition on the higher educational level, although I remember very well that when I was first appointed as an instructor in a middle western university, the head of the department on a number of occasions sat in my class and observed my teaching. Of course, the public schools are accustomed to that. In a big city the district superintendent drops in regularly to observe the teaching. Nevertheless, students would adjust themselves to this procedure. We have an opportunity to begin such a system in our large university departments where we have assistants who participate in the teaching program.

What about this second function or objective, training for research? As Mr. Perkins has pointed out, this also is important and

we certainly wish to avoid going from one extreme to the other, from having perhaps overemphasized research training on the one hand, to overemphasizing our teaching program on the other. Perhaps it is unnecessary, in a group of this type, to labor the significance of the research training program. It was certainly stressed in the old German setup, and presumably we took it over from there. I would only like to say that I suspect that the importance of training in research —and here I speak not only of history, but of science and scholarship at large—has, if anything, become more significant than it was a half or three quarters of a century ago. We all know that our type of culture or civilization is becoming rapidly more complex, that far greater demands are made upon our population today for the production of experts of all kinds. One aspect of production, at least, is training in research as well as in techniques.

We all know that there is a great demand today for the training of experts, not only because of the intricacies of our own culture, but because of the world position of that culture at the present time. And certainly without in any way minimizing the importance of the teacher training function, we must keep equally in mind the tremendous importance of this other tradition, of training a man for future research.

In terms of that objective, we encounter some of the difficulties which were hinted at in the discussion yesterday. Are there in our whole training setup in this country any elements which in one way or another may inhibit or handicap the effectiveness of our research program? I am not speaking here of the methods we employ in teaching research, but of the cultural situation, the social background. Are there elements in that which may inhibit the effectiveness of our research-teaching tradition?

It was hinted yesterday that one of these elements might be the character of our secondary schools. You remember that the European situation was in a sense always simpler than our own, at least it has been simpler in the last century or so. Under the European educational program, as was pointed out not only for Germany but for England, to a certain degree even at the present time, you had a highly selective process. You had an element of the elect drawn into the universities, after systematic and severe screening processes, and partly because of that, there was provided a type of secondary

school—the lycée, the gymnasium, and so on—which was, on the whole, I think it is fair to say, an institution which provided a more thorough discipline of intensive training than that provided today in our average high school.

Take so simple a matter as knowledge of the languages, which your graduate of the gymnasium usually has and which I am afraid to say the graduate of the American high school usually has not. That is a handicap at the beginning of the program. The languages may be merely a symbol of other inadequacies in the American situation.

By the way, just a historical note in passing. I think the contrast here became greater in the late nineteenth century than it was earlier. I think you will probably find, though this is a type of educational history which often isn't produced by professors of educational history, that the early American secondary school, at least the better private academies and also, interesting enough, the early public high schools, were much more similar to the gymnasium than the high school has been in our own generation.

I am the proud possessor of a Bachelor of Arts degree from a high school in this city. That may seem at first glance ludicrous, and I often have a lot of fun with registrars and clerks in deans' offices, in insisting that I have this degree from one of the high schools. It is a legal degree in this state, because at the time that high school was established, its curriculum and its faculty were quite similar to those of the colleges of the period; and as I look back on it, it seems to me that that high school was very analogous to a lycée or a gymnasium. What apparently has happened to us is, that in the great mass proliferation of high schools in the last fifty or seventy-five years, it has been impossible either in the selection of teachers or students to maintain the kind of level that existed in those early schools which were rather select institutions, as the gymnasiums and the lycées were rather select institutions.

Here you run across the inevitable contrast: the European system apparently had the advantages inherent in training a select group, whereas the American value has been the wider dissemination of some education among a much larger group, and it is very difficult to pass judgment on the relative merits of those two values. There is something to be said for both. But what I would like to get away from in all these discussions is the insidious "either/or" logic that you must

train a few people well under the European system, or you must train the great masses in a mediocre manner under the American. Certainly we would all like to work out some procedures by which we can achieve both values to some degree: do the best we can with providing the maximum amount of education to the masses from which they can profit, but at the same time take pains not to let that process hold back or limit or discourage in any way the procedure in which the European tradition has been strong—the provision of the best and most rapid and effective possible training for the select element.

By select element, of course, I am not speaking in social terms, but rather of the encouragement of those with unusual ability to serve society in the manner society so desperately needs in our own time. There may be ways of doing it. I think it can be done in our large cities. The large city can maintain a select high school with higher entrance standards, stronger faculties. Some cities are trying to do that, and they ought to turn out boys and girls at the end with something more analogous to the old gymnasium training without in any way limiting what can be done for the mass of children in the ordinary high school. How that can be done in a small town, I must confess is pretty difficult to determine.

I don't want to linger too long with the high school except to say that I think that the extent to which the high school tends to be mediocre is that much of a handicap when it comes to the training of the ablest youngsters for research, for technical positions in the future.

Incidentally, I think one of the reasons why there is danger of mediocrity in the American high school is the lack of contact between high schools and the colleges and universities. If we had something like the French system which Mr. Watts described yesterday, by which in some manner we could route some of our ablest graduate students into the teaching field in the high schools, where perhaps they could look forward eventually to advancement into the college teaching work, we would kill two birds with one stone. We would certainly improve the caliber of high school teaching personnel. Isn't it true—at least it is in the graduate schools with which I have been associated—that we look our graduate personnel over and pick out the few we think are really good? We encourage them to go on for the

doctorate; the others take an M.A. and can teach in the high school. If there were some way by which we could encourage the best people to teach in the high schools, we could improve the personnel of the high schools; when they moved up to college, the colleges, in turn, would benefit from their experience at the high school level. That apparently operates in the French system. I don't know whether it is possible to work out any scheme by which it could be introduced here. How many appointments of college instructors come from the high school personnel? There are some, but isn't it becoming rather the exception than the rule?

We have an analogous question as to whether or not large-scale education handicaps the training of the future research man or the expert within the graduate school itself. There was an implication in the discussion yesterday that the European system spelled freedom, initiative, responsibility; that we were drifting in the American training program toward what the chairman called "the lockstep." There are other and uglier words like regimentation. Those terms are probably too extreme. We all know there is a good deal of freedom of one sort or another in the present graduate student's program. Nevertheless, there is a contrast here with credit requirements, lecture courses that must be attended if the student's work is pointing in a certain direction, required attendance perhaps not insisted upon, but generally supported, a great deal of rather close guidance of the graduate student, particularly in writing his thesis. That again may be increasing. I frankly can't remember that I received any guidance when I wrote my thesis.

In contrast to that, as you all know, many of us pore over these theses today. We go over them with the students, we suggest changes. I think, frankly, that I have erred in that extreme. There is a certain amount of spoon-feeding of that sort. I suppose there is a happy mean at some point between the refusal to give any training or guidance, which really means, it seems to me, that under the French procedure you have a testing program as someone said, rather than a training program, and this other extreme of trying to carry the graduate student through more or less on your own shoulders.

I don't know that I would want to suggest that we set up separate graduate departments, some of them to train college teachers and some to train researchers. There is a good deal of overlapping in the

two functions. As Mr. Perkins pointed out, the teacher, if he is going to be a good teacher, must have an inquiring mind and ought to have a potential interest in research. Yet I think there may be a place for perhaps a greater emphasis on the training of teachers in some graduate departments, and a greater emphasis and attention to providing those freedoms and facilities best adapted to the highly original and unusually capable student in other departments. That decision as to emphasis, of course, would have to be made in terms of the circumstances within each institution.

Mr. Perkins suggested a third objective, though of course it is related to the others, namely, the training of historical writers. That might be viewed as part of the function of the college teacher; it might be viewed as part of the function of the research man. But let's look at it for a moment as though it were a distinct objective. The problem is a puzzling one, and I am inclined to think that there is probably no simple answer one way or the other. My own feeling is that a certain type of historical writing should be aimed at the public, and I think that that type of historical writing is very important and has real value. Whether we can do anything in graduate schools to train people to write effectively for the public is another question. We would all agree that a good bit of the problem lies in individual personalities and potential gifts. I suspect that insofar as formal training can make for more effective writing for the public, there isn't much that we can do in history departments beyond what we hope has already been accomplished by the English departments in teaching these students on the undergraduate level. In other words, I am inclined to doubt whether it is an objective that we are equipped to realize, partly because some of us ourselves, frankly, are not particularly effective in that category, and partly because of limitations in the teaching procedures. I hope that some will have those gifts and that they will be encouraged by their teachers in English, and that they will be able to reach the public effectively; although here, of course, your most effective writer is your free-lance writer who has not gone through this particular type of training. Last year someone suggested cynically that if a person did have such gifts, they were pretty well killed off by our graduate school type of training. I would rather say that I doubt whether we are equipped to inspire literary gifts and literary effectiveness in our graduate students.

It doesn't worry me as much as it does some of my colleagues that a considerable number of our college teachers or university professors are not especially effective in this connection. I think it is a distinct function; if a particular university professor happens to have this gift, that is splendid, but I am not particularly worried if the majority does not. Mr. Perkins referred to the loss of our public. Of course, we have lost a public which most professional historians do not now reach to the same extent that Prescott and others did. When the first chapter of McMaster's *History of the People of the United States* was published in one of the standard magazines—I think it was *Scribner's*—the public demand for that issue was so great that it had to be reprinted one or more times in the course of the month. I think such an event today is a very, very rare occurrence in magazines in general, and particularly so in terms of the writings of a general historian.

But we gained a public which those older historians did not possess, namely, this great undergraduate public upon which, as Mr. Perkins put it, we impose our own texts or those of our friends. There was certainly no such undergraduate public in Parkman's day. Of course, we can't be sure just what effect, just what values, our writings, our texts, have in this connection. We all hope that they have some effect, some value. Certainly we are reaching these people at an immature and therefore plastic age.

On the other hand, how much do we really know about the effectiveness of the impact of Parkman, Prescott, and Motley? I remember reading Motley's *Rise of the Dutch Republic* as a boy. It was very exciting. The chief value I can recall getting out of it, except the fact that I had a lot of fun reading it, was an intense hatred of Spain and a cordial dislike of Philip II. Can we be any more sure that those values were of great significance then, than we can be sure today of the values we achieve in terms of the effect of our teaching and lecturing on students in our classes? My own feeling is that there are different kinds of historical writing aimed at different audiences, and that we are not in the position to have to use the "either/or" logic. Some of us ought to reach the public; in some cases we don't need to.

Take an extreme case—the men who are writing these government histories for the Army and Navy. I doubt that much literary value is necessary in those histories of federal bureaus, agencies, military

organizations and the like. That type of historical writing has a totally different objective, a technical objective. I strongly feel that that is historical writing with a quasi-scientific objective as compared to the humanistic objective of the more literary or general type of composition. Any area, any field or discipline, which becomes even partially technical in character, or which acquires a partially technical objective, as in the case of these military histories which are aimed at a technical audience, need not be any more literary in its values than any other technical subject. Medicine, for example, used to have a popular audience. All of you recall the Renaissance period when the public attended an autopsy. It was a great show. Everyone was interested. Medicine reached a wide public largely because it wasn't very technical. Since that day, as we all know, medicine has become highly technical and has lost its public, except insofar as it is interpreted to the public through the medium of popularization. I have never heard medical men bemoan this fact. They don't expect their technical articles to reach the public, and when we historians are writing for technical purposes, I don't see why we should either. There are different types of writing aimed at different types of audiences, and we have to judge the type of training needed for them and the values inherent in each procedure accordingly.

Thomas C. Cochran: Before the discussion gets going, I would like to inject one additional point that I know a number of my colleagues, particularly in disciplines other than history, would be interested in our discussing. It stems purely from this question: where are the Bancrofts, the Parkmans, and the Motleys? The answer is that they are the lawyers, the doctors and, a few of them, the economists. If those earlier men had a certain genius that seems to be lacking in the professional today, the answer of this group of nonhistorians would be that history is not drawing the best men of its generation. I think a good many of them would draw up a kind of scale: they would say that the best men go into the law school, the next best go into medical school, and so on. Arthur Cole, for instance, bemoaned the fact that those who are really smart in economics are going into theory or applied economics; the others are going into economic history.

Some of you, perhaps, won't feel that this is the case, although I rather feel it is myself. I don't know what the answer is. Perhaps one

explanation of it is the relative disorganization of our civilization during the last twenty years, roughly from 1930, which has, perhaps, put too great an emphasis on immediate values; even the foundation seems to be succumbing to it at the present time. If this is true, then it is a thing we have got to take into account when we begin to talk of the caliber of our graduate students and the kind of training we can give them.

Possibly some kind of solution lies along the lines of the European models. We might try to break down our narrow departmental divisions a little, try to make people feel that they must know history—that is, must know it as a technique and a method—and that nobody can be a whole man without being a historian to some extent. But if we are going to bid for these people from all the other disciplines, we ourselves must give to those disciplines. We must regard graduate education in history as less specialized than any other field.

Ralph Henry Gabriel: I should like to say a word on the point that was just made. I think Mr. Perkins answered it in part. I don't quite share Mr. Cochran's pessimism. Our observation has been that in the last decade or decade and a half, the quality of men seeking advanced training in history has advanced very materially, certainly over what it was in the twenties, certainly over what it was before World War I, in my day. I think that Mr. Perkins emphasized the importance of the undergraduate teacher as a communicator of ideas, of a sense of the urgency of history, of the importance of values. If the undergraduate teacher is as effective as he should be, we will have more of these young men. There is where the cycle comes back. We have seen in our institution men of the highest caliber and quality coming from one of the smaller colleges of New England to the graduate school and doing astonishingly good work; not one, but a whole succession of them.

In this connection, I want to suggest two or three things on the problem of teaching graduate students to teach. The apprentice method is the obvious one; it is the method of the intern in the hospital. Here I would point out to Mr. Strayer a fact with which he is very familiar and has taken into account, that an apprentice teacher of freshmen is expensive for the freshmen. Many of our freshmen who come to us from the better academies and high schools

that Mr. Shryock mentioned, get a great letdown at the difference in the quality of teaching in their first year in college and the quality of teaching in the last year in the preparatory school. Thus, if we are going to use the apprentice method, and I think we have got to use it, the apprentice must be given constant supervision and guidance from the most experienced men on the staff.

I would like to say just one thing more on this point. We have been trying modestly at Yale an experiment of a different sort, in addition to this apprenticeship. When our young men and women get to the second or third year, usually the third year of their graduate work, looking forward to going out the next year into teaching, they are organized into a class. It is a curious kind of class. They get no credit for it. It is managed by one of our ablest undergraduate teachers, who, in a sense, does the leg work. He makes arrangements with Professor A, who teaches a large lecture course, for this class to visit his lecture course for two weeks. The class then goes to Professor B, who teaches a small lecture course, to Instructor C, who is in a general survey course, and on into the discussion courses. Professor A meets with the class before it comes to his lectures, and is put on the spot. He tries to tell these critical young men and women what he thinks he is trying to do. Then they sit in his course for two weeks, not interested in his content at all, but interested critically in whether he is doing what he thinks he is doing, in whether he is getting his material across. At the end of two weeks the class meets again with Professor A, and he may get the works! That is very good for Professor A, as well as being, perhaps, of some value to the students. I throw the idea into the discussion for what it is worth.

I want to say one thing, too, on the research side. This matter of cutting down of numbers seems to me vital. I think some of our graduate schools are ridiculously overcrowded, and I see no social justification for it. I suspect that cutting down the number of students in the history departments of graduate schools is just about as difficult as getting international control of atomic energy, but I think that it must be done in these latter days so that schools can handle them adequately with their resources, and not lead us into an overproduction of doctor's degrees.

There is another point in this matter of research training. I believe that people should get out of graduate school at the earliest possible

moment, that they should get out at the end of three years rather than at the end of four. I think that it is against the public interest to carry on in graduate schools year after year. I feel, as all the speakers have implied this morning, that graduate education, just as undergraduate education, is merely a beginning and that it is founded on the assumption that education is a live process and doesn't end when a man leaves the institution. Therefore, I feel that we should definitely adopt the principle of accepting a fragment of a thesis for the degree. Let the young man or woman select a subject that may be an ambitious one, but try to prevent him from making it so ambitious that it is going to prolong his stay too long. At the earliest possible moment that he is able to submit three or four chapters that demonstrate his ability to do the job, give him his degree and send him out. This suggestion is postulated on the American "folkway," that we have made the Ph.D. a fetish in our institutions. I don't see that there is any way of getting rid of it. But so long as we do have it, just as soon as we are sure of the intellectual quality and the research ability of the young man, I suggest that we give him his degree and send him on his way to a more fruitful life.

Mr. Nichols: I would like to second Mr. Gabriel's remarks by saying that as we have a four-year course for the A.B. degree, why don't we have a three-year course for the Ph.D.? I believe we could work out a program for the Ph.D., including the dissertation, which could be completed during three years' residence at the university. Then the student would have his degree in a reasonable time and would not spend years struggling to finish a dissertation while endeavoring to hold a full-time teaching job.

Mr. Strayer: I would like to put in two words here before we get further into the discussion. There is a quick answer to Mr. Cochran's statement, which isn't entirely true. If the quality of historians is going down, then the quality of our college administration is going down, because there is a very unhappy tendency to pick historians as presidents and deans, as some people here can testify. That is not a complete answer. I think it is true that we have got a serious problem with man power. There are more and more demands being made for men of first-rate intelligence, more and more fields opening

up. It is getting harder and harder for history to draw its share. My own experience has been that not all the good men go elsewhere, for I think the best men I have taught in the last ten years have gone, a certain fraction of them anyway, to graduate school either in history or in a related field, but there hasn't been a big enough fraction. Some of the good men go, but not quite enough.

I also want to make a point on the preparing of people for the freshman course, which I agree is an expensive procedure. It is hard on the freshmen; it is also hard on university budgets at times. One little device that we have tried has worked pretty well. At some point in a course we make the older men, the second or third year men, give a trial lecture to that course. I may say, for example, "Suppose you are trying to sum up the reign of Henry II of England for an undergraduate class? How would you do it?" The student comes in and makes all the mistakes that a young man makes, usually putting in too much detail, and we tear him to pieces. That is not enough, of course, but at least it is a start.

Mr. Perkins: May I speak, too, to Mr. Cochran's question? It would be a little melancholy if we accepted his thesis in its entirety, and I wouldn't propose to do so any more than would Mr. Strayer. But if there is a problem in recruiting, I think it comes because young men want to know the relevance of what they are doing. Possibly Americans are too highly practical. I know one is told, when one spends a year in a British university, that the British scientists are way ahead on the theoretical side, are much more alive on theoretical problems, whereas on applied problems the Americans do a very good job. Perhaps that is not the question I wish to ask. But I have talked with a good many young men, particularly in recent years, and I can think of one, who is a distinguished person and a teacher in a great university, who asks that very question. What are we trying to communicate? That is the question it seems to me that we do not ask ourselves very often, and I think in one form or another it has to be answered.

And I do want to say a word more about teaching, because, as a matter of fact, that is one of the things that we have felt very strongly the need of at Rochester. I am very much interested in what has been said by Mr. Gabriel and Mr. Strayer. Having only five men

each year, we first give them the European history course, and I don't think any man can be a good historian unless he acquired a general knowledge of European history. We supervise them a great deal. During the second year they have to give ten lectures before the undergraduates. They are allowed to choose their own subjects and must notify us of the time they are going to substitute for one or another member of the faculty. They usually start badly. We allow them to repeat lectures.

I have been tremendously interested to see what can be assimilated by the lecture method in the course of a year. These are second year graduate students. They start in the fall and they have given ten lectures by the end of the year; if they haven't improved I know it and will play fair when it comes to the question of placing them. If they have done well, I can speak with confidence about them.

I think we should give them an opportunity to teach early, if it can be done, but we can't do it, as Professor Gabriel says, if we are going to be deluged with numbers.

Mr. Kirkland: There are one or two comments I would like to make on the subject of teaching. In the first place, I think the setting is larger, I think we would all agree, much larger than the inculcation of knowledge of how to teach. There are two factors that are, in my estimation, more important than the inculcation of knowledge of how to teach. One is the over-all professional setting in which that teaching is done. At one large university I am informed that a course given in chemistry was so large that it could not meet in the lecture room. A large portion of the class, therefore, met in the basement of the laboratory and heard the lectures over a loud-speaker, and they completed that course in chemistry without ever seeing the lecturer. I don't care how gifted, how able, how much of a genius an individual is, he simply cannot teach under those circumstances.

A second factor in successful teaching, rather than a knowledge of teaching—and both of these factors seem to me far more important—is the incentive to teach. I do not mean by that that college administrators are blind to the importance of teaching, that they do not necessarily reward teachers, although we all suspect that they reward more highly something else. A scholar is really the pursuer of a very easy craft, because if he is a scholar and a productive scholar,

he produces material that is judged every ten years, every five years, and it is judged by his peers. In a recent address on the scholar's life, given to a group of the New York Chamber of Commerce, a prominent professor pointed out that a scholar takes a gamble until his work is completed and evaluated. Now the teacher takes a much greater gamble, because his work is never evaluated. He never has the judgment of his peers. He can't tell for twenty-five or thirty or even more years whether he has been worth while. So the successful teacher, if he is interested in teaching, must be interested in the profession of teaching and the professional environment and surroundings in which that teaching takes place, and I believe it is a very important function of our graduate schools to arouse this larger concern with the profession, with higher education as a whole. It is a responsibility which is absolutely essential for the successful conduct of our craft.

Granted that these conditions can be solved satisfactorily, the other aspect of teaching which has interested me is the extent to which we can inculcate in our students and graduate students an ability to teach. I believe there are certain subject matters, certain disciplines, that can be given to graduate students as a preparation for teaching. We would never think of turning loose an author unless he had read other works and learned about writing, by example if by no other method. Yet we turn loose teachers who have never risen to their feet nor secured professional training in public speaking. I think it is absolutely essential for every graduate student, either as an undergraduate or in the graduate school, to receive formal discipline in public speech.

As far as the apprentice system is concerned, the apprentice system is no better than its master, and I am convinced by observation of the teaching profession that there is no teacher, however poor, who does not think he is an excellent one. Some of my poorest teachers were the most earnest, the most convinced, the most certain that they were excellent teachers, and criticism and leadership from those teachers is meaningless. I think it is much more important to inculcate in graduate students a phase of the observation that I remember was made in psychology when I took psychology. At that time one didn't examine animals to see how the human mind worked. The psychologist who taught me said that the great advantage of

psychology is that the subject matter is always at hand in yourself. Translating this observation into the field of teaching, I think we should emphasize to our students that the best way to become a good teacher is to observe the whole range of teachers and speakers with whom they come in contact. We say if a student is to be a writer he should read Henry Adams or Parkman or some of the other individuals we have mentioned this morning. The student should learn to be critical of those who deal with him, not only as teachers, but in all respects.

Mrs. Nichols: I was very much impressed by what Professor Perkins said because of my own study of the practical use to which knowledge of history can be put in the conduct of public affairs. I have been appalled at the failure of those guiding public policy to take advantage of the knowledge of experts in history. I was, therefore, very much interested in learning that Professor Perkins is a tremendously effective radio speaker on historical topics, for I understand that he has a wide listening audience made up largely of people of no academic interest. More historians need to develop a talent for communicating their knowledge to their fellow citizens and to those in government. Both citizens and political leaders are forming opinions blindly without the benefit of the historians' knowledge. Historians have the responsibility to seek a wider audience and to influence public policy.

Mr. Powell: I want to say a few things concerning the graduate student not as a person to be trained, but as a person on whom the professional writer of history is going to depend.

I am always a little alarmed when we consider that the graduate student has only one career open to him, that of teaching at any level. In the first place, there are many other careers: in journalism, in archival work, in social work, in library work, administrative work, and lastly, and I think least attended to, the career of being a historian.

I don't believe the lecture as a teaching method is particularly right as original teaching procedure. History teaching poses a peculiar problem because it is so often simply the imparting of or the exposition of information, rather than the challenge and response of

teacher and student in the presence of a matter *sub judice* in which reasonable men can disagree. There are a good many graduate students whom I have taught and with whom I have sat who simply did not have the personality of a lecturer and never would, who might perhaps have the personality of a brilliant leader of an argument in a forum type of discussion, but who could not lecture to large groups.

I am concerned that we take Mr. Kirkland's psychologist seriously —the subject matter is within you. That is true in history, too, I think. It seems to me that we ought to regard a person coming to an institution for graduate study as a person embarking on a very personal experience to him. There are certain things that we ought not to ask of him. We ought not to ask of him that he fit a pattern of career or a pattern of thinking that we have set and regard as good. Maybe it isn't good for him. But there are certain things that we can legitimately ask of him. We can ask that he have a good reason for wanting to do it, and that he have some conviction.

Every now and then I have sat on graduate committees both in the Middle West and the East, where a student has turned up with an idea of his own—that is awfully rare, as you know—and it was beaten down by a variety of the social pressures that assault any idea which we seem more willing to suppress rather than to nurture. But the reason for which it was most frequently beaten down and the one that I most deeply resented was, "It is too highly specialized." I am by now completely impatient with arguments against specialization, particularly if they mean that here is a man who knows what he wants to do and it means something very deep to him, and we judge that it is too specialized. It is so rare that a graduate student has anything that means something very deep to him. President Aydelotte of Swarthmore once said that we have no right to ask that everyone who has anything to do with choosing the subject for a dissertation be interested in it, but we have some right to ask that the student himself be interested in it. And too often he isn't.

I am concerned here, particularly in comparing the American method with the European method, with the issue of the personality of the student and his personality development. I like the freedom that the American student has and I think it is as fully developed as it is in the European system. I think that the number of things that we can contribute to a graduate student is very small. I believe that

it is a significant omission in American graduate training that in spite of the fact that the land grant colleges combined the pattern of the European university and the European *politechnische schule* in one institution, graduate study in history in those institutions is not fructified by that union with other sciences. It seems to me significant that graduate study has not produced a linkage of history with science, history with English, history with genetics, history with home economics. It is just beginning to in the Morrill Act colleges, I believe.

Specialization is the sort of thing that comes from within the student. If we regard graduate training as a teacher training process, we are going to distort, in a way, the professional responsibility that the graduate teacher has toward the student to attend to the personality development of that student in the presence of his subject. I feel that we have a very grave responsibility in teacher training toward those who are going to teach, but I feel that that is only one part of the whole picture and by no means the most important part.

Catherine Drinker Bowen: All of you have been very ultrarealistic, and there has been a great deal of humility expressed about the fact that none of you are writers. I have seen an uneasiness among historians that leads me to believe that you know perfectly well a whole lot of you are writers. Maybe it isn't enough just to dismiss the question and say that you are going to teach your graduate students research and that you are going to teach them teaching. Anyway, if historians aren't writers, what was that energetic Mr. Knopf doing in the Statler Hotel during the Christmas holidays?* Where Alfred Knopf is, there the ground never lies fallow, because he is usually not out to waste his time.

I don't know the academic scene—what presidents want or what you do. The suggestion that I want to make you may have been doing for twenty years, but I wonder whether you would have time in your seminars to have, say, three times a winter, a professional writer come and talk to your students. I am one that maintains a lot can be done that way. Professional writers who do nothing but throw themselves against the terrifying indifference of the reading public have thought up devices and ways which are not merely meretricious

* Annual meeting of the American Historical Association in Boston, December, 1949.

tricks. I find that graduate students who talk to me—and lately, quite a few graduate students who want to write have surprised me very much by coming to me and asking questions—are surprised at the things that they are told and the things that they find out. For instance, one of them came to me and said, "I don't want to teach, but to take history and do with it what you do. Take one year and hoke it up." I didn't really talk to him because he was coming at it backwards. You don't take the Rocky Mountains and "hoke it up." What you do is look at it and feel excited about it and organize it.

But I had a graduate student, one of the brightest boys I ever met, come to me with an idea for his thesis (which either was assigned to him or which he chose). He asked me how he could write it so that it would reach a commercial audience. I know perfectly well that that is impossible, that he has to write it twice, the first time to reach the commercial audience and the next time for his thesis. After reading that book of rules for college theses which I recently saw, I realized that the two things are entirely different. He couldn't write that thesis for his Ph.D. and then "hoke it up." He would have to start the other way around; write it for the commercial reading public and then write it again differently.

I don't think you would even have to pay these writers, if they happen to live in your city. You would have to pick your writers, men and women who are interested in history and in scholarship. There is Esther Forbes, and John Hersey, who is writing on the present historical scene, Hervey Allen, had he lived, and Bernard De Voto. Very likely these students won't be Parkmans, but I don't think we ought to be frightened to death by the name Parkman or the name Motley. I contend, however, that there are things that these students are asking for that perhaps could be told them. Maybe they wouldn't learn anything better than to whom to go. I think that the students who come to you have not had that training before they come, because very few colleges give really good courses in creative writing, and, furthermore, the students who are going on to graduate history aren't the kind that take courses in creative writing.

Mr. Blegen: Don't you think that we ought at least to challenge Mrs. Bowen's assumption that a piece of work written for a commercial publisher and for the general public would necessarily be

rejected as a thesis? I think we might be a little more experimental. I would be inclined to advise that student to submit that first work as his thesis, to try it out on his faculty. He might be surprised; it might be accepted.

Mrs. Bowen: Just let me say that I didn't mean that in a derogatory way. I was talking about a different technique. I probably haven't read enough theses.

Mr. Blegen: The point I make is that most of us would probably agree that the kind of writing you are talking about is the very kind of writing we want to encourage in our graduate students.

Elmer Ellis: I would like to make just one point in connection with what Mr. Cochran said, by referring back to something that my memory is a little vague on, Elbridge Sibley's study of the training of social science scholars.* He had in that, as I recall it, the only real study, as opposed to the general impressions that we all have, regarding the disposition of the abilities of our students. It is quite comforting to social scientists as a whole. It showed that we were getting at least our share, when compared with the natural sciences and the law schools and so forth, of the very high abilities coming out of our undergraduate schools. I don't recall that he broke that down as to history itself. Maybe they are all taking economic theory, but for the social sciences as a whole, it was rather encouraging.

Mrs. Manning: I should like to add my testimony to that of Mr. Gabriel, that going into academic life, as far as I have been able to judge from the younger generation, is becoming far more fashionable than the stock market. I must say that they do come in under the illusion that we all get a sabbatical year and spend a lot of time in Europe. But I think the general point is brought out by the number of applications for the Rhodes scholarship, and the tremendous number wishing to study for the A.B. degree along lines which would lead to the Ph.D.

Mr. Cochran: One word of rebuttal on this subject. I was quoting a general impression that I have found rather than trying to make a

* Elbridge Sibley, *The Recruitment, Selection, and Training of Social Scientists*, Bulletin 58, Social Science Research Council (New York, 1948).

categorical statement, but it does have one point that I think we haven't discussed. I have a feeling that we have, perhaps, had a certain sense of complacency about the kind of things we were teaching people in the field of history that isn't shared by our graduate students, who, I think, have a considerable lack of complacency about what they are getting in many cases. I believe that we get diminishing returns after a student gets too many history courses. They get restive about it. I feel we have got to think a little bit about the content of graduate education, and that, perhaps, is coupled with the question of why students decide to be historians rather than economists or lawyers.

Mr. Blegen: From the center of a graduate school I have observed that the decisions that students make to go into particular areas of study differ a great deal in their timing. I find that for many of the professions like medicine and law and engineering and the chemical sciences and the agricultural sciences, the decisions are made very early, and the decision to go into history very often is made late. It may be made after the student has taken his bachelor's degree, whereas I think many of the students who go into the other areas that you speak of know pretty early in their college career that that is the goal, that is the direction toward which they are moving.

I sometimes think that we in the social sciences, perhaps in history particularly, have, in the first place, a rather difficult profession or field to define for our students to see concretely and clearly; and I think, in the second place, that very often we do not, at a very early stage, do anything or do very much to help highly promising students to see what the rewards, what the values, what the interests are in the profession that we ourselves are engaged in. It may be that that might offer at least a little challenge to us.

Lyman H. Butterfield: Whichever way the drift may be, that we are getting more superior people in the profession or more inferior people is a point that certainly has not been decided and on which there are different views. I think Mrs. Bowen's remarks are extremely relevant. I would be inclined to attribute Professor Shryock's becoming a historian, though not necessarily of science, much more to the fact that he read Motley's *Dutch Republic* and developed some views

about Philip II, than to the fact that he had a sarcastic algebra teacher. Since the early infection with interest in history can hardly come from any other source than reading, very often in connection with a good teacher, of course, the tie between the professional writer who is successful in the world of professional writers, and the world of scholars, it seems to me, should therefore be drawn much more closely together.

In this connection, I dissent somewhat from another remark of Mr. Shryock's. It is perfectly possible to present a far greater amount of historical material in a way which is readable than has been done. I think he would agree with that. I am thinking for instance of a book which I have just finished reading. I don't know whether it was written by a man who has a Ph.D. or not—I suspect he has—but at present he is in government administration. It is a book on the American Indian called *They Came Here First.** It has been published in this city and, I think, is a remarkable piece of work. It is the first general work on the history of the American Indian that is readable since the more or less mythological presentation of the Indians in the early nineteenth century. It is an eminently readable work on a highly technical subject, and there is no cheapening in its presentation at all. I will mention a work also of the same standard that was written by Mr. Powell on the yellow fever.† That book is like the book on the Indians: it deals with a technical subject; there is no cheapening in the presentation. I think much more of that can be done.

Mr. Shryock: May I just say, by way of concluding remarks that I should like to revert to a distinction I suggested earlier, namely, that many of these problems we have considered relate to the graduate training program in general. For example, this very important matter of the training of teachers isn't in any sense peculiar to the interests of the history department. But I am also glad that in some of the recent comments our attention has also been brought to bear upon certain questions or issues which are more or less peculiar to the functions of the historian. There was Mrs. Bowen's suggestion that in the training of historians who write, and I take it that she

* D'Arcy McNickle, *They Came Here First* (Philadelphia, 1949).
† John H. Powell, *Bring Out Your Dead* (Philadelphia, 1949).

meant the writing of history and not writing in general, it might be helpful if we brought into consultation the successful free-lance writer. I think it is a very promising idea.

There were other pertinent comments. Mr. Powell's remarks concerning the tying up of history with certain other technical fields raised questions relating to history in particular. Mr. Cochran raised certain questions about the content of our training program. On this point, it is my own feeling that one of the serious weaknesses in the content of our training program in history, at least in some departments, has been this tendency of the students to expose themselves only to courses given in the history department. That I think is probably one factor in certain weaknesses or gaps in the historical writing which we have produced, quite apart from training elements.

Some years ago at Pennsylvania we decided to encourage students, certainly to permit students, to take the equivalent of one of their subject fields in any other department that was pertinent to their thesis interest. I think we encountered considerable resistance on the part of the students themselves toward doing that sort of thing. Now, what does it really mean when we think of the research training side of our program? We are training men to do research and presumably writing in history, but when we get to the point of doing actual research, we frequently focus on a particular aspect of history. This may not be so in some fields like biography, but we frequently ask the student to do, or the student wishes to do, research in economic history, in political history, in social or intellectual history. The moment he invades those fields he discovers that he is doing research not in something called history, but in a field which is political, intellectual, or social in nature. Therefore, it seems to me that there is indicated a need in many cases for training the student not only in something called general history, with a capital "H," but training in a more or less technical field, in the history of which he intends to do research and writing.

Of course, I think the proof of that can be found in the fact that the more technical aspects of history are the very aspects which the historians have most neglected. The great deserts in American historiography, as was pointed out in our discussions last year, are such fields as the history of science, the history of technology, and the history of law, where the man trained only in general history prob-

ably quite rightly does not feel qualified to do research and writing. It is unfortunate that we have those great gaps in our knowledge of the historical background. I would suggest the thesis that in an almost systematic way we encourage at least some of our students to take a considerable part of their training in a more or less technical field in which they expect to do research in the future, work out with the law school faculty some formula for the minimum amount of legal training which a man will need in order to write effective legal history, and try to work out a collaborative program with the law school in that manner. Of course, we could apply the same procedure to an understanding of any of the technical fields.

I am even inclined to think that in many cases the history student would profit by considerably more systematic exposure to the social sciences, not because of any desire merely to ape the social sciences, but in order to get both the background and the concepts of these social fields, especially if he is going to write in economic, political, or social areas.

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THIRD SESSION

"Administrative Problems and the Need for Exploring New Procedures"

Panel: Theodore C. Blegen, John A. Krout, Elmer Ellis.

Theodore C. Blegen: Ladies and gentlemen, I can't speak for the two experts in communication who are seated here with me, but as for myself, I may say that it is going to be a little difficult to disentangle myself in what I say when I am speaking as dean of a graduate school and when I am speaking as a student of history. I suspect the two are more or less intertwined.

We have no prepared speeches. We have met, however, at luncheon, and we feel that the discussion seems to be aiming at certain major issues, and those we want to look at a little, perhaps ask questions, and find out from you, if we can, what you want the graduate schools to do.

I may say that the graduate schools are much more experimental in mood than many people realize. I shall have to add to that statement my own view that the people in history have been perhaps a little more ready to experiment than the people in the sciences and in many other areas of a large graduate school, which embraces eighty to one hundred fields of specialization.

The subjects or the questions that seem to stand out are those relating to the training of college teachers, the preparation of college teachers for their work of teaching, the question of the recruitment of highly promising talent, the whole problem of training in writing and research and the role of the dissertation, and perhaps the broader question, very little touched upon in our discussions, of the nature of the education, the academic education, of the graduate student.

I agree pretty much with the view that the keynote of the whole business is this matter of communication, oral and written, and of having something that we want to communicate and believe should be communicated—a concept of history as something very important indeed.

Where do the graduate deans come in? Well, they come in at a good many points in connection with the training of historians and teachers of history. I can't help saying that my desk all through the year has letters on it from college presidents asking for recommendations of teachers. Almost always the note is the same: I am asked to recommend persons who not only have good training in history, but also have breadth of training, who know something about the interrelationship of their history with other fields, with other subjects. That theme is so recurrent that I can almost predict it when I open a letter from a college president who has a position to fill.

Then they ask for a person who is not necessarily an accomplished teacher, but who has the elements of a good teacher—the personality, the character, the interest in students, who has had some training in the profession of teaching, who knows how to lift his or her voice in speaking to students, whose words, as someone once said, do not fall mangled on his side of the desk—something that has happened too often in the past—who has a little idea of how to use a blackboard, how to use a map, who has some knowledge, in other words, of the arts and techniques of teaching.

Usually there is a third thing. These presidents want somebody who is really interested in teaching students, interested in students, in the lives and the characters of the students who appear in his class or in her class.

I am going to say, by way of introduction, just a few things about this problem of preparing teachers. Perhaps the research and other aspects of the discussion will come up as we go along. I don't regard our work as merely a screening of people for jobs, with appointments waiting at the end. I think our work is that of doing the best we can to prepare people for jobs, jobs that are noble callings in the spirit or the philosophy that Mr. Perkins has given us in his introductory talk today. I think we never should get away from the feeling that teaching itself is a very important, a very high calling to which people really can dedicate themselves. The preparation for history, whether as a teacher or as a researcher and writer, is exceedingly important in that sense.

I am a little distressed by this idea or concept of greatly limiting the numbers in the graduate school. I wonder if we really understand the problems that we are facing, for it is not just the preparation of

teachers for the liberal arts colleges and universities, it is the preparation of teachers for junior colleges and for teachers colleges and for high schools. I think we have very largely left out of this discussion the whole problem of the thousands of teachers who are coming to our graduate schools to enrich their preparation for teaching, perhaps going to the level of the master's degree, not infrequently going beyond that, but in many instances not actually reaching the Ph.D. level. We had better not close our eyes to the fact that there is a great need for teachers, and all our statistics seem to indicate that, after a drop, we are going to have rising enrollments in college that will reach rather a high peak by 1960, if not quite so high as that predicted in the report of the President's Commission on Higher Education. I feel we have got to give thought to these things.

There is another thing of which I should like to remind the people who are here. There is a great deal of unrest in the country with respect to college teaching. I am fully aware of the fact that preparation for college teaching is not a thing that comes to a sharp end at some one point. I am fully aware of the fact that the colleges have got to do a good job in what our educational friends call in-service training. But I wonder if our friends in the history profession realize how much is going on, how many workshops are held during the summer, which bring together leaders from colleges in many sections of the country to study and to carry back to their faculties all the ideas that they can get about ways of vitalizing their teaching.

I say I am aware of that, but I think that the graduate schools have been really quite guilty in the past along certain lines. I think we have been much too prone to pass the responsibility on to somebody else. We have blamed the undergraduate colleges for just about everything, including the bad writing of our graduate students. We have tended to point to the college as the responsible agent for training the teacher after he is on the job. Of course, the arts colleges and the other undergraduate colleges have, in turn, passed the blame to the high schools. You have had, therefore, a whole line of blame-passing or buck-passing that ultimately, I suppose, goes to the family and the genes, and can be carried back a thousand generations. I think the graduate schools had better accept responsibility for doing a better job than they have done.

I spoke of unrest in the country. It takes many forms. There are perhaps thirty graduate schools in the United States at this time which have set up committees of their own faculties to study carefully the problem of how the preparation of college teachers can be improved. I think that is some sign that perhaps there isn't quite as much complacency in graduate education as some people suggest. There are a great many conferences. I myself conducted a conference in Chicago early in December, to which we brought about 170 delegates, representing graduate schools, college presidents, faculty people, persons representative in a way of almost every level of education that would be concerned with this problem. At that meeting, one person, who occupies a very high official position in the country, literally threw up his hands in despair. He said the graduate schools cannot do the job and the time will come to take the whole job out of their hands and to prepare college teachers by some other organizational system. That was the United States Commissioner of Education.

I might say that the conference almost unanimously disagreed sharply and radically with that view. It took the general position that this is a job for the graduate schools to do.

The idea that the graduate school should be divested of its teacher training function does not frighten me; I think, actually, that it is an absurd proposal to make. But I do think that the mere fact that that kind of thing is happening is a warning to us that we had better not be complacent, we had better look at ourselves, we had better go in for self-study and consider what, if anything, we can do.

As I say, I take a good deal of comfort from the fact that much is being done. Somebody spoke of even so small a matter, though I think important, as that of supervision of our teaching assistants, and the visiting of classes. Of course, we have got to do much more than that, but we might just as well be a little modern about it. I think of a colleague of mine, a notably good teacher, who has a corps of teaching assistants, and with their very friendly consent, he had their work in handling quiz sections recorded on tape. He later brought all his assistants together and played off the recordings of the handling of the class hour, and he told me that he thought his teaching assistants learned more just from this experience of listening to themselves and criticizing themselves than they could have

learned from any amount of theory lectured to them. It was very amusing, too, in some ways. One of the teachers was not gifted in the art of communication. Certainly, he was not fluent, did not speak readily, and yet he turned out to be the best handler of a quiz section of the whole lot. The answer seemed to be that when he asked a question, he wasn't impatient. He waited for the students to reply, whereas some of the others who were gifted in ready speech but who did not have that patience, would break in. Presently, the man who seemed very slow in his way of speaking had the whole class participating in the discussion, whereas the seemingly more gifted person was doing the talking pretty largely himself.

We are doing something about the apprenticeship idea. I think we could do much more than we are without selling out to certain elements in the educational scene, the very mention of whose name seems to strike terror to historians and social scientists. But I have only to mention Princeton and Yale, Chicago and Missouri and Minnesota, and a good many other universities, to be able to find examples of interesting and sometimes novel ideas that are being tried out which are aimed at the improvement in the preparation of college teachers.

Granting always that the process of improvement must go on after the student is graduated into the faculty of some college, there to cope with all the problems in the job, the students themselves are doing a lot of self-study, as perhaps you know. They are in a critical mood, and I think we have something to learn from them with respect to this whole job of the preparation of teachers.

John A. Krout: We had rather agreed that we would try this afternoon to get you people to aim questions at us that would enable us to defend whatever positions we might want to take, or would clarify for us some of the things that are in your minds. I know that is always a difficult thing to do. May I try, therefore, to state some of the questions that are in my own mind and see whether you think they are important; if you don't, tell me about them in just a few minutes.

The first problem that bothers me a great deal is this whole matter of what we are working with in our programs of graduate training. I think it is really the alpha of our discussion. I am not talking now

about whether or not we are getting students superior to those who go into law or medicine or the physical sciences. I am talking about whether the people who come to us saying that they have finally made up their minds to work in the field of history know why they want to work in that field and what they want to do after they have worked in it at the graduate level.

So many of them—and this experience I am sure is not peculiar to the institution which I happen to represent at the moment—don't seem to know what they are preparing themselves for, except in a very vague fashion. They talk to us often at the beginning of their graduate work still wondering whether there is anything else that can be done with history except to teach it. They raise that question, and I know they raise it elsewhere than at Columbia University, because I have had experience that proves to me that they do. It goes back to this whole matter, it seems to me, of what Dean Blegen called timing. They don't make up their minds often until pretty late in the educational process that they are going to try to do graduate work in history. Having made up their minds, they are a little bit uncertain as to what the future holds in store. They have a feeling that it would be nice if they could train themselves to be college teachers, or teachers in the graduate schools. But most of them also have a suspicion that they may end up their graduate work as teachers in high schools and other secondary schools, as they are called in this country, though why they should be called secondary I have never been able to understand.

A good many of them have the feeling, when they come into graduate school and are told about research work and research training, that they are expected to go forward in research opportunities. They discover after a few conferences with their instructors that the research opportunities are decidedly limited. They discover that even those additional opportunities, which I think Mr. Powell was talking about, are more numerous than they used to be, but are still not numerous enough to take up more than a very small percentage of the men and women who are trained in our graduate schools. Consequently, they are thinking almost entirely, after a period of a few months at any rate, of graduate work in history in terms of teaching history, they hope in a liberal arts college or someday, perhaps, in a graduate faculty. Right there is the point where we fail them badly.

We don't face that fact frankly, as Mr. Perkins told us this morning, and proceed to prepare them for the kind of responsibility they are going to have to assume when they complete what we call their formal graduate work.

I say that with all knowledge of the experimentation that is going forward, of the increasing emphasis that we are placing upon the training of college teachers, but I think we seldom talk to them about what college teaching can mean, what secondary school teaching can mean; and though occasionally we may discuss with them this whole matter of communication in a general way, I doubt that we very often spend much time with them pointing out that there are a variety of ways in which you communicate what you think you know to those whom you would like to instruct.

I would like to spend just a minute on that. I have personally been very much pleased that so many kind words have been said in this conference about the lecture method. I still think it has a place in teaching at the college level, as well as at the graduate school level. But you and I know full well that a great deal of teaching doesn't go forward on the basis of formal lectures delivered to classes, whether those classes are small or whether they are large. And if you ask yourselves about your own experience, it seems to me you will probably have a good deal the sort of experience that is my own. As I look back over my own training, it seems to me that I had three types of masterful teaching. One type was that which came from the inspiring lecture which showed me the way to get words across without mangling them. Whether I could follow it myself afterwards, I at least had an example of the way it was done.

Secondly, I learned a great deal in a small seminar group from instructors who never would have been, for I had a chance to see them in action in another way, effective classroom lecturers, but were magnificent men when it came to the matter of raising the vital questions that you wanted to discuss in a group of half a dozen or so.

Thirdly, and I hope you have all had the same experience, I have enjoyed some of the most effective teaching in my whole training experience from what I suppose would be regarded as a conference method or a tutorial method, in which you just talked to your instructor about things and discovered that the vistas that were

opened up were almost greater than those which came from seminar work or from formal lectures.

Do we believe that those three methods of communication ought to be used in undergraduate instruction as well as in graduate instruction? There is a question I think that we need to ask ourselves about this whole educational process, for we have in many parts of it been compelled by force of circumstances to accept the doctrine that it is least costly to do it on the basis of the lecture method to large groups. We haven't felt we could, in terms of our social resources, do it so frequently in the other two ways. My plea would be that we see if we can't, in terms of our graduate training, persuade our students that they ought to become—I was going to use the word missionary, and I am not afraid of it—missionaries in the cause of helping our educational system to recognize and understand those three forms of instruction communication.

The second point is the matter not of whom we are working with, but of what we are trying to do with them. Sometimes they know, or feel they know, what we ought to be doing for them, and I think that we need in our graduate training to pay a little more attention to what they think they need. Why do you have to say to each man or woman who comes into graduate training, "You must take precisely this kind of program, because it is going to prepare you ultimately for the doctor of philosophy degree"? I am not talking now about those who after a few weeks in seminar make it plain that it is hopeless, that they will never reach that degree. I am talking about a great many of these people who have superior ability, but abilities that are not all alike. Some of them ought to be trained in one fashion and some in another, and I think it ought to be increasingly possible for us to do it in our graduate school programs, if not by the device of laying down alternative methods, then through the device of the kind of interpretation which intelligent faculty members and administrators ought to give to the rules.

One of my colleagues said to me only a short time after they asked me to accept the post of dean of the graduate faculties, "I hope you understand that your chief responsibility is to tell your colleagues when you are willing to break the rules." I suppose this is rank heresy. Probably Dean Blegen will throw me out of the fraternity for saying it, but I suspect that one of the things we need to do is not

only to waive or suspend the rules, but occasionally to smash them into bits so they can't be put together again. This is particularly necessary for that particular man or woman who represents an ability that doesn't quite fit into the system, and who ought to be given a chance. This is a place where I like to think of freedom, and that is why I am not quite sure that our chairman of yesterday afternoon is entirely right when he says it is a "lockstep." It is in many cases, but it doesn't have to be that way.

One of the reasons why it has gotten to be a "lockstep," and I don't have to remind you of this, is the fact that we are trying to take care of an ever larger number of persons who come to us saying that they want to go on in graduate work specifically in the field of history. How many ought to be discouraged? I know a few of you are looking at me and saying, "Well, you ought to know; Columbia has gotten plenty of them." I don't know how many ought to be discouraged, because how can you know that until you know something about what the social conditions are going to be five years, ten years from now, what the needs will be. And when you are talking about needs, can you talk of them only in terms of the positions to be filled? How do you know whether we need more persons trained as we are training them for the Ph.D. degree in history? It seems to me we haven't yet the evidence. We probably have too many as of this hour —let's be frank about that—in a good many of our graduate schools, because we are carrying a much heavier load than we should be carrying with the personnel and equipment available. We have all said that it was a temporary thing, but temporary things have a way of becoming permanent, and that is the danger that faces us now. We are less than realists unless we face up to that fact. But when you ask the graduate school administrator to cut down by 100, 200, 300 next year in all of your graduate work, and that twenty-five or fifty or sixty of them be taken out of your graduate work in history, then you ask him to make decisions without his having the evidence. He doesn't know whether it is socially desirable to do it that way or whether it isn't. You people teaching the graduate departments of history have got to help us in determining where we should draw the line.

One more point I would like to make. Dean Blegen has made it, and since the assent seemed to be strong here, perhaps I ought not

to make it again, but I would like to go on record as being most vehemently opposed to the proposition that the way to solve this question of what we are going to do with our graduate students is to separate those who are going to be teachers from those who are going on into scholarly research work. I think it would be one of the most disastrous blows struck at higher education in the United States if we adopted that kind of program. I don't need to labor the point with you, but you know full well that a great many of those outside the historian's guild or the guild of any of our scholarly groups sometimes have the impression that one of the first qualities of a good teacher is a healthy aversion to research work. It isn't true, and never has been. You must keep that vital connection; you are not going to train good teachers by separating them.

A few years ago Fairchild wrote in *The American Scholar* what I have always thought was one of the soundest articles on this whole question. In it he pleaded eloquently, and I thought persuasively, for a continuation of the doctrine that, although it places on a great many of our undergraduate teachers a pretty heavy burden, we must continue to insist that there be a connection between the kind of thing that makes for life in the classroom, that stirs the interest of the student, and the intellectual curiosity of the man or woman supposed to be stirring it. If we abandon the idea by saying, "All right, we will separate. There is a fork in the road. At this point you make up your mind: are you going to be a teacher or are you going to be a research scholar?" the emphases will vary. Certainly they will. You might say, "I am only taking that middle path," which is always the path of timid compromise. I don't believe that. I think it is essential that we keep these two things together.

Let's be honest about it. Are we then going to say, when we come to the matter of appraising the work of an undergraduate teacher, anything about matters of salary increase, promotion, relief from certain of the routine burdens that fall to all of us in terms of committee work, and so forth? Are we simply going to say, "Well, he hasn't written much; he hasn't been producing much; he isn't a very great scholar. He may be a pretty good teacher, but we get that largely on hearsay"? This is a point on which I happen to be out of sympathy, I know, with a good many of my colleagues in graduate school work. I think at that point it is time for someone to arise,

whose life isn't solely dedicated to teaching undergraduates in a liberal arts college, and to insist that consideration must be given to the type of person who spends a very large portion of his time in the fine art of communication, as opposed to the person who spends a much larger proportion of his time in trying to push out the boundaries of human knowledge through his own original curiosity, or through an attempt to synthesize what others have found out before him.

Just one thing more. What are we doing in this content that we talk about when we say we are teaching graduate work? I hope we are doing something that has a purpose in terms of our own day and our own age, and I don't mean for one moment that we have to be present-minded about it. I wish we could persuade more of those who seem so concerned with the things of this present year and the years that lie immediately ahead that there is a great deal to be discovered about our present era by studying other periods in human history. I dare say that we can learn an enormous amount about this whole matter of the development of power in political life from the days of the Tudors, more so than we can by just focusing our attention on what we think has happened in Washington since 1933. And while you and I may say to each other that since we accept that, why parade the obvious by talking to this group about it, I assure you that outside of groups similar to this there is a great deal of questioning on that very point. The present-mindedness of a great many of those who say they are interested in what we are doing is the very thing that may ultimately, it seems to me, undermine our own confidence in the thing that we ought to be concerned about—the students and teachers of history. I am even inclined to insist that one place where we are failing these people who come to us for instruction is at the point where we refuse to commit ourselves as individuals on important moral and ethical considerations. We carry the idea of having to be neutral and objective in our training so far that we very frequently deny them, when they ask, "What do you think about that?" We evade and avoid, and I hope you will not think that I am unobjective and noncritical if I insist that we aren't going to train the kind of people whom we ought to be training as citizens of a democracy if we evade and avoid the crucial questions that they ask us about matters that certainly touch ethical and social decisions that they have got to make.

I have a feeling that there ought to be a content here that is more than just a content of bringing separate disciplines outside of history to bear upon these problems. Maybe I am old-fashioned about it. Perhaps this is a reactionary talk. It isn't so, as far as I am concerned. I am prepared to experiment. I think we are beginning to. In the institution which I know best, we are cutting across departmental lines and faculty barriers all the time, and we are going to do more of it in order to see whether or not we can break down some aspects of specialization that don't seem to be bringing us as rich rewards as they ought to. But I also feel that we are in grave danger at times of refusing to face the issues about which these young men and women have a right to say to us, "You are a professor; what do you profess?"

Mr. Blegen: Before turning to Mr. Ellis, let me say that far from wishing to throw Mr. Krout out of the profession of deaning for breaking rules, I welcome him into the profession.

I think we have got to avoid binding up our graduate training with rules. I think we have got too many of them. Fortunately they are not too prevalent, at least in my institution, in relation to the Ph.D. degree. I think we have got to look at our rules, at all the traditions that have come out of the past, and be prepared to make exceptions where they obviously are called for.

Elmer Ellis: I want to add one word to Dean Blegen's point with regard to a strong movement that both of us see, at least in the Middle West and Washington, to take some of the control of the training of college teachers out of the graduate faculties and departments where it is now centered. I think there is another aspect of that that is quite interesting and quite troublesome to me, and that is the desire to try to have teachers who can teach all the social sciences, or who will teach them. Of course, I don't need to argue to this group that that is preposterous, but it is a thing we run into.

On the other hand, there are one or two aspects of this problem which I think we have to accept, and these concern the outside fields we put on a Ph.D. program. There are a lot of jobs in college which require a teacher to teach something besides history, some other social science as a rule, usually government, in departments of history and government or in departments of social sciences. I don't believe, of

course, that we can train a college teacher to teach more than that, but we have to do that much with some of our students.

I think, too, that there is in this question another point that I would like to make before I leave it: I think it would greatly improve our research training if we would give more of this training in outside fields. In general, I think that the outside fields too often avoid seminars in those areas that often have the most to contribute to the research training of a historian, especially seminars in economics, in government, in anthropology. I think it is worth a great deal more than the rather exaggerated emphasis that, it seems to me, we are putting in our programs on the factual mastery of content. I have had a good deal of trouble, that is, our history department has, with some of our other social science departments in which we want some of the training of our students, to keep them from insisting in the preliminary examinations, when a history student offers a field like economics, that he should meet the same test as an economics Ph.D. candidate. What we want out of that training is something different, and it is, a large share of it, research training.

I am going to tell you very briefly about a different program that we have followed at Missouri, and then I will make a few statements regarding what I think is wrong with it. These things are wrong with many other programs, too, and perhaps that can start some discussion that might not otherwise come up.

We didn't offer a Ph.D. at Missouri until 1935, when we granted our first one, and we went into the program from a little different angle than was common at the time, that is, we were training teachers and only teachers. Having done some departmental reorganization, we had some part-time jobs for teachers who would be working on advanced degrees. And then we did a thing that has many points of strength and some of weakness. We agreed that we would encourage high school teachers who had reputations for being good teachers, who had experience, and who had their master's degrees, to take these jobs. That is the group of Ph.D. candidates we have had. They are older, at least by the years of their experience in teaching in high school, when they start on their post-M.A. work. They are older, of course, when they get their degrees.

We also set up rather tentatively at first, more or less to protect our own teaching, a supervision of the teaching that they would do,

largely from the standpoint of assuring ourselves that we were getting good teaching, but also from the standpoint of making sure they were good college teachers, and that they didn't carry over certain high school teaching standards that we didn't want into their college teaching. In the beginning it was all put upon me as an individual to do this supervising, but it has grown very much more important in the last five years than it was in the first five years of our program. We are now, and have been for some time, able to tell anyone who wants one of our graduates just about how good a teacher he is, that is, as far as a supervisor can tell. I don't underrate the difficulty of interpreting what is good teaching and who is a good teacher, because, as Dean Krout has pointed out, a good teacher for one student isn't always a good teacher for another student, and a good teacher for one circumstance frequently isn't in another.

We have taken very few people under this plan. I think we have given, in fifteen years, twenty-one degrees. All of them are teachers. All of them are teaching the fields for which they were trained to teach. I am not sure in the end that it is a better system than that of taking them before they do any high school teaching and graduating them earlier. I agree with Dr. Gabriel that that approach is desirable. And if this latter group would go into institutions that have a good in-service program to give them experience in the beginning, I am sure it would be ahead of the other. I think our group is probably not so apt to make real productive scholars, because they get their first publication too late to make the kind of reputation that most of us in the universities want in our own staffs. I don't say they are not productive; some of them are very productive. But on the whole, they are beginning their publication too late to go as far with it as one who began five years younger.

At this point I should like to summarize several conclusions regarding the improvement of graduate training in history, which I have come to out of my own experience and observation.

1. The current demands coming from the educationists and college administrators on the one hand, and from research agencies on the other, to separate the training of college teachers from the training of research scholars are badly conceived and fraught with great possibilities of damage to both scholarship and teaching.

2. Our graduate training in history would be improved in most

universities if the spread of content mastery, as represented by the lecture courses that must be taken in order to prepare for the preliminary examinations, were reduced somewhat. History as a field of study has been under constant and rapid expansion. Yet these fields for preliminary examinations remain unchanged, and in many graduate schools they cover nearly all of the chronological span of European and American history, with all the currently popular specialties, such as economic and intellectual history, included with each period. The lecture courses which prepare for these examinations remain, for the most part, the senior college level surveys. Moreover, this fact accumulation monopolizes too large a share of the students' attention and makes difficult the development of mature scholarship. The British system is certainly better here, with more depth of scholarship in certain areas and with less attention to the mastery of facts in all or nearly all of the intervening areas.

3. Our graduate training would be improved by greater insistence upon work in other social-science areas than history. While in some instances this is desirable because the eventual teaching fields of some of our graduates will require teaching in some field in addition to history, its major value is in what it adds to the student's ability to interpret history and the stimulation it gives to fruitful research. The outside field requirements that we now have can be, and frequently are, too exclusively a factual mastery to meet the requirements of the preliminary examinations, and while some of this is needed, it should include also some seminar work in the field. History scholars can profit greatly from experience with the research approaches of such fields as economics, anthropology, and social psychology. Seminars in literature are not so fruitful, perhaps, because their methodology is so similar to that of history.

4. While we can agree that the thesis is frequently too long, the answer is not, I believe, in assigning problems in synthesis, but rather a more restricted problem which can be mastered in a reasonably complete fashion. The values of experience in synthesis for both teaching and research can be attained by always keeping the restricted problem in the perspective of over-all interpretations.

5. A major factor in improving the research for the thesis lies in the type of guidance that brings out a subject about which the student is deeply enthusiastic. We are not going to train good teach-

ers, researchers, or writers, unless we can inspire them with considerable emotional drive toward the solution of some of the problems that lie on the frontiers of historical scholarship. This means a willingness on the part of the graduate professor to accept subjects that are difficult and laborious to direct—or a willingness to direct the student to another university where there is a scholar who can direct that thesis properly. More shifting of students from university to university would in itself help. But our rules make it difficult, and few but the mediocre, who are encouraged, now attempt it.

6. Thesis writing would give better training and would result in better scholarship if most of it were jointly directed. It has already been pointed out in this conference that most historical problems impinge strongly upon at least one other field of scholarship. The joint direction of theses by a member of the department of history and a member of the other department to which its subject relates will greatly strengthen the training the student receives.

7. As well over ninety per cent of our graduates become teachers of history—at the University of Missouri it is one hundred per cent—we must provide opportunities for some type of apprentice teaching under real supervision. Experience in teaching does not in itself assure competent instructors, and it is of little value to provide experience alone. It would be utopian indeed to expect to produce finished history teachers in our graduate schools, but we can, by careful supervision and instruction, assure a reasonable classroom competence, when we place a graduate with an employing college.

8. We must do all of these things without lengthening greatly the period of training. Elbridge Sibley's studies indicate that graduate work in the social sciences attracts a fair share of the ability among the graduates of colleges. Whether or not history gets a fair proportion of this we do not know, but it seems certain that if we lengthen greatly the time span between the bachelor's degree and the full-salaried college teaching position, we will surely attract fewer of the very high abilities into history teaching.

Carl Bridenbaugh: I have been sitting here yesterday and today listening to all that has been said and agreeing with a great deal of it. There are two things, however, that I should like to say by way of summary. First, with respect to the European Ph.D.'s, I think the

American Ph.D.'s measure up very well. I think we have no cause to apologize for our best men, either as teachers or as writers. I can think of twenty doctoral dissertations that I have personally read over a period of ten or fifteen years which for insight, learning, organization and style, I would be willing to match against the best that come out of the European schools. I want to say that because I think we have been a little too modest. I think our best product is just as good as that which comes out of Europe, certainly best for our purposes.

On the other hand, I am concerned with this problem of communication. The good student probably will survive and do a good job, be a successful teacher, be a good writer, under any system, and our problem, therefore, is not with him. I think we produce as many of them in proportion to what we start with as, perhaps, could be reasonably expected. But it seems to me that this problem of communication breaks down into two phases. There is the problem of the communication from us as professors to our students, and then the problem of somehow showing them what their own communication problems are going to be. I think that despite all we have said and despite these heartening signs that things are being done, our graduate training is fundamentally addressed to something else, and has been all along the line. I think that that has been pretty well demonstrated here in our discussions.

What can be done about it lies ahead, but it seems to me, as I listen, that we are primarily concerned with teaching facts, inculcating facts, teaching students how to go find facts and how to draw conclusions from them—all of which is important, and I wouldn't for the moment cut down on it—but I don't think that our graduate system, as it exists today, even with certain modifications, is at all addressing itself to this other problem of communication.

It has been mentioned before that it is sometimes the seemingly simple things that can greatly improve this communication. I am thinking now of one man I had, a very able student with perception, knowledge, and an ability to write. He had one thing wrong with him—a bad voice. He spoke in a monotone, largely the result of nervous tension. I persuaded him to take five lessons in speech from our dramatics coach. Just five lessons—the result was remarkable. It didn't take much time on the part of the teacher. I think that if

we do address ourselves to these communication problems, oral as well as written, we can do a great deal.

Mrs. Bowen: This morning I threw out a suggestion about using professional writers in seminars, and I have been very surprised at the response to that suggestion from various gentlemen. Since I would hate to see this idea fall flat, I would like to say one more word.

Professional writers, and I have a great many friends among them, are all prima donnas, and you don't want to give them any freedom. You want to have them locked right in step with you. And if you should have them come to your classes, avoid having some student ask them how they happened to get into writing. The whole forty-five minutes can be wasted on that fatal question. You don't want any professional writers coming in to inspire your student. That is your job. The only possible good they can do is to describe some of the techniques of communication which they use.

I have an enormous respect for the tools of my craft. For instance, what is an introduction to a book? Your writer might talk about that. Personally, I think it acts as nothing more than a springboard to get a writer started. I have written about seven introductions to each of my books, and it has taken me at least seven to get started. That is a legitimate point of discussion, because what starts the writer starts the reader. You might also ask the writer to talk on other subjects. For example, if you have thirty chapters to a book your last paragraph must not be an ending to chapter thirty, it must be an ending to the book. That book must go a full circle around, and the end must match the beginning.

Before you pick your writer, note what kind of writing he does, and instruct him to discuss with your students the few things that he knows that you don't know. Keep him down to that and you can manage him.

Mr. Blegen: Do you have in mind, may I ask, simply a one-day visit or something more?

Mrs. Bowen: Oh, I don't think you could bother with having somebody in more than three times a winter. He wouldn't have time for it.

Mr. Blegen: Of course, you know that in the field of art we frequently invite artists to come in, in residence, for a quarter or a semester. At

my university, for example, we have Robert Penn Warren in English, who is there all the time, unless he happens to be away on leave, and who is actually teaching creative writing to students. We have done very little of that kind of thing in the field of history.

Mrs. Bowen: I may be impractical. I have been invited to do that too, to live on a campus, but I was thinking of a few technical hints. Sitting as a student in a seminar as I have been this winter, it has often occurred to me that just a few of those hints thrown out might not be wasted.

Mr. Krout: We have tried to do that, and I think we would have profited more and managed better had we had Mrs. Bowen's advice. However, in several instances, we were successful in getting them to talk about what we wanted. We ought to do more of it.

Mr. Powell: I look upon the graduate study of something as representing living on the frontier of that subject, and not as teacher training. I can't resist saying that I am opposed to any suggestion of making the doctorate less than it is, regarding it simply as a mild research exercise demonstrating an ability. The doctorate, it seems to me, ought to be something more than that. It ought to be a demonstration of faith, a demonstration of purpose, a demonstration of interest in a subject, not a demonstration to prove to the professors that a student can do something, but the accomplished work of a purposeful person seriously engaged in an enterprise that means something to him.

I also dissent most energetically and heartily from the idea of turning graduate students out as soon as possible. You can't force a growth that way nor can you delay it, if the subject is serious to the student. It is going to come, if and when it is aroused.

Again, I want to dissent from something Mr. Krout said, and which I have heard since I started graduate work. On what basis are we going to promote people? We ought not to hinder promotion in the case of a man who is a great teacher but who has done little research. But it seems to me that the profession ought to prize the man who lives on the frontier, and that any sort of compromise with that policy is a relaxation of standards that is unwholesome in the profession. I like to have good teachers promoted, but I like to have

them have something to teach. If they are teaching what other people write and what other people think, they belong in a different category. I know of only one way to tell what a man is thinking or writing: What has he published? What is the frontier on which he lives?

I feel that we are reaching an exaggerated sense of the personnel of a profession, rather than the social utility of the subject, when we think so much in terms of the scholar as teacher. The scholar had better be a scholar, and we had better make our representations of him and our pleasures in his society on that basis. I agree with Mr. Bridenbaugh that we are doing more to enlarge the scope of knowledge and the interpretation of the past than European universities have done. But I don't feel that we can continue to do so if we are primarily a teacher-training profession.

Mr. Blegen: Let me say just a word of caution. I might be tempted to ask Mr. Powell what formula or what device he has to suggest to administrators for measuring the productivity of scholars. All I should say is, let's be very careful about it. Let's recall, for example, a man named Vernon Lewis Parrington, who spent about twenty-five years, I believe, in writing the one great work of his life. I suppose by any measurement that you could have found, you would have failed to promote him through that long period of time. I think it is a very great danger to become arithmetical or mathematical in your measurement of the productivity of the scholar.

Mr. Powell: I entirely agree with that, but what I am talking about is the spirit in which you approach the problem. The administrator is never that remote that he can judge only from the printed work. All I want to do is take a dissent from the general proposition; I think we have seen too much from the reverse side of the mirror.

Mr. Read: In the first place, I should like to say that I am very much heartened by our deans. One gets the picture of a dean as somebody who is trying to manipulate a machine with the maximum amount of mechanics and the minimum amount of humanity. I have the uneasy feeling, after I have heard them and have listened to my colleagues, that wisdom has been taken from the wise and given unto babes, so to speak.

But the thing which I think they emphasize is a thing which we on the floor at the moment have somehow been disposed to ignore—the enormous social implications of this whole problem. We are talking as members of a guild. We ought to be talking as citizens of a commonwealth. Here is an enormous problem. What is the place of history in the social complex in which we find ourselves? What is our business? After all, we profess to be, or ought to be if we aren't, the leaders in the profession, we or the likes of us. If the responsibility for the transmission of the significance of history into the whole social complex lies anywhere, it lies straight with us. What we ought to be talking about is not whether a lecture course is better than a seminar, but how we are going to implement that major responsibility, how we are going to transmit from ourselves to those people who are engaged in the great business of disseminating to the world at large the historical attitude, the historical point of view.

The social responsibility of the historian is the major responsibility, and all these problems of the relation of research to teaching become secondary in importance. What we want to do is to test these in those larger terms. What is the significance of our techniques in terms of the job we have to do? And it isn't merely a job of making historians. It is the job of making the American people historically-minded, so that they can approach the high complicated social problems of the day with some sense of background, some sense of understanding, some sense that the whole past is a great laboratory in which humans have played with the problems and have found, in one way or another, some answer to them.

I should have liked to have gotten the discussion on that plane rather than on the plane of whether teaching helps research, or conversely. Personally, I think each hand washes the other. I write better because I teach; I teach better, perhaps, because I write. They are interdependent. I agree with Mr. Krout that if there is any attempt to separate the two, it is very definitely going to diminish both our effectiveness as teachers and our effectiveness as writers. But let's get back to the basic issues; let's not waste our precious time in playing around with the minutiae of the problem.

Mr. Blegen: We did not intend, by dealing with this question of the training of teachers, to monopolize the time of the conference this afternoon with that subject. I happen to be very deeply interested in

writing, and I happen to have some convictions about this problem of writing in relation to our doctoral theses and in relation to the writing by our own craft. I happen to believe that we have been snobbish with respect to that kind of writing we call "popularization." We have expected others to do it. We have pretty much refused to do it ourselves, and we still look down our noses a bit at the people who do. We write, most of us, for our own colleagues, and then are bitterly disappointed when we submit our manuscripts to Mr. Alfred Knopf and he rejects them because the audience is an audience of a few hundred readers.

I don't know why people in the universities should not experiment with the kind of writing that we all think we need. We have got to break across this gap between ourselves and the public. I happened to learn through a rather bitter experience that the interesting, simple, colorful and challenging writing which looks so very easy when you see it done, when it is written and you read it, is about the most difficult kind of writing to achieve. During the war I had the job of running the G.I. Roundtable, and I got questions from soldiers from all over the world, on which they wanted, or I was told they wanted, brief, simple, clear, well-written pamphlets. Having been trained in the scholarly tradition, I naturally turned to the best scholars in the country. I sent out my topics and hoped that ultimately I would receive a thirty- or forty-page pamphlet that could be read by soldiers. I was in for a great surprise. I had to engage in Washington ghost writers, magazine writers, novelists and popular writers literally to translate these writings. And ordinarily I found that what we came out with at the end was not only easy and good to read, it was much better than the originals that were sent in to us. The translation was a great improvement ordinarily, not only in the writing as such, but in the whole thought.

That is one of our problems. We should not disengage good writing from good thinking. They are just about identical. But I think the graduate schools, our departments of history, deserve a good deal of the contumely heard around the country. I grant Mr. Bridenbaugh's point that we get some pretty good doctoral theses. I could name a number of them by title, and I am proud of them as coming out of our graduate schools, and I think probably there is more good writing than many people are ready to admit. But I do feel it is a weak spot, and it touches your basic question of communication.

One of our great problems is the gap between our profession and the citizens of this country, with respect to historical reading and thinking. I wish we could get somewhere on that question. I think the responsibility is much more ours than we have granted. I like the idea, and I believe the graduate administrations, if I know them, will jump in very fast to forward that idea of getting professional writers to come in and mix with our students and our faculty. But I still think that we ourselves in the graduate schools had better be more on the job with respect to forwarding, cultivating, and training people to write well.

Mr. Perkins: I am in very hearty agreement with the spirit of Mr. Read's comments. We have talked a great deal about communication, and most of us seem to think it is important, but we haven't talked a great deal about what it is we want to communicate. I think one of the questions that we ought to ask ourselves—it is not indispensable, but it seems to me important—is precisely what is the social utility of the thing in which we are engaged?

We can be useful without knowing it, and I think probably that is the case with a good many of us, in the sense that we have not a well-wrought philosophy to present in connection with our teaching, with our teaching of either graduates or undergraduates.

I should like to see a distinguished group such as this sometime ask itself the question, what are the social values that we are trying to promote in the study of history? It would be very stimulating to discuss them. I am not at all saying that there is a fixed philosophy that we would all agree on, or that we can't communicate something without having a philosophy. I think it is possible. But I am sure the young men are asking that question when they go into history.

Mr. Krout: Wouldn't that be a good subject for the next conference? It seems to me we have rather led up to that.

Mr. Strayer: I want to pick up a question that Mr. Bridenbaugh raised a while ago on how to stir the student's imagination at the proper time. Perhaps we are giving them too many facts. A colleague of Dean Blegen's has a quotation from William James on his door, that a man can see into a generalization only so far as his knowledge of facts goes. That is something that we haven't thought out completely. We can give him his knowledge of facts, but we don't always

encourage him to generalize, especially at the start of his career. He has, perhaps, been allowed to get away with too easy generalizations as an undergraduate, and then we decide to bring him back and get him to do some hard, dirty work digging out source material. That is all right, and he probably does need it, but there ought to be, at some stage, work that will stimulate his imagination. It shouldn't be all fact right at first. If we could get at that attitude fairly early, I think we might do better on this problem of communication, because after all we are probably the only learned profession that still talks the language of the ordinary man. I think maybe we are a little ashamed of that at times, and that is why we go into rivaling the semijargon of our friends in sociology and economics. It is a great advantage if we just realize it, and perhaps start to use it earlier than we do.

Mr. Miller: I am not a member of the guild or of the profession, but I presume I might speak for some of the citizens that we are talking about. There are several things in my own experience that I would like to say in connection with what we have been talking about. I am very much concerned about this problem this afternoon; just what is it we are trying to do?

I remember several conferences in other fields that were very similar to this, and I think we ought to be encouraged. I am connected with religious men in one way or another, and one summer I went to Union Theological Seminary to sit at the feet of Harry Emerson Fosdick for a little while. Four times he gathered together about a hundred ministers from all over the country and told them about his techniques of preaching and of counseling. I think in all of our generation, Fosdick represents perhaps one of the best counselors and one of the best preachers.

There were two points of value in that experience. In the first place, he said that as a teacher of preaching or homiletics at Union Seminary, he continually had to do what we are saying we have to do in history. He would sit in the back of a room and listen to a young theological student give a sermon. After it was all over he would say, "Now, that was a fine sermon. You had a wonderful subject; you had a good text; you had it well organized; you delivered it well. But what was the object? I don't know what in the world I was supposed to do. Your congregation won't know what they are supposed to do."

Then he talked about counseling. When he had finished, some minister got up and said, "I have my door open and I tell my congregation that I would be glad to talk with them. I study psychology. I do all these things, but nobody ever comes to me. Why do they go to you, Dr. Fosdick?" That is the whole clue, I think, to the contagion that we have been talking about here when we speak of communication.

I also associate with the social workers, and I have attended a number of their conferences. When the social workers elected Richard Cabot of the Medical School at Harvard and the Department of Social Ethics as their president, he gave them a different program from any that they had had before, or since. He said, "You social workers are all the time talking about your techniques; you talk about case work; you talk about group work; you talk about the techniques of social work. We are going to spend this whole conference on the goals of social work." He made them get up and tell what, from the standpoint of a case worker, from the standpoint of a group worker, from the standpoint of any social worker, they thought the goals of social work are. Other groups, therefore, are faced with the same problem that we are.

The third thing I should like to mention is this: I believe one of the most astounding successes in changing the whole social-science impact upon students today is the development of the work camp, and the technique of working outside the college and university in industry, in hospitals, in any place that will make the student come back to the study of the social sciences with a little bit more knowledge and experience than he would get in the university alone. I am entirely in sympathy with the idea of the lecture method, of the seminar method, of the casual conversation and the walking and talking and sitting down with the teacher, as Mr. Krout described it to us. But something has happened in economics and in political science and in government, where our students who go to the United Nations, go to Washington, who work in industry, come back to their studies in a very much better equipped and a much more stimulated way than if they had not had that practical experience.

I think we are entirely different from the physical sciences and from the natural sciences. I agree with Mr. Read. The whole purpose of an institution like this, of history, of the teaching of history, and of working in history, will be, I hope, to solve somebody's individual problems and to make our citizens more able to cope with some of the

problems that face us in the future, because they know something about the past.

Mr. Blegen: May I ask a question? How did you apply your analogy of the work camp to the problems of history?

Mr. Miller: That I don't know. I can't quite figure it out. But I would imagine I was thinking that perhaps we ought to have some of our students come to and sit in a conference like this. I think that the suggestion that Mrs. Bowen made might be a solution to it. I remember that when I was in college one of the professors brought in a writer of books and of geographies, J. Russell Smith. The professor asked him to tell us how he wrote his geographies, why he wrote them, and how he got started on his work. That stimulated some of us to think about the whole intellectual and academic life as something different from what we had experienced.

Previous to that, Lloyd Lewis, who was in the same class, became so disgusted and discouraged with the teaching of history that he went into business, although he had wanted to be a historian. He was responsible for all of the work of the movies in popularizing and exploiting motion pictures. But he discovered that he could do his business in three or four hours, and then had the rest of the day with nothing to do. So he went back to his love for history and became the scholar of the Civil War, and wrote books about it.

You expose young economists and young businessmen to business; perhaps what they ought to be exposed to is to more live historians such as Mrs. Bowen suggested. But if we can get our teen-agers and the graduate students in the colleges and universities to see that there is something other than one avenue that history leads to, that it leads to the whole of life, then I think that there might, perhaps, be some analogy.

Mr. Blegen: I did not ask that question with any thought of jeering at the idea. I think you didn't quite put your finger on the basic point, however. I think the reason you suggested your analogy was that you wanted to emphasize actuality, reality.

You recall to my mind an experience I had in the classroom. I was giving a lecture on flour milling in the United States, and I was giving this talk in Minneapolis. Suddenly, I asked my students how many of them had actually visited one of the great flour mills of Minneapolis, and in a class of some fifty students, as I recall it, only

two had ever seen one. I immediately called the Pillsbury Mill and said that I wanted to take my class over and would like somebody to show us the operation of a modern flour mill; the whole class went with me and we spent a couple of hours in the mill. In that way I think they got this sense of actuality that my lecture was probably not achieving.

There are ways in which you can reinforce the classroom teaching lecturing or whatever your method may be, to help to establish that feeling of actuality, or perhaps relevance.

R. Norris Williams, 2d: Dr. Blegen, there is a similarity in some of the girls' colleges who ask their girls to go out for half a semester, or two weeks, and work in business or in a library, or in something related to the work that they are taking up in college. I have had applications from two girls who want to work here because they are interested in history.

Mr. Shryock: I was much interested in Mr. Krout's suggestion that we should never make any distinction between the training of the man who may subsequently become the research figure and writer, and the man who is going to be primarily the college teacher, on the general ground that the best teacher in most instances will be the man who continues to have research interests and an open mind. I am sure we would all agree that there is a great deal of truth in that, and that in practice it is very difficult to make a distinction between training for these two functions. Yet I have an uneasy feeling that there are still certain unresolved questions there. For example, if you were to emphasize in a graduate training program primarily the training of future college teachers, it might have certain implications for your procedures. You might encourage the idea, which I think Mr. Gabriel suggested this morning, that you should not keep them too long, that you should not necessarily make them do a finished piece of work once you were convinced they were able people and knew how to do it in principle.

The point I want to suggest is that I am not sure whether the quality we want in able teachers is quite the same thing as what we call research, granting that the man who does research is often inspired thereby to become a very effective teacher. I can't help remembering that the two or three most stimulating, inspiring teachers of English under whom I was ever a student, were in every

case men who throughout their careers did little or nothing in the way of what we call research. They had open minds, they read widely, they were thinking, but I am not sure that that is exactly the same thing that we mean by having research interests.

It may be that there could be differences of emphasis in our procedures, in our training methods, if we had that type of person in mind in the one case, and, in the other, the man who we really think is going to be qualified in all respects to become a major research figure and writer in his field. I am not sure; I am just raising the question.

I am a little puzzled, too, by some of the issues which Mr. Blegen raises. I am thoroughly in agreement with the feeling that we ought to do everything we can to turn out men who are effective writers, who can reach the public in the way that our ablest literary people reach the public. But I am still a little bothered by the feeling that that isn't the only way to reach the public. I repeat what I said this morning, that in a sense we are reaching the public in our undergraduate teaching. It is a different way, but it is one way of reaching the public. I am not even sure that there may not be situations in which the popularizer may serve a really useful function, and I hasten to add that I don't use that term with any suggestion of disdain. As a matter of fact, I think the able popularizer is one of the rarer types of figures, rarer, perhaps, than the common historian.

I am bothered by the feeling that there are certain types of history or historical writing which do not lend themselves easily to the simple, clear, and colorful presentation which is prerequisite to reaching the public in the larger sense of that expression. Let us take some of the more technical aspects of economic history. It seems to me, in the first instance, that much of that sort of thing must be written more or less technically, for technical people, and that to the extent that historical writing of that sort becomes quasi-technical, we have got to expect a quasi-technical audience, just as we do in any scientific or other technical field. I don't think these things are mutually exclusive. There are different audiences, there are different ways of reaching them, and I think we ought to keep them all more or less in mind.

One last comment with regard to Mr. Read's suggestions. I think we would all agree with him that the matter of the ultimate function of history in society is very basic. Whether it is a matter of social functions, as he suggests, or of individual values, is a real question.

I do not feel, however, as I think Mr. Read rather implied, that the discussions that we have had in these meetings are necessarily irrelevant to that larger issue. Suppose, for example, we had devoted the first day to the discussion of these larger values of history in society, and we agreed that those values were A, B, and C. At that point we would certainly wish to go ahead and consider the problem: if these are the values we want to attain, what are the problems of communicating these values to the public in one way or another? That is just what we have been considering in these recent sessions. There might have been a certain logic in discussing the functions and values first, and then proceeding to the discussion of the means of attaining them in terms of our graduate program. But I think in one way or the other, we would have to keep in mind both the larger functions of history and these problems of communication with which we are trying to implement those functions in the educational process.

Of course, this question of the larger functions, or the ultimate functions, of history in society is a perennial one. My only hesitancy in going along with the suggestion of devoting another conference to that theme is related to that fact. It has been debated perennially by all men interested in history since the beginning of the profession. Perhaps we ought to debate it periodically; if that is the case, it might well make an extremely interesting subject for a discussion next year. But I conclude on the note that I do not see that there is any real irrelevancy in focusing one conference or another on the problem of how to communicate those values, as well as on the problem of determining what those values are.

Eugene E. Doll: In view of what has been said about young historians, I should, perhaps, not have risen to my feet. But as my own graduate experience is closer to me than that of some of the others, I can speak, perhaps, with a little more feeling about it.

It seems to me that we have been moving in a rather comfortable direction in speaking about general problems of communication and social significance. While some very excellent suggestions have been made, it seems to me that there has been a certain aversion to talking about techniques, which I think are quite important from the point of view of the student.

I had the good fortune to go to a rather old-fashioned university, which, in typical American fashion, sits on a hill. It was too poor to

have new buildings, but the offices were very gracious, and one spent many hours, week after week, conversing with one's professors at great length. That was one of the greatest virtues of my undergraduate education, and I always looked forward to the day when I would go to the graduate school, when that relationship would be the essential portion of my education. Dean Krout has spoken of three types of instruction, and I think one of the most important types is the standing around and the sitting and the just casual talking.

Now the point that I am trying to raise is that the graduate schools are not in position to do that at the present time. I went from this first university to another university, a rather more eminent university—in fact, it was supposed to be tops in the field, and is tops in the field, I think I can honestly say. I might say that I was not in history at that time. I was shocked when I got there to find that there were over a hundred graduate students in that department alone. Whether there were five or six professors I don't remember, but I think you can see what I mean. I think the suggestions that Dr. Perkins has offered should receive more consideration. It seems to me that the graduate schools are faced either with cutting down their enrollment, or with realizing that you must find some means of coping with these vast numbers of students, and give them something.

You were talking a great deal about what the ultimate objectives are. It seems to me it is also important to ask: whom are you going to accept, and what are you going to do with them after they get there?

Mr. Blegen: I found myself wondering whether the situation you described obtained also with respect to the other students. Did they not have the opportunity of conference with their advisers? At the University of Minnesota I suppose there are about one hundred and twenty graduate students in history, a very large number, and yet I have the impression that the graduate student meets quite frequently with an adviser, has many opportunities to talk over his problems and to visit with him. There is a good deal of visiting in the homes of the advisers. I was wondering whether the situation you described was general.

Mr. Doll: I do not think that this was exactly an individual problem, because I have spoken so often with other graduate students about

it. I have the feeling that this is rather current among graduate students at the present time, particularly in large universities. They feel that they don't really get the kind of contact with their professors that they need.

Mr. McCormick: There is a problem that I have been brooding about increasingly in the last few days. I have reached the point where I don't want to brood about it as I go home on the train, so I am going to unburden myself. I hesitate to mention this problem because it has certain perhaps uncharitable implications, and also because as a young man my experience is rather limited and I may be talking through my hat.

The problem might be expressed in this way. Why do college professors want to give graduate work? Do they want to give graduate work in order to fulfill certain responsibilities to their students, or do they want to give graduate work because it may mean reduced hours, an opportunity for seminars which will produce papers that will be of assistance to them, because it will give them additional prestige? Or, to phrase the thing in a slightly different way, when a department is planning and carrying out a program of graduate work, is that program planned essentially with the needs of the students in mind, or is that program planned, perhaps, with the convenience and the desires of the professors in mind?

I think that depending upon which of these motives is uppermost, or which of these factors is strongest, you get a rather different type of graduate program in any given department.

I raise this as a question because our department at present is studying this problem of setting up a graduate program, and I have had a case study of this problem of the motive of the professor versus the interest of the student. I have seen it also—at least I think I have seen it—through an examination of the graduate catalogues of many other universities that we have gone through in the process of planning our own program. Should a man with a particular interest insist upon giving a seminar in that particular interest when a more reasoned view of the problem, from the standpoint of the student's interest, would indicate that he should, perhaps, give a somewhat different type of training? One major and, I think, most conspicuous, example of this, to put it another way, is the fact that we like to ride our hobbies.

I think that this problem I raise is a complicating factor that impinges upon the problem that Professor Read raised. It is a problem of the personal interests of those of us who are teaching versus the interest of those whom we are supposed to be serving, and in any planning of the graduate program the major suggestion that I would put forth is, that we should accept it as a charge, perhaps, upon our own consciences to try and keep uppermost the needs of our students rather than our own individual convenience.

Mr. Blegen: Usually what happens is that courses are multiplied and appear in bulletins, then there comes a reform. That happened in my university—we swept out a great many very special courses that probably did originate from just such an interest. The whole faculty was quite willing to change the program with an eye to the needs of the students rather than to particular hobbies. Most of the teachers who have very special interests are also able to teach courses of greater breadth and greater scope, and don't necessarily oppose change. Furthermore, in the larger type of course you get ample opportunity to use the special knowledge and skill that you have. I don't regard that as a tremendously important problem, for I believe that the great problem is the quality of the teacher.

Mr. Butterfield: I think the question is complicated by the fact—and I think probably Mr. McCormick has this in mind—that in the setting up of programs the younger men sometimes feel that they have insufficient opportunity for advanced work, that they can't ride a hobby, simply because they haven't as much weight in deciding these matters. It is not for them; they aren't privileged to do so. This is especially true when the undergraduate and graduate work is closely interwoven. The relative lack of opportunity to work in a specialty, to teach in a specialty, is sometimes a grievance.

Mr. Blegen: Ladies and gentlemen, train time is upon some of us, and unless someone urgently feels that he must speak, I think we must bring this session to a close. I know that I speak for the group when I say that these discussions have been most stimulating, and before we leave, I should like to express our real appreciation to The Historical Society of Pennsylvania for its gracious hospitality.

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REPORT OF THE TREASURER

To the Members and Council of
The Historical Society of Pennsylvania:

It is the custom of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania and the specific order of Council, that the accounts and records of the Society for each year be examined by Certified Public Accountants. This has been done and the complete report of Charles S. Rockey & Co. is on file in the Treasurer's Office of the Society and may be examined by any member upon application.

The Treasurer has reviewed this complete report covering the operations of the Society for the year ended December 31, 1949. Based on the information contained therein and on other available data the following comparisons and comments are respectfully submitted as showing the results of the operations of the Society for the year 1949:

Diversification of Investments

Based on Book Values

	1949		*1948*	
	Amount	*Ratio*	*Amount*	*Ratio*
Mortgages	$66,660.90	4.02%	$81,232.87	4.77%
Real Estate[a]	69,182.38	4.17	69,182.38	4.07
Bonds	299,778.01	18.06	325,886.22	19.15
Stocks (Common & Preferred)	1,223,975.05	73.75	1,225,523.02	72.01
Totals	$1,659,596.34	100.00%	$1,701,824.49	100.00%

Average Yields on Investments

	1949	*1948*	*1947*
Mortgages	5.51%	5.16%	5.54%
Real Estate	7.28	4.41	3.88
Bonds	4.64	4.90	5.11
Stocks	5.36	5.76	6.11
	5.32%	5.51%	5.72%

[a] Does not include the Society's building, carried on our books at $164,457.43; appraised at $300,000.00.

Mortgages

During 1949, the Society acquired one first mortgage bearing interest at 5%. In the same period, reductions totaling $19,571.97 were made. Since several mortgages have been paid off and a number materially reduced, the Finance Committee is seriously considering the taking on of additional ones, which are now more readily available.

	1949	*1948*
Number of Mortgages Held	42	46
Amount	$66,660.90	$81,232.87
Net Interest Received	4,132.58	4,152.71
Yield on Investment	5.51%	4.77%

Following is a list of mortgages held as of December 31, 1949:

Mortgages	*Face Value and Book Value 12-31-49*
Brown Street, 2706	$2,600.00
Camac Street, 1915 N.	1,200.00
Catharine Street, 5432	250.00
Christian Street, 1629	1,950.00
Cobbs Creek Parkway, 6830	1,800.00
Cobbs Creek Parkway, 6836	1,710.00
Dakota Street, 3017 W.	1,250.00
Diamond Street, 637	1,440.00
Diamond Street, 1623	2,600.00
Dicks Avenue, 7234	2,375.00
Fairmount Avenue, 3846	1,000.00
Fitzwater Street, 2120, and Clymer Street, 2119	2,075.00
Fitzwater Street, 2132	487.50
Florence Avenue, 5547	1,950.00
Franklin Street, 335 N.	49.30
Franklin Street, 449 N.	1,200.00
Franklin Street, 929 N.	900.00
Jefferson Street, 2122 W.	100.00
Lambert Street, 2227 S.	1,650.00
Lehigh Avenue, 1617 W.	4,000.00
Marvine Street, 1921 N.	1,025.00
Montgomery Avenue, 2401 W.	2,200.00
Oxford Street, 1627 W.	2,100.00
Spruce Street, 112	1,100.00
Susquehanna Avenue, 320 W.	1,100.00
Carried forward	$38,111.80

Mortgages	*Face Value and Book Value 12-31-49*
Brought forward	$38,111.80
Susquehanna Avenue, 1934 W.	2,000.00
Tasker Street, 534	1,650.00
Thomas Avenue, 5609	2,200.00
Walton Avenue, 5133	900.00
York Street, 2714 W.	250.00
3d Street, 31 S.	2,000.00
4th Street, 913 S.	1,300.00
4th Street, 1327 N.	1,800.00
7th Street, 2539 S.	375.00
13th Street, 1328 N.	1,800.00
20th Street, 1913 N.	49.10
30th Street, 2524 N.	1,150.00
32d Street, 2551 N.	2,000.00
55th Street, 508 S.	5,000.00
55th Street, 535 S.	1,500.00
59th Street, 1238 N.	1,725.00
62d Street, 2557 S.	2,850.00
Total	$66,660.90

Real Estate

The average yield for 1949 was 7.28%. There are four properties still retained by the Society—three houses adjacent to the Society and one rented to a member of the Staff.*

	1949	*1948*
Number of Properties Owned	4	4
Book Value	$69,182.38	$69,182.38
Gross Rentals Collected	$7,289.00	$6,650.67
Expenses[b]	2,690.29	3,572.42
Net Income	$4,598.71	$3,078.25
Yield on Investment	7.28%	4.41%

The following list shows the properties held as of December 31, 1949.

Locust Street, 1314	13th Street, 236 S.
Locust Street, 1316	27th Street, 865 N. (Employee's house)

*This house has been sold as of February, 1950.

[b] Include insurance, taxes, water rent, repairs, agent's commission, and all other expenses incidental to the operation of the properties.

Stocks and Bonds

The following is the present portfolio as of December 31, 1949:

Par Value	*Bonds*	*Book Value 12-31-49*
20,000	U. S. Savings, Series F, 1961	$14,800.00
50,000	U. S. Savings Bonds, G 2½-1954	50,000.00
40,000	U. S. Treasury Bonds, 2½-1972-67	40,000.00
15,000	Baltimore & Ohio R.R.Co., S.W. Div., 1st mtge., 3½-5-1980	11,904.00
30,000	Chicago, Milwaukee, St. Paul & Pacific R.R. Co., 4½-2044	26,436.25
30,000	Chicago & North Western Rwy. Co., 2d conv. inc. A, 4½-1999	28,353.00
30,000	Cleveland, Cincinnati, Chicago & St. Louis Rwy., C. W. & M. Div., 1st mtge., 4-1991	27,175.00
40,000	Gulf, Mobile & Ohio R.R., Series B, 4-2044	28,725.00
10,000	Morris & Essex R.R. Co., 1st ref. mtge., 3½-2000	5,825.00
15,000	New York, New Haven & Hartford R.R. Co., A, 4½-2022	7,596.97
10,500	New York, New Haven & Hartford R.R. Co., 1st & ref. A, 4-2007	10,387.79
30,000	Philadelphia Transportation Co., cons. mtge. A, 3-6-2039	25,800.00
30,000	Seaboard Air Line Railroad Co., 4½-2016	22,775.00
	Total Bonds	$299,778.01

Shares	*Stocks*	
200	Allis Chalmers Mfg. Co.	$8,408.82
600	American Brake Shoe Co.	25,331.16
600	American Car & Foundry Co.	38,596.08
200	American Gas & Electric Co.	9,461.40
100	American Power & Light Corp., $5 cum. pfd.	10,840.00
1,000	Arkansas Natural Gas Corp., "A"	9,025.00
1,000	Best & Company, Inc.	29,390.97
500	Bethlehem Steel Corp., common	17,147.56
1,500	Canadian Pacific Rwy. Co.	29,949.20
500	Celanese Corp., common	15,828.50
400	Chase National Bank	16,306.53
300	Chicago & North Western Rwy. Co., 5% pfd.	21,365.69
200	Columbia Pictures Corp., $4.25 cum. pfd.	18,294.91
200	Commercial Credit Co., 3.60% pfd.	20,355.00
200	Commonwealth Edison Co., Chic., common	5,999.76
300	Consolidated Edison Co. of N. Y., common	$8,848.89
100	Consolidated Gas, Electric Light & Power Co. of Baltimore, common	6,906.69
200	Corn Exchange National Bank & Trust Co.	10,776.82
	Carried forward	$302,832.98

Shares	Stocks	12-31-49 Book Value
	Brought forward	$302,832.98
300	Curtis Publishing Co., $3 cum. prior pfd.	19,666.31
400	Detroit Edison Co., common	8,591.41
100	duPont (E. I.) de Nemours & Co., $3.50 pfd.	10,111.08
1,000	Electric Auto Lite Co.	63,406.49
250	First National Bank of Philadelphia	9,226.08
400	Flintkote Co., common	15,818.04
350	Girard Trust Co.	17,678.50
1,000	Great Northern Railway Co., non-cum. pfd.	51,208.76
1,000	Greyhound Corp., common	12,122.32
1,000	Kansas Power & Light Co., common	16,192.58
500	Kennecott Copper Corp.	27,360.40
1,000	Loew's, Inc.	21,935.72
300	Louisville & Nashville R.R. Co.	14,404.82
1,000	R. H. Macy & Co., Inc.	42,706.58
700	Montgomery Ward & Co., common	50,134.16
1,000	National Supply Co., common	22,373.32
79	New York, New Haven & Hartford R.R. Co., 5% "A" pfd.	2,993.17
600	Northern Pacific R. R., common	18,817.63
1,000	Ohio Edison Co., common	35,648.55
1,000	Pacific Gas & Electric Co., common	38,068.85
1,500	Paramount Pictures, Inc.	56,503.11
300	Pennsylvania Railroad Co., common	8,298.97
500	Philadelphia Electric Co.	12,298.45
400	Pittsburgh Coke & Chemical Co.	5,895.32
300	Pittsburgh & Lake Erie R.R. Co.	19,556.03
200	Pressed Steel Car Co., 4½% cum. pfd. "A"	11,380.32
200	Public Service Electric & Gas Co., 4.08% cum. pfd. "A"	20,400.00
1,000	Pullman, Inc.	47,769.99
300	Pure Oil Co., common	10,821.19
400	Reading Co., 4% 2nd pfd.	18,095.00
600	Sinclair Oil Corp.	15,373.70
200	Southern Railway Co., 5% non-cum. pfd.	13,533.69
1,000	Square D Co.	15,652.40
450	Sunray Oil Corp., 4½% cum. conv. pfd., "B"	9,238.44
500	United Aircraft Corp., common	18,358.15
100	Universal Pictures Co., Inc., 4¼% pfd.	10,200.00
500	Virginia Electric & Power Co., common	8,705.58
600	Wabash Railroad Co., 4.50% pfd.	41,463.88
300	Western Pacific Railroad Co., common	16,567.18
500	Western Pacific Railroad Co., 5% cum. pfd. "A"	42,918.40
400	York Corp., 4½% cum. pfd.	19,647.50
	Total Stocks	$1,223,975.05

Recapitulation

	Book Value 12-31-49	*Ratio*
Stocks	$1,223,975.05	73.75%
Bonds	299,778.01	18.06
Mortgages	66,660.90	4.02
Real Estate	69,182.38	4.17
	$1,659,596.34	100.00%

Ratio of Stocks and Bonds

	Stocks		*Bonds*	
Railroad	$310,552.74	25.37%	$194,978.01	65.04%
Bank	64,165.43	5.24	..	..
Utility	190,987.16	15.61	..	..
Industrial	658,269.72	53.78	..	..
Government	..	..	104,800.00	34.96
Totals	$1,223,975.05	100.00%	$299,778.01	100.00%

The book value of investments and available cash balances compares as follows:

	1949	*1948*
Investments	$1,659,596.34	$1,701,824.49
Uninvested Principal Cash	3,323.49	1,802.45
General Fund Cash	15,854.40	10,490.68
Totals	$1,678,774.23	$1,714,117.62

Summary of Operation—General Fund, 1949

The following is a statement of income and expenditures of the General Fund for the year ended December 31, 1949:

Income:

Transferred from Trust Funds	$65,135.76		
Net income from investment in securities owned other than for principal account	4,544.62	$69,680.38	
Annual Membership dues—amount received		13,462.00	
Donations from Organizations for use of building		1,000.00	
Sales of photostats and photographic prints		4,866.99	
From I. V. Williamson Estate (Penna. Co.)		298.26	
Estate of Hannah Fox (Provident Trust Co.)		194.45	
Gilpin Library Payment		1,850.00	
Miscellaneous		438.51	
TOTAL INCOME			$91,790.59

Expenses—Operating:

Salaries	$61,483.59	
Less: Amounts provided from Trust Fund income	2,135.91	
	$59,347.68	
Supplies and services	3,228.94	
New equipment, furniture and fixtures	676.63	
Telephone and telegraph	610.25	
Insurance	715.20	
Fire alarm system	486.00	
Postage	670.15	
Entertainment	317.66	
Hotel, meals, railroads, etc.	15.76	
Legal and audit	1,056.00	
Electricity	1,501.37	
Gas	71.73	
Fuel	1,818.50	
Air conditioning service	359.00	
Maintenance and repairs	2,934.41	
Publication of membership bulletin	326.50	
Photo reproduction costs to Society	144.05	
Genealogical Society contract	170.40	
Miscellaneous	208.28	
TOTAL OPERATING EXPENSES		$74,658.51

Special Appropriations made by Council:		
Publication of *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*	$3,538.29	
Membership Drive	100.00	
TOTAL DEPARTMENTAL EXPENSES		$78,296.80
SURPLUS FOR 1949		$13,493.79

. . . .

Pension Fund Reserve	$51,257.73

Facing an uncertain business future, it has been the policy of the Finance Committee for some time to strengthen the portfolio wherever possible, even though it may reduce the income of the Society somewhat. For this reason, certain high-grade securities were allocated to the Pension Fund in 1949, and they are now so carried on the books. The lowered income will naturally affect some of the Society's functions, but it is hoped in not too critical a way.

From the 1949 surplus, $8,000 has been set aside for the Cumulative Index to *The Pennsylvania Magazine*. This index is one of the Society's major projects; however, it is hoped that this heavy drain on the financial resources of the Society will shortly come to an end.

The Treasurer wishes to thank the Finance Committee, and Wm. C. Tuttle in particular, for their co-operation.

F. R. KIRKLAND, *Treasurer*

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THE

Pennsylvania Magazine

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OF HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY

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THE

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LEONARD BERNSTEIN had intended to pursue journalism as a profession, but a year's apprenticeship as a newspaper reporter turned his interests to history. He has a Master's Degree in American history from the University of North Carolina, and is at present teaching in the public schools of Anne Arundel County, Maryland.

MAX M. MINTZ is Assistant Professor of Social Studies at the State Teachers College at Plattsburgh, New York, and Visiting Assistant Professor of History at the Washington Square College of New York University this summer. He is currently working on a biography of Gouverneur Morris as his doctoral dissertation in history for New York University.

WILLIAM BELL CLARK, author of the recent biography, *Captain Dauntless, The Story of Nicholas Biddle of the Continental Navy*, was in 1949 elected General President of the Sons of the Revolution. He has long been interested in naval history and biography, particularly of the American Revolution, and has just retired from business to devote full time to his research. Among his other writings are *Lambert Wickes, Sea Raider and Diplomat* (1932) and *Gallant John Barry, Naval Hero* (1938).

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THE
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The Legend of the Robber Barons

BETWEEN business history, which has concentrated attention upon the administration of the firm, and general social or economic history, which has frequently omitted business processes altogether, there is a broad, vacant area. In this twilight zone lie the relations of business leaders with similar men in other firms, the interactions of businessmen with society as a whole, and the economic effects of business decisions. Scholars viewing this area have seen such a host of related problems that a group composed of representatives from some of the East Coast universities has given the study a special name: entrepreneurial history.[1] In defining this field, the term entrepreneur has not been restricted to the conventional American textbook meaning of one who risks capital in enterprise. Rather, the older French definitions of Cantillon and Say have been re-expressed in broader language to make entrepreneur roughly equivalent to business executive. In the research of the group, the function of entrepreneurship, or business leadership, is conceived as operating in a broad socio-economic setting.

The systematic pursuit of a new interest of this kind requires a series of assumptions as to what should be examined, some tentative hypotheses about relationships and dynamics, and then historical

[1] A Research Center for Entrepreneurial History at Harvard, organized by Arthur H. Cole, is one result of the deliberations of the East Coast group.

facts against which to test and expand the original concepts.[2] The major assumption of entrepreneurial history is that it requires the exploration of the economic and social roles played by the entrepreneur: how he did his job, and what doing his particular job meant from the standpoint of his personality, his interests, and his other social roles. To gain adequate perspective, these explorations should take place in various historical settings.

What is such study likely to mean for history of the social sciences? For one thing, it will correct the elimination of man from most current economic theorizing. The necessity for including the human factor in economic equations is very obvious when we take a look at the history of a country like Venezuela. Venezuela has all of the factors usually assumed to be necessary for rapid industrial development. It has oil and iron ore, both readily available to water transportation; it has been populated for many years by people who have known of European technology; and one finds it hard in studying its history to discover any conventional economic reason for the failure of these people to develop their resources. Yet Venezuela remained a backward farming country until American oil companies began to develop it following the concessions granted in 1921, and its iron resources remained unexploited until the United States Steel Company entered the picture at a somewhat later date. The answer obviously is that the general culture of Venezuela was not such as to encourage entrepreneurship; or to carry this a step further, economic growth does not depend simply upon a population and a given body of resources and transportation facilities; it depends upon the whole cultural complex that may or may not lead to enterprise, savings, reinvestment of capital, and further development.

The economists, of course, have recognized the importance of entrepreneurship abstractly; but they have failed to make any satisfactory use of this factor in setting up their equations or developing their theories. The inclusion of this factor in economic history, for example, will unquestionably reorient it in the direction of anthropological and sociological knowledge. It will not necessarily make the businessman a hero, but it will affirm the necessity of seeing economic growth in cultural terms.

[2] It is worth noting that although data may vary in age from six months to five hundred years, any that can be collected are necessarily historical.

For the general historian, it will mean a re-evaluation of the roles and importance of business leaders, particularly in countries such as the United States. Our present history generally has seen business leaders as parasites on a deterministic process. Historians who are in no other way determinists nevertheless seem to assume that our economic development would have gone along in good and productive paths if left to itself, whereas grasping and unscrupulous business leaders deflected this natural progress into antisocial lines for their own advantage. The corrective needed is not a eulogy of business, but real understanding of the social processes which have channeled the economic life of the nation.

An analysis of the period in which many American historians have discussed the businessman, the age of the "robber barons," will illustrate the reinterpretation that may come from entrepreneurial history. The "robber barons" are usually selected from among the railroad, industrial, and financial leaders of the period from about 1865 to 1900, and more often than not are the only businessmen who appear in college textbooks covering this period. According to the present historical mythology, they are seen as "bad" or unusually grasping and unscrupulous types in our culture against the background of a "good" public. The interest in discussing them is to illustrate business malpractices, and, presumably, to convey moralistic warnings against such activities, rather than to understand the business process in society.

In distinction to this pathological approach, the entrepreneurial historian is interested in the culture patterns and social structures which have produced these assumed types, and in whether or not the types have been correctly delineated. In pursuing such a study, the first thing is to decide what some of the major cultural themes were that guided or sanctioned the roles of these men. I think we can pick out three about which there will be little controversy: the concept of the autonomous economy that was self-adjusting; the idea that progress came through competition and the survival of the fittest; and the belief that profit or material gain was the only reliable incentive for action. These themes operated throughout the society as a whole. The truckman delivering dirt for railroad construction was as much motivated by profit and as firm a believer in these themes as was the "robber baron" who was building the road. The

dissident element in the society, those who denied the value of these major themes, seem during these years to have been a relatively small, or at least uninfluential, portion of the population. Therefore, if value judgments are to be formed, they should be applied to this type of society or culture. It is rather futile to assert that the culture would have been all right if it were not for the kind of people and activities that resulted directly from its major themes.

If one accepts the additional and continuing American theme that material growth is a reliable index of progress, and its usual corollary that rapid progress is desirable, one question that may be asked of the culture as a whole is whether such progress could have taken place faster if other beliefs had prevailed. Since it is impossible to conceive deductively what the United States would have been like if built up on some other system, such a decision requires the establishment of a comparative standard. But if recourse is had to the history of another nation in order to observe the application of different cultural patterns to economic development, none seems like the United States to offer satisfying parallels. It is interesting, however, to note that in one of the somewhat similar economic situations, that of Australia, where railroads and frontier development went on through more state enterprise, about the same things were complained of that commentators here in the United States blamed upon private enterprise. In other words, a number of the difficulties seem to have been inherent in the rapid development of a pioneer area rather than in the particular means by which the development went on.

Avoiding, therefore, such unanswerable questions, and concentrating on a better understanding of the operation of American culture, let us examine the historical legend of the "robber baron" by analyzing the "case history" of Henry Villard. Villard is an interesting "robber baron" because he was brought up outside the American culture in a German bureaucratic or official family. His father was a German lawyer and judge, who ultimately became a member of the Supreme Court of the Kingdom of Bavaria. Villard, after attendance at three European universities, decided to come to the United States to try his fortune. Supported to some extent by family money, he entered journalism and built himself a successful career as a correspondent for European and American newspapers. The Civil War,

particularly, gave prestige to young Villard. He was able to interview Lincoln and to offer many interesting and penetrating views of contemporary events. In the early seventies he went back to Germany, and through his family connections came to know the chief financial men of Frankfort and Munich. These contacts led to his being sent over as a representative of German bondholders in the Oregon railroad and steamship enterprises that had fallen into difficulties during the depression following the panic of 1873.

It is interesting that when Villard was placed in the position of having to make judgments regarding what should be done on the unfinished Oregon and California Railroad and in regard to the river navigation projects, he readily assumed the entrepreneurial role in just about the same form as men who had been brought up in business. In other words, the entrepreneurial role seems to have been so much a part of the cultural pattern of America, and possibly of middle class Germany, at this time, that there was no great gulf between the attitude of the professional intellectual or journalist and that of the businessman. Villard identified himself quickly with the development of the Oregon area, and, instead of advising liquidation and withdrawal for his German clients, he counseled rather the investment of still more capital in order to complete the enterprises. In this way his essential role was that of attracting foreign capital to a frontier development. It is not clear that he was ever deeply interested in problems of technology and management—that is, in just how the capital was applied for productive purposes; rather, he became a public relations man for the area, and an over-all or general entrepreneurial supervisor of where the capital should be allocated.

One factor of great importance in the Villard story is that he started new activities at just about the bottom of the deep depression that lasted from 1873 to 1879, and his ventures from then on, or at least from 1877 on, were first on a gradually rising market, and finally, from 1879 to 1882, on a market that boomed.

Villard saw quickly that the Northern Pacific Railroad, which was being built across the country from Duluth and St. Paul, would have to make, or at least should make, an agreement to connect with whatever road occupied the Columbia River valley. With this long-range plan in mind, he secured foreign and domestic help for the building of the Oregon Railroad and Navigation Company up the

Columbia, at a time when Northern Pacific construction was moving very slowly into eastern Montana.

It is from this point on that the most interesting differences occur between the dramatic "robber baron" explanation of Villard's activities and the more sober and socially complex explanation offered by entrepreneurial history. The "robber baron" story is, that as Villard found the Northern Pacific management nearing the Columbia valley but unwilling to agree to make use of his facilities—that is, threatening to build either a parallel line or to cross the Cascade Mountains to Tacoma and Seattle—he decided that he must get control of the Northern Pacific. So great was his prestige for successful operation by this time that he had the boldness to ask a group of his friends in Wall Street to put up $8,000,000 for some project that he would not reveal to them. And, as the story went, he had no difficulty in more than raising the first payment requested for this "blind pool," money which he used secretly to buy control of the Northern Pacific Railroad. The "robber baron" analogy is, of course, obvious and exciting. The "robber baron," Villard, seizes control of a strategic pass and then exacts tribute from the railroad that represents a great, nationally subsidized enterprise.[3] Villard's blind pool has all of the trappings of high drama and shady financial dealings. The "robber baron" story then goes on to assert that Villard robbed the Northern Pacific and his other properties in the course of construction in such a way so that by 1883 they were bankrupt, while he himself had become very rich.

As usual, the actual story is not so dramatic. What appears to have happened is, that when the Northern Pacific secured Drexel Morgan financing in the latter part of the year 1880, and the Drexel Morgan-Winslow Lanier syndicate learned that Frederick Billings, the president of Northern Pacific, was planning to build duplicate facilities to the coast without regard to the already existing Oregon Railroad and Navigation Company, they became worried over the economic loss involved in constructing nearly parallel lines. The bankers, not sharing in the loyalties to individual companies that presidents and other officers almost inevitably develop, could see no reason why Northern Pacific and O.R. & N. could not get together in one co-operating line. But some of the officers of Northern Pacific, particularly Billings,

[3] The Northern Pacific had the largest land grant of any of the western railroads.

regarded the railroad as their greatest life work; they felt that to compromise and make the final road a joint venture between the "upstart" Villard and the great Northern Pacific enterprise was a personal defeat. Whereupon Morgan, at least, decided that the only way of bringing about a compromise and preventing unnecessary construction was to establish a common control for the two companies. Since Villard, who had, from the financial standpoint, acquitted himself well as receiver for Kansas Pacific, was now anxious to get this joint control, and assured Morgan that he independently had the resources to do so, the syndicate gave him their blessings, and even offered him their help. The "blind pool" was, therefore, chiefly a product of Villard's love of drama, of doing things in a spectacular fashion. Had he been willing to forgo these dramatic frills, control could quietly have been bought through the syndicate over about the same period. Of course, it cannot be overlooked that successfully doing the job himself gave Villard great personal prestige in Wall Street.

The difficulties from 1881 on to the completion of the road in 1883 seem to have been to some extent inevitable, and to some extent to have resulted from the usual overoptimism of American promoters. Villard formed a holding company, called the Oregon and Transcontinental Company, which was to own stocks in his various enterprises, make the construction contracts, and generally conduct the building which would weld Northern Pacific and O.R. & N. into one system. Undoubtedly, the Oregon and Transcontinental Company stock was a source of large profit for Villard; in fact, it seems probable that all the money Villard made in connection with these enterprises came from floating, buying, and selling the securities in Wall Street. It may be that Villard profited from the construction contracts, but there is no clear evidence of this, and it is quite possible, by analogy to similar situations, that the profits of construction went largely to local contractors in the West. At all events, the major difficulty was a lack of sufficient traffic to warrant the high construction cost of building railroads through the Rockies and the Oregon coastal regions. The completion of the through-line in August of 1883 was almost simultaneous with the beginning of a steady recession in general business that ended in a crisis the following March. As a result, the difficulties that the system would have experienced in

paying returns under any circumstances were accentuated. When the companies were not able to pay dividends and their securities declined, Villard, temporarily losing the confidence of the banking syndicate, was forced to retire from the control of the various enterprises.

One way, therefore, of looking at this whole story is that Villard, a relatively inexperienced entrepreneur, took hold of a series of frontier developments at the bottom of the business cycle, carried them along through his connections and personal enthusiasm during the rise of the cycle, completed them just at the peak of the boom, and was then unable to steer them through the ensuing depression. Viewed from this angle, the whole development was a normal and repetitive one in both big and small business. The general history of even a small retail store or factory enterprise was often just about the same; if the enterprise started at a favorable time in the business cycle, it could last until a major depression. Then, unless it has had farsighted and unusually able management, or had been lucky in making more profit than was possible for most young enterprises, it lapsed into bankruptcy and had to be reorganized with the injection of new capital. The roles that Villard played extremely well were those of a mobilizer of capital resources for pioneer investments, and effective public relations for the development of an area. The roles that he played poorly were those of an expert railroad builder and conservative business forecaster.

What do entrepreneurial historians expect to gain from such a study? In the first place, the study of outstanding examples such as that of Villard may be instructive for the study of the normal practices and operations of business. A detailed study of the Villard enterprises will show more exactly the nature of such practices as the strategic type of entrepreneurship that went into railroad building. The seizing of the transportation route down the Columbia River is merely a dramatic example of the general type of planning done by all western railroad builders. The strategic occupation of territory was like a great game of chess. Each leading entrepreneur had to guess where his rivals were likely to build next, how he could forestall their entrance into an area by throwing a line of track through some valley or across some river, often planning these moves a decade or more ahead. Little is known of the local economic and social results

of this process beyond the fact that it extended railroad transportation at an extremely rapid rate.

Trying to assess the larger economic and social effects of Villard's activities, we might note that he mobilized about $60,000,000 in capital, and applied it to western development at a social cost of perhaps one or two million dollars. That is, he may have made more money than that, but the one or two million dollars represent an estimate of what he actually spent on living and personal durable goods during these years. His other money came and went in stock-market operations, and presumably represented a transfer of capital from one set of holders to another. The question remains: granting that this was not a high rate of commission to pay for the mobilization of so much money, was the long-run effect of the development for which the money was spent economically and socially desirable? Undoubtedly, this particular development of transportation was premature, and it was carried on at the cost of some other types of goods or services that could have been produced with the same expenditure. But this in turn raises another question from a purely nationalistic standpoint: could the foreign capital have been attracted for more prosaic and routine operations? To the extent that foreign money was invested unprofitably in western development, it was an economic loss to Germany and the other investing nations, but a net gain to the United States. As to the loss of domestic resources in these developments, it can be noted that, at least, this is what the men of the culture apparently wanted to do with their economic energy. Villard noted in his promotion activities that the word "Oregon" had a kind of popular magic to it in the seventies and early eighties. Then it was the promised land of the American West, and it stimulated the imagination of Americans along entrepreneurial lines. The historian should try to assess the extent to which the dramatic development of natural resources may actually raise the rate of saving in the community, and may increase output of energy in the population as a whole. These are, of course, very difficult and intangible problems, but yet they are just as much a part of the picture of economic development as the old stand-by of assessing the value of natural resources and the cost of getting them to market.

There is a cultural paradox involved in all of this that makes it difficult for the unwary investigator. At the same time that Ameri-

cans were saving at a high rate for development purposes and investing in railroad securities, they had a distrust of the railroad operator and were inclined to make the railroads a scapegoat for many of their ills. In other words, there was a kind of national Manicheaen heresy, whereby people were willing to sell themselves to the devil, to worship evil, as it were, but at the same time were not ready to forget the fact that it was really the devil and not good that they were supporting. This whole problem of ambiguity of attitude toward business leaders, and the reactions it led to on the part of the executives themselves, is one of the most fruitful fields of American cultural history.

This leads directly to the problem of social sanctions: what codes of conduct, ethics, mores, and folkways were recognized by the railroad entrepreneur? The "robber-baron" approach has implied that there were few sanctions recognized, that these men operated on the basis of nearly complete expediency. To anyone familiar with the study of cultures, this is obviously a very questionable assertion. Actually, there were many but varying sanctions operative upon the business leaders of the period. They varied with types of activity—horse-trading, for instance, having one set of ethics, banking quite another; with the conditioning of the entrepreneur, whereby a man brought up in the strict and staid business community of Philadelphia would have different ethics from one brought up in a less rigidly structured society; and with the geographical region—the frontier, in general, being an area of greater opportunity and larger adherence to the "end-justifies-the-means" philosophy than more settled areas—the mining town of Virginia City and Boston, perhaps, illustrating extreme poles.

Let us take a particular type of social sanction and see how it operated on the basis of these differing situations. One of the most important ones was the feeling of a fiduciary obligation toward stockholders and bondholders—the recognition of the fact that managers were trustees for the real owners of the property. From this standpoint, the distinction between men and regions may be brought out by analyzing the promotion of an extension up the Mississippi River by the directors of the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroad.

But before proceeding to the details of these operations, it is necessary to understand some of the culture patterns of pioneer develop-

ment and railroad building. The ultimate growth and welfare of the community was a rationalization that to the Westerner justified almost any means that he might employ—particularly in the handling of Easterners' capital. Added to this was the fact that railroad companies were not fitted to do their own construction work and had to let local contractors do the building. That the construction work was not done by contract simply to rob the stockholders is abundantly illustrated by the facts that the most mature and best-managed companies continued to build through contractors, even though they might readily have undertaken the work themselves, and that railroad contractors sometimes bankrupted themselves by bidding too low. The difficulties were that building was a specialized enterprise for which the railroad had no regular staff, that it was occasional rather than continuous and, therefore, did not justify the maintenance of a specialized staff, and that often the work was remote from the railroad offices and could not readily be supervised by the chief executives. In order to facilitate such large-scale work by local interests, it would often be necessary for the road itself, or the directors or large stockholders of the road, to put up cash to assist the local contractor. This would be done by buying stock in a construction company of which the operating executive would usually be a local builder. The construction company took its pay in railroad stocks or bonds, which might in the case of an old road be almost as good as cash, but in the case of many young roads might be of very speculative and dubious value. The par value of securities taken for construction work, therefore, is not a safe guide to the amount of profit actually realized by construction companies. But there is little question that a great deal of eastern stockholders' money went west into construction companies and stayed there as profit to local entrepreneurs, including subcontractors all the way down the line, and even to the owners of local sandbanks and hardware stores. Sometimes the eastern directors and stockholders who had advanced money for construction company stock made handsome profits; at other times, as in the case to be discussed, they lost what they had put in; but in any case, the local people were likely to make a profit. As John Murray Forbes, Boston railroad promoter and conservative financier, put it, "My feeling is . . . that the Landowners and R. Road contractors are the ones who too often get the whole benefit

of the money that Capitalists put into the West."[4] Charles E. Perkins, long-time president of the C. B. & Q., went even further: "Iowa people make more money in farms and other industries including contracting and building than in railroads . . . and it is only the eastern capitalist who cannot use his money to advantage at home who is willing to risk it in western railroads and take the low average return which he gets, a return very much lower than the average of other investments in this state [of Iowa]."[5]

This background is necessary to an understanding of the contracts for the so-called River Roads that were to go up the Mississippi from Clinton, Iowa, ultimately to Minneapolis and St. Paul. The central western city involved in this development was Dubuque, Iowa, and the local entrepreneur who undertook to do the construction was J. K. Graves. He was a small-scale, general entrepreneur interested in banking, building, and all the wide range of local enterprises usual to the small-city capitalist. In order to undertake construction on these roads, he persuaded a group of the C. B. & Q. directors, headed by ex-president James F. Joy, to put up about half a million dollars cash in return for securities of the construction company. They then entered into a contract with the two railroad companies that were to own and operate the lines after they had been built, whereby the construction company took pay partly in stocks and bonds. The rest of the bonds of these companies were to be marketed to the holders of C. B. & Q. bonds and stock, who would buy them readily because of the endorsement of their own directors; this would in turn provide additional capital that could be used to pay for the construction.

Some of the members of the C. B. & Q. board, particularly John Murray Forbes and J. N. A. Griswold, were not told at the time they endorsed the sale of the bonds that their fellow directors were actually interested in the stock of the construction company. It seems probable that this knowledge was withheld because Joy and the directors who did buy such stock recognized that Forbes would not approve of their being involved in this kind of relationship. In other words, there appears to have been a difference in the business

[4] John Murray Forbes to Charles S. Tuckerman, Apr. 14, 1880. President's Letters, Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Archives, Newberry Library, Chicago, Illinois.

[5] Charles E. Perkins to James W. McDill, Jan. 26, 1885. President's Letters, Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Archives, Newberry Library.

morality or sanctions recognized by James F. Joy, a western businessman, and those recognized by old, conservative, upper-class Easterners like Forbes and Griswold.

The working out of the pattern has much in common with the Villard story; Graves may or may not have been a good railroad builder. Examination of hundreds of letters to and from Graves, and letters discussing the situation among C. B. & Q. directors, has failed to provide conclusive information on this point. At least, he held the confidence of Joy and the other interested directors right up to the final failure of the enterprise. The contracts were let in the boom of 1871, and, when the depression hit after the panic of 1873, the roads had not been completed. With revenues of all kinds falling off, Graves started borrowing from the funds of the unfinished River Roads to support his other local enterprises. The result was a slowing down of construction, a default on the bonds of the River Roads, and a financial situation that would not bear close scrutiny by accountants. In all this it is very hard to pass moral judgments. Graves had undoubtedly thought that he was doing the best thing possible for Dubuque and the surrounding country by trying to build up many enterprises at once. He had made no plans for a break in the boom and the coming of depression. As a result, he found himself hopelessly involved in ventures that could not all be kept going; yet the abandonment of any one of them then meant a postponing of all or most of the benefit that was expected to accrue from it. In this situation he tried to borrow from Peter to pay Paul, hoping that Peter would raise additional funds. The same kind of situation has turned pillars of society into scoundrels time and time again in American business history.

In the case of the River Roads, when the default occurred, Forbes and Griswold became interested in investigating the situation and soon found out the identity of the construction company's stockholders and the nature of the contracts. Forbes denounced Joy, and when the latter refused to assume personal responsibility to the C. B. & Q. investors for the interest in the River Road bonds—a procedure which would have been highly unusual—Forbes decided that Joy and certain other directors involved must be put off the C. B. & Q. board. Forbes succeeded in doing this in a proxy battle at the next stockholders' meeting and the River Roads passed ulti-

mately into the hands of the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul. This, in the long run, turned out to be a great mistake, as a decade later C. B. & Q. had to build a parallel line under less advantageous circumstances.

The quarrel was due to a conflict in sanctions based upon differences in situation. As one of Joy's followers in the matter, J. W. Brooks, a C. B. & Q. director who had had much experience in the West, put it, "Loosely as these things were done [branch-line contracts and construction in general] they as a whole have proved the salvation of the C. B. & Q. . . . we do not claim to be immaculate beyond expediency, but are content with right intentions and the good results obtained on the whole. . . ."[6]

Perhaps the above examples have demonstrated the difficulty in regarding any particular group of business leaders as "robber barons" without careful analysis of the situation involved, the popular and local codes of ethics, and the general pressure for "justification by profit" that ran all through American culture.

These illustrations have shown only limited aspects of entrepreneurial history. They have touched on, but not elaborated, the political science of the business corporation and the analysis of power within the corporation, showing only in the latter case that it is not easy to put one's finger on the exact location of control in any given instance. Real control over a situation may rest with some contractor or underling in the West, despite the façade of power in the eastern executive officers. Many other relations have not been brought out at all in these two accounts—for example, the relation of business roles to other social roles, which carries with it the discussion of the role of the business elite in relation to cultural leadership. Many railroad men, for example, were active leaders in national or state politics; others were patrons of the arts, or supporters of education. To what extent were these attitudes outgrowths of general social mores, to what extent did business sanctions indicate that these supplementary roles should be played, and to what extent were they peculiarities of the individuals?

Comparative studies need to be made of the place of entrepreneurship in varying national cultures. There seems little doubt that such

[6] John W. Brooks to James F. Joy, Mar. 11, 1875. Joy Collection, Michigan Historical Collections, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

studies will go further toward explaining the economic progress of different regions than will any assessment of potential natural resources. It is these cultural elements, to a very large extent, that determine who will become entrepreneurs (the quantity and quality of the supply of entrepreneurship), and also the likelihood of entrepreneurial success in various types of endeavor. A culture with feudal standards of lavish living or the support of elaborate ceremonial organizations of church and state will obviously not have the capital to invest in economic development that will be available in a culture where frugal living, saving, and work are the custom.

The resources in theory and scope of interest of all the social sciences may be applied more readily to historical problems in the study of special roles and functions, such as entrepreneurship, than in the general study of the enormous conventional fields of economic, social, political or intellectual history. To learn more about how human beings behave and have behaved in history, it is wise to start with a manageable and definable group of human beings performing certain functions, rather than with the activities of the society as a whole.

University of Pennsylvania THOMAS C. COCHRAN

The Working People of Philadelphia from Colonial Times to the General Strike of 1835

THE founding of Philadelphia in 1682 marks the close of British North American settlement in the seventeenth century. From its founding, ships had been built in the Quaker City for foreign orders, and the city early became a leading colonial commercial center. But, as elsewhere in the colonies, the manufacturers of Philadelphia had to await release from British mercantilist restrictions before they were able to develop in earnest.

The American Revolution provided this release, and from 1776 on, Philadelphia became one of the nation's industrial centers. Tench Coxe, speaking there in 1787 before the Friends of American Manufactures, listed in impressive array the county's products. Included were such diverse items as ships and malt liquor and distilled spirits, paper and its allied fields, meal, candles, soap, tobacco, cannon, muskets, anchors, nails, windsor chairs, ploughs and other farm implements, carriages, shoes, saddlery, boots, leather goods, hosiery and other wearing apparel, coarse linens and woolen and some cotton wares, and metal products ranging from gold to stone and copper.[1] To produce these items there existed in Philadelphia from the first days of the Republic a large number of people who were by occupation operatives in the mills. It is to these we now turn.

I

Philadelphia's Working People to the Depression of 1819-1822

Indentured servants were numerous in early Philadelphia; some 2,000 entered the city in the middle of 1709. Upon arrival and whenever their masters exchanged them, they were by law supposed to be

[1] Tench Coxe, *A View of the United States of America* (Philadelphia, 1794), 39.

registered before the mayor. Of almost 2,000 so registered in 1745 and 1746, over half had terms of four and five years.[2]

Adam Smith cited Philadelphia as one of three colonial centers where it was generally cheaper to hire a freeman than a slave. The colonial assembly in 1712, possibly influenced by an insurrection in New York, placed a high duty on Negroes, which crystallized increased opposition to slave competition in a 1722 resolve.[3] There was a protest in 1737 against the effects of Negro competition; as early as 1707 free mechanics had complained of the "Want of Employment, and Lowness of wages, occasioned by the Number of *Negroes* . . . hired out to work by the Day."[4]

Some time after 1700, the Common Council gave the cordwainers (shoemakers) and the tailors corporate privileges and formulated the policy of chartering other craft guilds for the sake of better public service. The best known guild in Philadelphia was probably the Carpenters' Company of Philadelphia, founded in 1724, with membership limited to masters of six years' standing.[5] Two secessions proved short-lived, and in 1792 the Company was incorporated. Its entrance fee was raised to $100, eldest sons of deceased members excepted. A book of prices was established; limited to the use of guild members, changes in it were made by a standing committee whose decisions were binding. Members of five years' standing could fix the prices of their work, but they were liable to expulsion if they did so without first being certified by the committee.[6] This guild system was also to be found in many of Philadelphia's seventeen fire companies on the eve of the Revolution—for example, the Cordwainers' Fire

[2] Benjamin Rush, *An Account of the Manners of the German Inhabitants of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1875), 10; "Register Before James Hamilton, Mayor," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, XXXII (1908), 358; *The Statutes at Large of Pennsylvania from 1682–1801* (Harrisburg, 1896–1911), IV, 170–171, 369–370.

[3] Adam Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, rev. ed. (London, 1904), I, 83; John F. Watson, ed., *Annals of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1857), I, 98; W. E. B. DuBois, *The Philadelphia Negro* (Philadelphia, 1899), 14–15.

[4] Quoted in Carl Bridenbaugh, *Cities in the Wilderness, The First Century of Urban Life in America, 1625–1742* (New York, 1938), 201.

[5] Richard B. Morris claims that there is no evidence to support the position of Ware and Harris that the company included from the start not only masters, but also journeymen. Morris, *Government and Labor in Early America* (New York, 1946), 142 (note); Norman J. Ware, *Labor in Modern Industrial Society* (New York, 1935); and Herbert Harris, *American Labor* (New Haven, Conn., 1938), 5 (note).

[6] Morris, 152.

Company, which was founded by thirty-nine master shoemakers, and which limited its membership to those who first served a regular apprenticeship.[7]

Such organized groups undertook positive action from time to time to protect their rights.

Although John R. Commons claims that the Philadelphia printers' strike of 1786 was the nation's first, this is questioned by Richard B. Morris, who cites a strike of New York's journeymen tailors in 1768. In 1779, too, there had been a strike of 150 mariners at the port of Philadelphia for higher wages. Charging riot rather than conspiracy, the Confederation had used federal troops to back up state authorities, who had the leaders of the strike arraigned before the magistrates.[8] The journeymen printers who went out on strike in 1786 were protesting a wage cut. They provided for what was probably the first strike benefit fund on record in the United States. Although permanent organization was delayed, the printers today have the oldest extant constitution of any American labor organization.[9] In 1791 the Federal Society of Journeymen Cordwainers of Philadelphia organized to protect themselves from "scab labor." They conducted at least three strikes by 1800, the first called by a bona fide union in our history. (Strikes before this had been spontaneous.) When the bootmakers walked out in sympathy, they were probably the first to go out on a sympathy strike. In 1794 the shoemakers compelled the employers to hire union members only. An unfriendly court witness complained:

> If I did not join the body no man would sit upon the seat where I worked, nor board or lodge in the same house, nor would they work at all for the same employer.[10]

When they went on strike in 1803, Philadelphia's journeymen curriers issued the following notice:

> *To the Journeymen Curriers of all Parts of the Union*
>
> Your brethren of Philadelphia take this method of informing you that they have turned out unanimously for higher prices—they therefore think, that, as they ask

[7] *Ibid.*, 142 (note).

[8] *Colonial Records* (Harrisburg, 1838–1853), XI, 664–665.

[9] Ethelbert Stewart, ed., *A Documentary History of the Early Organization of the Printers* (Indianapolis, Ind., 1907), 941–945.

[10] Quoted in John R. Commons, ed., *A Documentary History of American Industrial Society* (Cleveland, 1910), III, 294; hereafter cited as Commons.

no more than the prices established in New York, that their brethren of the trade will take no notice of any advertisements of the employers here to allure them to the city; more especially as the master curriers have entered into resolutions to lower the prices that have been current for twenty years past.[11]

Seven years later, striking printers of Philadelphia received a pledge from their brethren in New York not to accept their employers' enticements to take their jobs. A Philadelphia cordwainer was fined five dollars for contempt of court in 1806, when he arose during a trial and shouted, "A scab is a shelter for lice!"[12] When the employers replied by a lockout to a strike of the Federal Society of Philadelphia Cabinet-Makers in 1796, the latter issued the following call:

We hope and intreat that a union of the respective mechanical branches in this city, and throughout America, will immediately take place, in order to repel any attack . . . on societies of this description. . . . We feel that the united efforts of all the societies, must produce a more permanent establishment of the independence of each, than the individual exertion of a single one. Hasten, then, fellow citizen, to declare yourself ready at any time to assist one another, in a cause which will determine the independence of so useful a body as the working citizens of America.[13]

One of the first court cases in which the right of workers to combine was tested concerned the Philadelphia journeymen cordwainers' society. On November 1, 1805, a Quaker City grand jury indicted eight of the society's members on charges of combining and of conspiring to raise wages. The workers appealed to the public to join them in resisting the establishment of a precedent dangerous to all democratic movements;

under whatever pretences the thing is done, the name of freedom is but a shadow . . . if we are to be torn from our friends for endeavouring to obtain a fair and just support for our families, and if we are to be treated as felons and murderers only for asserting the right to take or refuse whatever we deem an adequate reward for our labor.[14]

The trial was of national importance because it became involved in the struggle between the Federalists and the Democrats over the former's control of the judiciary. Jared Ingersoll, a Federalist champion of the common law, represented the prosecution; Caesar A. Rodney, later to be Jefferson's Attorney-General, was retained by the

11 *Aurora* (Phila.), Nov. 9, 1803.
12 Commons, *et al.*, I, 110–111.
13 *Aurora*, Apr. 7, 1796.
14 *Aurora*, Nov. 28, 1805.

shoemakers. Rodney was a foe of the common law, which he regarded as an anachronism which should have been swept away with British tyranny.[15]

At least nine members of the jury came from groups in the population which could be expected to be unfriendly to the workers. The prosecution's choice for a first witness set the tone of its approach: he was Job Harrison, a self-confessed labor spy. Unless the union were crushed, the prosecution averred, industries would leave the city. Ingersoll asked the jury whether it was prepared to allow unions "composed of men who have been only a little time in your country" to exist rather than "submit to the laws of the country" which they were seeking to "alter according to their own whim. . . ."

Rodney, for the defense, observed that the employers were hiding behind the English Statute of Laborers of 1349, passed originally to halt the rise of wages that would have followed the Black Plague. Had the patriots of 1776 made their sacrifices to maintain such a law? he asked. As for the argument that unless the union were crushed businessmen would leave the city, Rodney said that, if it were not that it was false, it would be immaterial, for is not "the labourer surely worthy of sufficient honor to enable him to live comfortably?" In his concluding remarks, Rodney placed the question as follows:

> If you are desirous of introducing a spirit of inequality into our government and laws, if you think that the labourer and the journeyman enjoy too great a part of liberty . . . such disposition . . . will lead you to convict the defendants. If, on the other hand, . . . you are content with the blessings enjoyed under our Constitution which secures to the citizen an equality of rights which recognize no distinction of classes—I shall look for a verdict of acquittal.

Taking the former course, the jury set a precedent, declaring the workers "guilty of a combination to raise wages."[16]

One at least of the "working citizens" early appreciated the need for political action to supplement economic beliefs. Even before the Revolution, a Philadelphia mechanic wrote:

> It has been customary for a certain Company of leading Men to nominate persons, and to settle the ticket, for Assembly-men, Commissioners, Assessors, etc., without ever permitting the affirmative or negative voice of a Mechanic to interfere. . . .

[15] W. Nelles, "The First American Labor Case," *Yale Law Journal*, XLI (1931), 177.

[16] John R. Commons, *et al.*, *History of Labor in the United States* (New York, 1925–1936), III, 172 ff., hereafter cited as Commons, *et al.*; Nelles, 177.

This we have so tamely submitted to so long, that those Gentlemen make no Scruple to say, that the Mechanics . . . have no Right to *speak* or *think* for themselves. . . . I think it absolutely necessary that one or two Mechanics be elected to represent so large a Body of Inhabitants.[17]

In 1772, a "Patriotic Society," two years later to become the Mechanics' Association of Philadelphia, was formed to preserve "our just Rights and Privileges to us and our Posterity against every attempt to violate . . . the same, either here or on the other side of the Atlantic."[18]

Later, Pennsylvania's constitution made it one of the few states without property qualifications for voting. One Philadelphia mechanic urged his fellow workers to take advantage of this, declaiming that "all the miseries of mankind have arisen from freemen not maintaining and exercising their own sentiments. No reason can be given why a free people should not be equally *independent* in this, as in other respects, in their *political* as well as their religious persuasions."[19]

Evidently these words expressed the feelings of others, too, because artisan clubs were formed after the Revolution by the coopers, watchmakers, ropemakers, brickmakers, saddlers and cordwainers, among others. These clubs represented the artisans of Philadelphia during the processions held in that city in celebration of the adoption of the Constitution.[20] Philadelphia's mechanics later took a leading part in the formation of the Democratic Club which supported Jefferson, contributing half of the more than 200 club members.

17 *Pennsylvania Gazette* (Phila.), Sept. 27, 1770.

18 Philip Davidson, *Propaganda and the American Revolution, 1763–1783* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1941), 77–78.

In the summer of 1779, a Philadelphia public meeting elected a committee to enforce Pennsylvania's price-fixing law. At the meeting it was announced that the committee would retain its arms until its purpose was accomplished. Most merchants seem to have been cooperative. However, when Tom Paine and a Committee of Inspection confiscated one of his cargoes, Robert Morris protested that it was "inconsistent with the principles of liberty to prevent a man from the disposal of his property in such terms and for such considerations as he may think fit." Ellis P. Oberholtzer, *Robert Morris: Patriot and Financier* (New York, 1903), 52 ff. Contrariwise, the committee's view was that trade could regulate itself only when not "clogged with disease." Morris, 111. Significantly, it received an offer of armed support from the artillery company of Philadelphia, and announced its support of its counterparts in every state and county in the nation.

19 *Independent Gazetteer* (Phila.), Oct. 9, 1784.

20 Samuel Hazard, ed., *The Register of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1828–1835), I, 419–424.

With rights goes responsibility: during the War of 1812, the Philadelphia Typographical Society appropriated a day's labor from each of its members to help build fortifications in the city, and soon after voted to assist wives of members who were serving their country.[21]

II

Trade Unions in Philadelphia, 1822-1832

The depression of 1819–1822 tolled the death knell for most of the few unions which had survived adverse court decisions, blacklists, and fatal strikes. Then, late in March, 1823, the printers of New Orleans formed a union and initiated another period of growth for labor organizations. By 1827, it took a combination of employers threatening to halt construction for the season to break a strike of Boston's carpenters for a ten-hour day.[22]

Two months later, Philadelphia's carpenters also were striking for a ten-hour day. Complaining of suffering under a régime of excessively long hours which made them subject to nervous diseases, among others, a resolution unanimously passed by the journeymen carpenters at a meeting held on June 13 insisted that "all men have a just right . . . to have sufficient time in each day for the cultivation of their mind and for self-improvement. . . ." The master carpenters rejected this thesis, however, regretting "the formation of any society that has a tendency to subvert good order . . . ," and stating that "the present price per day given to Journeymen Carpenters . . . by their employers" did not permit of their hours of labor being shortened.[23]

Replying to the master carpenters in an appeal to the public, the journeymen argued that the masters exaggerated, even on their own reasoning, the amount of time lost by adoption of a ten-hour day, an amount which would disappear entirely when other factors than

21 *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, July 9, 1788; Charles A. Beard, *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States* (New York, 1913), 241, 244, 247; Eugene P. Link, *Democratic-Republican Societies, 1790–1800* (New York, 1942), 71–72.

22 Commons, VI, 76–77, 79–81. Commons points out that this strike was broken "not by the master carpenters, but by the employers of the masters, the capitalists, and merchants." *Ibid.*, VI, 23.

23 *Ibid.*, V, 75–80, 81.

hours alone were considered. They charged that their antagonists really feared being deprived "of the power they had hitherto had of employing a man during the summer, in the long days, and either discharging him in the winter, or reducing his wages." Concluding, they asked the public to "remember, we are men of like persons with yourselves, and say will you combine with employers to force us to be slaves."[24]

Once the strike started, a committee of twelve was authorized to negotiate with the masters, to accept jobs at reasonable pay when offered by individual citizens, and to handle strike relief. Meetings called by the journeymen house painters and glazers about this time may have been purposely planned to aid the carpenters. The bricklayers did join them by walking out for a ten-hour day. But the strike was lost for want of better organization and broader support.[25]

This strike had been inspired in part by an anonymous pamphlet calling upon the workers to fight for sufficient leisure to attain the knowledge necessary to put universal suffrage to use. To supplement pamphlets such as this, the *Mechanics' Free Press*, the oldest extant labor newspaper of the United States, was founded after the strike, and was soon followed by the organization of the Mechanics' Union of Trade Associations.

In the Mechanics' Union preamble,[26] the journeymen mechanics, conscious of their poor economic conditions and feeling unable to defend their families from evils resulting from an accumulation of wealth and power in the hands of a few, announced the Union's initiation. Pointing out that "those who labour, while acquiring to themselves thereby only a scanty and penurious support, . . . maintain in affluence and luxury the rich who never labour . . . ," they asked whether it was just that the wealth of the nation created by them should be "absorbed by the coffers of the unproductive. . . . The products of our labour may be accumulated by a few into vast pernicious masses, calculated to prepare the minds of the possessors for the exercise of lawless rule and despotism . . . and [to] fright away that shadow of freedom which still lingers among us."

[24] *Ibid.*, V, 82–83.

[25] *Ibid.*, V, 75.

[26] Its complete text, reprinted from the *Mechanics' Free Press* (Phila.), Oct. 25, 1828, is in Commons, V, 84–90.

Had God given them the power to create more than society could ever consume only to make existence a curse and a burden to them? Yet the day of emancipation was dawning, inasmuch as "whatever is conducive to the real prosperity of the greatest numbers, must in the nature of things conduce to the happiness of all. . . . If the mass of the people were enabled by their labour to procure . . . a full and abundant supply of the comforts and conveniences of life, the consumption of articles . . ." would double.

Of all fallacies, none was greater than that which maintained that society could benefit "by deprecating the value of human labour." Carried to its logical conclusion, this could but lead to the glutting of the world market and an overflowing of its products into the storehouses of the monopolizers. First to suffer from this process were the producing majority, who, "having no other resource for subsistence than what they derive from the miserable pittance, which they are compelled by competition to receive in exchange for their . . . labour, must first begin to . . . suffer under its . . . withering effects." But they will be rapidly joined in their misery by the "vendors of the products of human industry." Demand having plummeted with the real income of the majority of the population, "trade must in consequence languish, and losses and failures become the order of the day. At last, . . . [the capitalist's] capital . . . will become . . . unemployed and stagnant."

The Mechanics' Union, the preamble concluded, speaking for the fifteen founding member unions,[27] would seek to raise the level of the mechanics to the point "their practical skill and ingenuity, their immense utility to the nation and their growing intelligence are beginning to demand." It was prepared to co-operate with other groups to establish "a just balance of power . . . between all the various classes and individuals which constitute society at large."

Before a year had elapsed the Mechanics' Union had determined to take political action. With its formation of a Working Men's Party, its economic activities declined; only four unions were reported sending delegates to its final meeting.[28]

The Working Men's Party, at its first meeting on August 11, 1828, which all workingmen were invited to attend, adopted a preamble

[27] *Ibid.*, V, 76.
[28] *Ibid.*

and several resolutions.[29] Anticipating attacks, the preamble observed that pre-election public meetings had long been sanctioned; certainly the United States "particularly" would not deny one group what it granted another. ". . . Thoroughly convinced of their undoubted right so to do in such cases, the Mechanics and Working Men of the City and County of Philadelphia, are determined henceforth to take the management of their own interests, as a class, into their own immediate keeping. . . ."

To implement this intention, the meeting recommended that the workers support only such candidates for City Council and the Legislature who pledged, if elected, to advance the workers' interests. Four district meetings were to pick suitable candidates in nonpartisan fashion. It was suggested in one proposed resolution that only workers should sit as delegates to the district meetings.

Of the thirty-nine new party candidates, nineteen also ran on the Jackson ticket and ten on the Adams. Those who ran on the new party ticket alone polled from 239 to 539 votes, while those on the Democratic ticket received from 3,800 to 7,000 and the Administration men from 2,500 to 3,800 votes. "False, slanderous and malicious reports . . . circulated by our enemies" and "treasonable conduct . . . on the part of some of the workingmen's delegates" partly explained the low vote. Under the circumstances, the *Mechanics' Free Press* asked, "Who can say but we have achieved a triumph?"[30] For, while the Working Men's Party eschewed action in the national election, both congressional candidates publicly admitted "the justice of the working people's attempts to lessen the established hours of daily labour," and conspicuously displayed the slogan "From Six to Six." Both major parties had attached to their names, "The Working Men's Ticket."[31]

In the election of 1828, the new party had relied upon "Committees of Vigilance" set up by the county nominating conventions. After the election, ward and district clubs were organized to win votes for their candidates and to bring about a "general diffusion of constitutional, legal and political knowledge among the working

[29] Reprinted in *ibid.*, V, 91–92.
[30] *Ibid.*
[31] *Ibid.*, V, 77.

people."[32] Finally, in March, 1829, the Republican Political Association of the Working Men of the City of Philadelphia was organized to bring out the workers' votes in the fall elections.

At meetings, many of which produced warnings against fusion with any established party, the ward clubs elected delegates to city and county nominating conventions which picked the candidates. These latter were chosen before either of the old parties selected theirs in order to spike charges of fusion, and to emphasize the independence of the Working Men's Party. Of thirty-two of its city candidates, nine were later endorsed by the Federalists and three by the Democrats, while the Federalists also endorsed three of its county candidates. Despite both the lack of a secret ballot and threats of economic reprisals, the new party's city candidates averaged 800 votes and its county candidates, 1,600. Twenty of its fifty-four candidates were elected; fourteen of the fifteen endorsed by the two old parties won. The *Mechanics' Free Press* observed, "The balance of power has at length got into the hands of the working people, where it properly belongs. . . ."[33]

Before the election, the delegates of the new party sent those legislative candidates it endorsed a list of questions. One would have committed them to support the establishment of "an open school and competent teachers for every child in the state, from the lowest branch . . . to the lecture rooms of political science," with superintendents to be chosen by the people.[34]

Fifteen wards sent delegates to a City Convention to discuss issues and candidates for the next election. A disagreement arose on whether candidates should be limited to workers or extended to include "tried friends." In the meantime, the Democrats assailed the new party as being but a section of the Federalists; they organized a meeting of workingmen in the suburb of the Northern Liberties to denounce it. At the same time, the press called Frances Wright its ideological parent, a charge to which the new party issued a flat denial. But to no avail. The Democrats polled two thirds of the total vote. Yet, the Working Men's Party did increase its average by

[32] *Mechanics' Free Press*, Nov. 1, 1828, quoted in Philip S. Foner, *History of the Labor Movement in the United States* (New York, 1947), 128.

[33] Oct. 10, 1828, quoted in Foner, 128.

[34] Commons, V, 93.

about 300; its candidates received from 812 to 1,047 votes, and all eight of those also nominated by the Democrats were victorious. In the Northern Liberties, eight Labor candidates for county commissioner were elected.

In the elections of 1831, the Working Men's Party failed to elect any candidates. Those running for city office without endorsement by either major party received less than 400 votes each, although candidates for state assembly polled from 1,316 to 1,800 votes.[35] The party never again placed candidates in the field; among the reasons given for its decline were: (1) its discouragement over the static situation it was encountering in vote-getting[36]; (2) the dominating public interest during 1832 in questions of national politics[37]; and (3) the failure to unite the various political clubs which had sprung up throughout the state (notably in Lancaster and Carlisle) into a state-wide party.[38]

III

The City Central, 1833-1834

City centrals consisting of delegates from various craft unions were founded in many places throughout the United States during 1833. They gave member unions financial aid during strikes, sometimes using the boycott. Frequently, as in the assistance given in 1835 by the Newark Trades' Union to striking Philadelphia handloom weavers, they helped strikers in another city. Some started their own papers, while others supported friendly papers. Occasionally, they sent agents to organize new local unions which later joined them. One Philadelphia union organizer spoke of the city central "as a school in which every member has an opportunity of learning how to defend and protect his rights."[39]

Delegates from the factory districts around Philadelphia founded the Trades' Union of Pennsylvania in August, 1833, as a result of a call by the workers of Manayunk at the close of a public appeal. This

[35] *Ibid.*, V, 78.
[36] *Ibid.*
[37] *Ibid.*
[38] Foner, 129.
[39] *National Laborer* (N. Y.), Apr. 9, May 14, and June 25, 1836, in Foner, 112.

appeal[40] vividly described conditions in the factories. Working thirteen hours a day in the summer, in impure air, weakened the factory workers to such an extent that they were scarcely able to work.

> . . . But nevertheless work we must . . . or our families would soon be in a starving condition. . . . We cannot provide against sickness . . . for our present wants consume the little we receive, and when we are confined to bed any length of time, we are plunged into the deepest distress which often terminates in total ruin, poverty and pauperism. . . .

The maxim that the laborer was worthy of his hire was acknowledged in theory, yet in practice

> . . . our employers would wish to reduce our present wages twenty percent . . . [because] cotton has risen in value, but is it not a necessary consequence of the rise of cotton that cotton goods will rise also; and what matters it to us what the price of cotton is, our wants are as great when cotton is dear as they are when it is cheap. . . .

Whereas investigation had somewhat alleviated the deplorable plight of the children working in the English factories, the appeal of the Manayunk workers observed that nothing had been done for their children who were "oppressed as much as those in the English factories." Children who had to enter the factories at an early age were "reared in total ignorance of the world, and the consequence . . . is the inculcation of immoral and oftentimes vicious habits, which terminates in the disgrace of many . . . in the public prisons." If their fathers worked reasonable hours at decent wages, the children could be placed in a public school,

> . . . but situated as they are, and reared in ignorance, they are . . . made the tools of political as well as avaricious men, who lord it over them as does the southern planter over his slaves!

Of the women, no allowance was made "on the part of our employers, for their sex or age." Those grown to womanhood earned barely enough for their support.

Briefly, "it would be useless to point out in detail, all the injustices we suffer from an overbearing aristocracy," the appeal concluded. In a postscript, the Manayunk People's Committee expressed a desire "to hear from the different trades unions throughout the United States." This request led to the formation of the Trades' Union of Pennsylvania.[41]

[40] For its full text, see Commons, V, 331–334.

[41] Commons, *et al.*, I, 374.

William Gilmore, President of the Manayunk People's Committee, signed a call of the Trades' Union of Pennsylvania for a convention of farmers and factory workers to be held at the Philadelphia County Courthouse on December 9, 1833, to take measures to secure "a system of General Education—the ten-hour system of labor—and wages adequate to the labor done."[42] The convention was attended by delegates representing the house carpenters of Philadelphia and the manufacturing districts around the city. They appointed a committee of three to meet with representatives of the newly organized Mechanics' Union of Philadelphia to discuss the practicability of a merger. Since that is the last heard of the Trades' Union of Pennsylvania and since many of its leadership and membership are later found in the Mechanics' Union, the merger may well have taken place.[43]

The Mechanics' Union of Philadelphia was founded on November 14, 1833, by delegates representing the tailors, bookbinders, and cordwainers. By the new year its membership had grown from three societies to twelve, and by April, 1836, the original three societies representing 400 workers had been expanded to fifty, representing 10,000.

An address[44] signed by William C. Doores and William English, chairman and secretary respectively, announced to the public certain principles of the new organization.

> . . . That state of feebleness . . . that . . . suggested a union of the members of a trade into Societies, suggests also . . . a union of the Trades Societies, which should be carried into effect throughout the United States. The rights of each individual would then be sustained by every working man in the country whose aggregate wealth and power would be able to resist the most formidable oppression. . . . It is as degrading to endure evils which we are able to remedy, as it is honorable to prevent them. . . . [The] American spirit . . . resists oppression.

A meeting held on March 11, 1834, formally settled the organization of the Mechanics' Union. George MacFarlane was elected president and William English, secretary. Originating from the more skilled trades, it later included factory workers' societies. "If he is a workingman in favor of the emancipation of all who labor from the thraldom of monied capital, he is welcome to our ranks. We ask

[42] Commons, V, 334.
[43] Commons, *et al.*, I, 375.
[44] Text in Commons, V, 339–341.

no qualification of birth or parentage . . . to gain admission among us."[45]

The Mechanics' Union started in 1834 a newspaper called the *Trades' Union*. Unfortunately, reports of the Mechanics' Union's proceedings are not at present extant. It was the cordwainers, evidently its most active members, who set in motion the series of events culminating in the General Strike of 1835.[46]

IV

The General Strike of 1835

Shortly after its formation in 1834, the National Trades' Union had proposed that the city centrals use the general strike whenever employers united to resist their demands. However, the impulse for the Philadelphia General Strike seems to have come in large part from the Boston Carpenters' Strike of 1835. When the carpenters, joined by the masons and stonecutters, went out on strike for the ten-hour day, they took the conduct of the strike out of the hands of the small employers, choosing Seth Luther and two other workers as leaders. They appointed a traveling committee and issued a circular explaining their demands and asking for assistance.[47] Despite the defeat of the strike, the Boston Circular, reprinted and spread broadcast in Philadelphia, proved decisive there. John Ferral, a Philadelphia labor leader, observed that "the movements of the useful classes here, are mainly to be attributed to the circular."[48]

"We cannot, we will not, longer be mere slaves to inhuman, insatiable, and impitying avarice," that document proclaimed.[49] "We have taken a firm and decided stand, to obtain the acknowledgment of those rights to enable us to perform . . . [our] duties to God, our country, and ourselves." Their employers were themselves "slaves to the capitalists as we are to them." But the worker had no desire to

45 *National Laborer*, Apr. 2, 20, and 23, May 21 and Nov. 5, 1836, in Foner, 112.

46 Commons, V, 326.

47 For the Boston strike, see *ibid.*, VI, 73 ff.

48 From a letter from Ferral to Luther, in Commons, VI, 39. The letter is reprinted in *ibid.*, VI, 39–43, from *The Man* (N. Y.), June 29, 1835. It is significantly dated "6 Mo., 22d., Ind. 49."

49 The Circular is printed in Commons, VI, 94–99, prefaced by the following notation: "This was the circular which was republished in Philadelphia and inspired there the General Strike for ten hours."

be the "servant of servants." "They threaten to starve us into submission to their will. Starve us to prevent us from getting drunk!" (One of the arguments of their employers against the ten-hour day was that it would lead to increased drunkenness.) The mechanics were willing enough to do their part of the social services if they were treated as human beings and not beasts of burden. "We claim by the blood of our fathers, shed on our battlefields in the War of the Revolution, the rights of American Freemen. . . ."

Announcing that the time had come "to enroll your names on the scroll of history as the undaunted enemies of oppression . . . ," the Boston carpenters pointed out to their "Brethren in the City, Town, and Country, our cause is yours, the cause of Liberty, the cause of God." One Boston worker gave, during the strike, as accurate a précis as exists of the circular. "By the old system we have no time for mental cultivation—and that is the policy of the big bugs—they endeavor to keep people ignorant by keeping them always at work."[50] William Thompson, President of the Carpenter's Society of Philadelphia, told Seth Luther that "the carpenters considered the Boston circular had broken their shackles, loosened their chains, and made them free from the galling yoke of excessive labor."[51]

The first in Philadelphia to follow in the footsteps of the Boston carpenters were the unskilled Irish workers on the Schuylkill River coal docks. Demanding higher wages and a ten-hour day, they apparently took active measures to prevent their jobs being taken by nonstrikers. "Three hundred of them headed by a man armed with a sword, paraded along the Canal, threatening death to those who unload or transfer the cargoes to the 75 vessels waiting in the river."[52] Shortly after the strike began, the Boston Circular reached Philadelphia. John Ferral described its effect as "electric." It became the most widely discussed topic at union meetings. A rally was held, under its influence, to support the coal heavers and to endorse the ten-hour-day principle.[53]

The house painters went on strike, denouncing the "present system of labor as oppressive and unjust—destructive of social happiness,

50 *Boston Post*, Apr. 17, 1835, in Foner, 116 (note).

51 Seth Luther, *An Address delivered before the Mechanics and Working-Men of the City of Brooklyn on the Celebration of the Sixtieth Anniversary of American Independence* (Brooklyn, 1836), in Foner, 116 (note).

52 *Pennsylvanian* (Phila.), Aug. 8, 1835, in Commons, *et al.*, I, 417.

53 *Pennsylvanian*, June 4, 1835, in *ibid.*, I, 390.

and degrading to the name of freemen,"[54] and they were followed by bricklayers, masons, carpenters, plasterers, hod carriers, blacksmiths, plumbers and leather curriers. The cordwainers, already striking for higher piece rates, now joined the ten-hour movement, arguing that the higher wages would permit them to work shorter hours. The printers, followed by the auger makers and the saddlers, who were piece workers like the cordwainers; the drygoods stores' clerks, who wanted closings at early candlelight; the bakers, who wanted no baking Saturday night and Sunday; and, lastly, the city employees, joined the strike for a ten-hour day.

A parade was organized by the carpenters, cordwainers, and others. The societies were preceded by a fife and drum corps, holding aloft banners which proclaimed, "From 6 to 6, ten hours work and two hours for meals."[55] John Ferral told how the parade marched "to the public works, and the workmen joined with us; when the procession passed, employment ceased, business was at a standstill; . . . aprons on, working tools in hand were the orders of the day."[56]

One of the largest meetings held up to that time in Philadelphia was organized by a group of citizens, among whom professional people were most prominent. At this meeting John Ferral urged that, besides supporting the striking coal heavers, those present should give their patronage to a merchant who had already granted the ten-hour day and should initiate a boycott against all merchants who failed to follow suit.[57]

Shortly after the public workers quit work, the common council announced that "the hours of labour of the workingmen employed under the authorities of the City Corporation shall be from 'Six to Six' during the summer season, allowing one hour for breakfast, and one for dinner," and the commissioners of suburban Southwark added to the ten-hour day a twelve-and-a-half-cent increase in the daily wage.[58] The employer press complained, "What we object to is

54 *Proceedings of the Government and Citizens of Philadelphia on the Reduction of the Hours of Labor, and Increase of Wages* (Boston, 1835), in Foner, 117.

55 Commons, *et al.*, I, 390–391.

56 Commons, VI, 41–42.

57 A report of the meeting is printed in *ibid.*, VI, 44–46.

58 *Journal of Commerce* (N. Y.), June 8, 1835, in Commons, *et al.*, I, 391; *Proceedings of the Government and Citizens of Philadelphia* . . . , in Foner, 118; *Pennsylvanian*, June 8, 1835, in Commons, *et al.*, I, 391.

not the thing sought . . . but the means of attaining it. . . ." On June 8, the master carpenters granted a ten-hour day to the journeymen, and three days later the master cordwainers increased their journeymen's wages. The strike was won.[59]

By June 22, less than three weeks after the coal heavers had gone on strike, the ten-hour day and a corresponding increase in wages had been granted throughout the city. John Ferral wrote Seth Luther that "The Mechanics of Philadelphia . . . conquered, because they were united and resolute in their actions." He promised that the Mechanics' Union would celebrate Independence Day both with an oration by "a hard-handed mechanic, that we may keep clear of party and profession," and also by raising heartfelt thanks to the Boston workingmen for the Circular "which called forth the energies of the working men of Philadelphia, and knit them together in brotherly feelings, by which they attained their just object."[60]

The victory so speedily won was given great publicity. Carried by the labor press as far south as the Carolinas, a wave of largely successful strikes followed in its train. Towns like New Brunswick and Paterson, New Jersey, Batavia and Seneca Falls, New York, Hartford, Connecticut, and Salem, Massachusetts, were engulfed by strikes for a ten-hour day. By the end of 1835, most mechanics in Newark, New Jersey, and Albany, Troy, and Schenectady, New York, were working a ten-hour day, although there is no evidence of strikes that year in those places. "At the close of the year 1835, excluding Boston, . . . ten hours became the standard day's work for most of the city mechanics who worked by the day."[61]

The Philadelphia General Strike had given the fight for the ten-hour day its greatest push. Thence it became an integral part of the working class movements of Europe. It seems a fitting point, therefore, at which to bring to a close this essay into the early history of Philadelphia's working people.

Harrisburg, Pa. LEONARD BERNSTEIN

[59] *Journal of Commerce*, June 8, 1835, in *ibid.*, I, 392; Commons, VI, 27.
[60] Letter from Ferral to Luther, in Commons, VI, 41–43.
[61] *Ibid.*, VI, 254–255; and Commons, *et al.*, I, 393.

Robert Morris and John Jay on Education: Two Letters

In October of 1781, Robert Morris decided to send his two eldest boys abroad for the completion of their schooling. "The Interuption given to the Progress of Learning, the Distresses which the several Seminaries in this Country, have undergone, the various lucrative Employments, to which the Masters, and Tutors, have been invited, in the Progress of the present War; [he wrote to Benjamin Franklin] are Circumstances, which operate powerfully to the Disadvantage, of the present race of American Youth, and which have induced me, to take the Determination, of Educating my two Eldest Sons, Robert and Thomas, in Europe."[1]

Robert Morris Jr., was then not quite twelve and Thomas still four months short of eleven.[2] They were entrusted to the care of Matthew Ridley, an intimate business associate of their father and member of the Baltimore firm of Ridley and Pringle, who was about to set out for Europe and had offered his services as guardian. Morris secured passage for them aboard a departing French frigate from the Comte de Grasse's squadron then harbored in Chesapeake Bay,[3] and the party of three sailed on November first.[4]

[1] Robert Morris to Benjamin Franklin, Philadelphia, Oct. 14, 1781, Papers of Benjamin Franklin, Vol. XXIII, No. 13, American Philosophical Society, hereafter cited as Franklin Papers.

[2] Robert Morris, Jr., was born in Philadelphia on Dec. 19, 1769. Thomas Morris was born in the same city on Feb. 27, 1771. William F. Boogher, ed., *Miscellaneous Americana, A Collection of History, Biography and Genealogy* (Philadelphia, 1895), 37 (note), 38 (note).

[3] Morris enlisted the good offices of the Chevalier de Chastellux and the Comte de Rochambeau in obtaining this favor from de Grasse, to whom he had previously written on the matter. He stressed, in these letters, the reciprocal advantages to both countries from international friendships formed in youth. Draft of letter from Robert Morris to Chevalier de Chastellux, Philadelphia, Oct. 18, 1781; draft of letter from Robert Morris to Comte de Rochambeau, Philadelphia, Oct. 18, 1781, Papers of Robert Morris, Ac. 1805, Library of Congress; hereafter cited as Morris Papers.

[4] Comte de Grasse to Robert Morris, Chesapeake Bay, Nov. 1, 1781, Morris Papers.

Ridley was to be guided in his arrangements by a long letter from Morris, describing in detail the kind of training he wished his sons to have. It is a revealing exposition of the educational views of the great financier, and appears to have been unavailable to Ellis P. Oberholtzer, for it is not cited in his *Robert Morris: Patriot and Financier*.[5] In the following draft of this letter, the insertions enclosed in brackets (mine) are in the unmistakable handwriting of Gouverneur Morris, who served not only as Assistant Superintendent of Finance, but as assistant in many private matters as well.

Robert Morris to Matthew Ridley[6]

Philad^a October 14, 1781

Dear Sir

Having long meditated and finally concluded, on, sending my Two Eldest Sons to Europe for their Education, you must naturally suppose that I esteem your offer to take charge of them on the passage and untill placed under proper Tutors & Guardians at the Schools where they are to be Educated, in the most Friendly light. I fear you will bring upon yourself thereby a scene of Trouble which I should never have thought of involving you in, but, as I have a proper Value for your Friendship and feel myself justified in accepting this offer, by the reciprocal disposition to render you agreeable Services, I shall only observe that the Confidence I place will prove my good opinion of your temper Tenderness & attachment, for be assured I woud not commit them to any man (as I do to you) if I did not believe he would treat them with that good natured attention, which Friendship would dictate & their infant years require. Under these Ideas my Sons Robert & Thomas are to depart with you from this City for the Chesapeak in order to take passage onboard one of His Most Christ^n Majestys Ships of War for France where I hope you may soon & safely arrive, but shoud it happen otherwise and you shou'd be Compelled to Visit any of the British Territories in your way, I enclose herein a list of some of my former Correspondants at different places who I flatter myself will on such an Occasion if necessary advance so much Money as will enable you to maintain my

[5] Ellis P. Oberholtzer, *Robert Morris: Patriot and Financier* (New York, 1903).

[6] Draft of letter from Robert Morris to Matthew Ridley, Oct. 14, 1781, Morris Papers.

Sons untill you can get them to France, or in case of long detention to place them at School & but discarding this Idea of Capture I will suppose you safely landed in France and that you proceed immediately to Paris.

You will then take my Boys to pay their respects to Doctor Franklin and deliver him the enclosed letter,[7] which being left open for your perusal I need not repeat the Contents. I hope & believe the Doctor will assist you to determine on the best Schools for Educating them and assist you in placing them there on the most advantageous & agreable terms, indeed I have not a doubt but he will shew them every Mark of regard which their situation and years require—I also deliver you another letter directed to Messrs Le Couteulx & Co Bankers in Paris. I hold these Gentlemen in great estimation and Consider them as of the greatest solidity, and as the Boys are to be supplied with Money through their channell I woud choose they shoud pay their Compliments to them. I make no doubt but Messrs Le Couteulx & Co will give every facility in their power to the measures necessary to be taken during their residence in Europe, but if you find they are not so disposed you will drop me a line, because if the part allotted to them is not agreeable I would by no means desire them to act longer than I can fix on a Banker who woud have no objection to it—You will remember that it was my first design to place these Boys at Geneva where (as Books & Men inform us) there are most of learning and it is owing entirely to an account of some late disturbances at that place, that I have been led to think of any other, but doubts being once started, fancy pursues new objects, and therefore it is that I request of Doct^{r} Franklin & yourself to Consult whether that or any other place is best Calculated for the Education of my Sons. I rest the determination on him & you.[8]

My Sons have for some time past been reading Latin, but as they have already been under different Tutors, their progress has been Retarded, and so it will by every change; however I want them to be well grounded in the learned languages. Their writing has been much Neglected at the grammar Schools, and I could wish a proper portion

[7] Morris to Franklin, Philadelphia, Oct. 14, 1781, Franklin Papers. Morris also wrote to John Jay about his sons' projected voyage. Oberholtzer, 263–264.

[8] Lined out in the original copy: "but if you have opportunity of Consulting Mr Deane or Doct^{r} Bancroft or any other persons of Experience you may benefit of their observations & information."

of time were allotted to their improvement in this Art, under a Master capable of forming their hands in the English manner of writing which is most used in this Country. I would also choose that they should be supplied from time to time with English Books suited to their age & genius, so that they may be tempted to read and Retain the knowledge of their Native Language. They will of necessity learn French practically, they must also be taught [it] gramatically. [I wish them also to learn such] other of the living languages, [as] they [may] discover a facility in acquiring or are led to by inclination, taste or accident. I esteem the Mathematics a most essential part of Education and think they cannot be too well grounded therein Indeed it is necessary that Youth should be instructed in every Science, in order that they may discover to their Tutors or what is of infinitely more consequence, to themselves the bent of their own Genius & be able to indulge its pursuits. Attention should be paid to the Books they read, such as excite an avidity to read are perhaps the properest to begin with and when once the habit of reading is acquired, they may be directed to Authors best calculated to instruct their understanding & form their Taste.[9] These young Gent[n] are expected to pass their days in America under Republican Governments, where, if their Education, Genius & abilities, support other Circumstances, they may probably be of some Political Consequence, the oldest of them, I am enclined to place in a Mercantile character but in my humble opinion a liberal & well grounded Education is as necessary to this as to any other & particularly in a Country where that very Character has a tendancy to lead a Man into the Senate & a liberal Education has its use in every Station of Life and I am very anxious that my Boys shoud learn every thing that can possibly be useful to them. The second Master Thomas I intend for the Study & practice of the Law, provided he discovers as he grows up, Talents to promise Success his reading [therefore] may be directed [with great Propriety to the Law of Nature and Nations a Science which I would wish his elder Brother to be by no Means unacquainted with.]

From what I have said you will perceive my Strong desire to have these Boys well grounded in every branch of learning. The Polite

[9] Lined out in the original copy: "History must ever be agreable, the Law of Nations, Civil Law The."

accomplishments must not be neglected, they must learn to dance, Fence & Ride Gracefully.[10] But above all things, altho mentioned the last, it is first in my Mind, let them be placed under the [Superintendence] and direction of some person [who] will take care of their Morals. They are very good & tractable Boys, already well grounded in good principles as far as their tender years can have received Impressions. I hope their Guardian will attend to their behavior & Conduct always teaching them the advantages of honesty & the sweets of Integrity, the gratifications resulting from a Conduct inspired & guided on every occasion by a pointed & high sense of Honour and the internal peace & satisfaction that must ever result from a rigid adherence to the principles of Justice, softened only in such instances as a generous Temper a beneficent Soul or a Humane disposition cannot resist.

I think it of infinitely more Consequence that they shoud be good Men, than learned or great Men and therefore I shall feel myself under infinite obligations to those who form their Virtues, at the same time that they are requiring knowledge and on this Account I prefer Geneva where as I am told, the Manners of the People are favourable to the practice of Virtue, and being a republic, I should suppose the Stile of living may partake of that plainness & simplicity best adapted to such Governments—The more plain & Simple the food of Youth the better, their cloaths & stile of living should accord entirely to that of the general run of Boys at the same Schools, and their allowance of Pocket Money as well. other expenses must be regulated by the same Rule. Nothing limits a generous Spirit more than finding itself bounded within Narrower limits than its associates and nothing is more pernicious than to breed Youth up in profuseness & extravagance I shall be very thankful if you will arrange this matter of Expense on the proper footing empowering the person under whose immediate care you place the Boys to draw on Monsr Le Couteulx & Co for the Money as wanted and administer it to the relief of their Necessities in proper time & proportion—informing said Bankers & myself of all that you do in this respect and you will be kind enough to inform me also of what may probably be the Annual Expence I hope the Gent^{n} [who] undertakes the care of the

[10] Lined out in the original copy: "Should they have Talents or Taste for Music I have no objection to their pursuing it as Gentlemen."

Boys will write me Monthly or quarterly an account of their behaviour & [illegible] [together with] such information as he may think necessary & also make them write that he may enclose their letters, which may be forwarded to the care of our Minister at the Court of France, to Messrs Jon^{n} Nesbitt & Co at L'orient, Messrs Patrick [illegible] Nephew & Co at [illegible] Messrs Wallace Johnson & Muir at Nantes Messrs Harrison & Co at Cadiz or to yourself to be forwarded to me.

The Expences you will have occasion to pay for these Boys from their arrival in France untill you fix them at School Messrs Le Couteulx & Co will answer your drafts to the am^{t} and for those you pay in America please to draw on me. I deliver you herewith forty Guineas—to be applied to the use of the Boys when you shall find it most necessary perhaps this had best be kept on hand for fear of Capture, it may be useful in that case, & if you arrive safe it will apply well in France—Whatever I have omitted to write on this Occasion your Friendly attention will supply, and with the most ardent Wishes for your Safe arrival & Successfull accomplishment of your own plans & Views

I remain with affection
& Esteem Dr Sir
Your Sincere Friend
RM

Mathew Ridley Esqr

A personal misunderstanding, apparently due to unfounded suspicions on Ridley's part, created strained relations between him and Franklin,[11] but the boys were well provided for. During most of 1782 they were enrolled in a school near Passy and dined every Sunday with Franklin, from whom Morris received brief, but encouraging reports.[12]

They were also frequently entertained by the John Jays in Paris. The following letter about them from Jay to Morris contains a spirited defense of American education as compared with European.

11 Diary of Benjamin Franklin, Jan. 1–3, 1782, Papers of Benjamin Franklin, Library of Congress.

12 Benjamin Franklin to Robert Morris, Passy, Mar. 7, 1782, Apr. 8, 1782, Aug. 12, 1782, in Albert Henry Smith, ed., *The Writings of Benjamin Franklin* (New York, 1906), VIII, 397, 423, 584.

John Jay to Robert Morris[13]

Paris 13 Octr 1782

My dear Sir

Wherever and however occupied, I remember my Friends, and always find my own Satisfaction promoted, when I have Reason to think that I am conducing to their's—This has led me to make you Sons the Subject of this Letter—It is an interesting one to you, & therefore not indifferent to me—

On my arrival here I found them plac'd in a Pension at Passey—My Nephew & Daughter were ill with a hooping-Cough & lest your sons sh^d catch it, we denied ourselves the pleasure of having them with us, till after that obstacle had ceased. I have frequently seen them at Doct^r Franklin's as well as at my own House—they had promised to dine with us every Wednesday but Mr Ridley prolong'd it to every other Wednesday. They are fine Boys & appear to possess a full share of natural Talents. I am told that they have made a Progress in French proportionate to the Time they have been learning it—Of this I am not an adequate Judge myself, & therefore must depend on the Judgment of others—The Pension at which they are has been so far well enough—but I think with Mr Ridley that a better is to be wish'd for, & to be sought—He is at present making the necessary Inquiries, & I have every Reason to believe that the trust you have reposed in him will be conscienciously & faithfully executed.

Mr Ridley finds it difficult to decide on the Expediency of carrying them to Geneva, & from what I have heard, I think he has Reasons to entertain Doubts on that Head; as I have no materials to judge from, but the Report of others, & those perhaps not altogether well founded, it is difficult for me to form a decided opinion on the Subject —I can only say that I have heard more against, than for it

My opinion may perhaps seem singular & the more so as it cannot properly be explain'd in the Compass of a letter—but I think the Youth of every *free* civilized Country should, if possible, be educated in it; & not permitted to travel out of it, 'till age has made them so cool & firm, as to retain their National & moral Impressions—Connections founded at School & College have much influence, and are to be watched even at that Period—If judiciously formed, they will often endure and be advantageous thro' Life—American Youth may

[13] John Jay to Robert Morris, Paris, Oct. 13, 1782, Morris Papers. Mrs. John Jay also wrote well of the boys to Mrs. Robert Morris, Paris, Nov. 14, 1782, in Boogher, 37–38.

possibly form proper & perhaps useful Friendships in European Semenaries, but I think not so *probably* as among their Fellow Citizens, with whom they are to grow up, whom it will be useful for them to know, and be early known to, & with whom they are to be engaged in the business of active Life; and under the Eye and Direction of Parents, whose Advice Authority & Example are frequently of more worth, than the Lessons of hireling Professors, particularly on the Subjects of Religion Morality Virtue & Prudence—

I fear that the Ideas which my Countrymen in general conceive of Europe are in many Respects rather too high—If we sh^{d} ever meet again you shall know my sentiments very fully on this Head—

But your Sons are here & what is to be done? Mr Ridley is about doing what I think with him is the best thing that can at present be don Viz. to put them in one of the best Pensions that can be found, & to give them the Advantage of such extra Tutors as may be requisite—

Perhaps further Information may place Geneva in a more favorable Light—You shall have frequent Letters from me on this Subject, and while I remain here, you may be assured of my constant Attention to those promising Boys—

Be pleased to present our Comp^{ts} & best Wishes to Mrs Morris

I am dear Sir with sincere Esteem & Regard

Y^{r} aff^{te} Friend & Servt
John Jay

The Hon'ble Robt Morris Esqr

Whatever the force of Jay's observations, they did not apply to Robert Morris' own sons. Robert, Jr., and Thomas apparently profited from their European education, the last part of which included two years at the University of Leipzig. Upon their return home in the spring of 1788, they both read law with Richard Harrison of New York City and eventually became successful lawyers. Morris' three younger sons, William, Charles, and Henry, were educated at the University of Pennsylvania. William and Charles developed "wild and idle habits," and little seems to be known of the career of Henry.[14]

State Teachers College,
Plattsburgh, N. Y.

MAX M. MINTZ

[14] Oberholtzer, 264–270; Boogher, 37 (note), 38 (note).

The Letters of Captain Nicholas Biddle

"AND a mighty precious volume it is, too," the late Gaillard Hunt, Chief of the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress, wrote, in June, 1916, with a historian's appreciation, of a collection of letters and papers relating to Captain Nicholas Biddle, of the Continental Navy.[1]

The volume proved not only a precious one, but an elusive one as well. Brief quotations from a few of the letters contained in it—just enough to whet the appetite for more—were used in a short article about Captain Biddle, published in U. S. Naval Institute *Proceedings*, in September, 1917. The author, the late Edward Biddle, was a collateral descendant of the gallant and ill-fated naval officer, who perished with 300 of his crew, when his 36-gun frigate *Randolph* blew up in an engagement with a British 64-gun ship of the line. Edward Biddle concluded his article with a promise of a future one, using more of the Captain's letters.[2] It never materialized. The years passed; Edward Biddle died, and the volume vanished.

Ten years or more ago, in planning a full-length biography of Captain Nicholas Biddle, this writer precipitated a search within the family for the letters. This effort disclosed that, in 1913 and 1914, Edward Biddle and his cousin Charles Biddle had presented the public papers of Nicholas Biddle, the banker, a nephew of Captain Nicholas Biddle, to the Library of Congress. In appreciation of this gift, the Library repaired, arranged, and bound all other family papers and returned them, in July, 1916, to Edward and Charles Biddle.[3]

1 Gaillard Hunt to Edward Biddle, June 30, 1916. Copy in possession of the editor.

2 Edward Biddle, "Captain Nicholas Biddle (Continental Navy)," U. S. Naval Institute *Proceedings*, No. 175 (Annapolis, 1917): "At some future time the writer may develop the subject from the correspondence adverted to."

3 Gaillard Hunt to Edward Biddle, July 18, 1916; J. Franklin Jameson to Winthrop L. Biddle, May 22, 1933. Copies in possession of the editor.

The family search, in 1938, located the whereabouts of all the volumes so returned—except one, and that, of course, was the "precious volume," as designated by Gaillard Hunt. There were many possibilities. It might have been deposited with a historical society or a library. It might have been given to a distant relative. Or it might even have been returned to the Library of Congress. Inquiries of likely depositories, however, invariably drew a blank. Sporadically, thereafter, the hunt continued, but without success.

Then, in the fall of 1948, the volume was found. It had lain in an old sea chest in a bank vault, concealed beneath an assortment of family miniatures and mementoes, which had been put aside as of little value when Edward Biddle's estate was being settled in 1933. Through the courtesy of Nicholas Biddle, an executor of the estate, this "precious volume" was deposited with The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, where it can now be consulted and will no longer be imperiled by loss or mislaying.

By a letter written in 1880, and inserted almost as an introduction to the volume, it is evident that these letters and papers narrowly missed destruction and were lost for many long years before they returned to the custody of the Biddle family. From endorsements upon some of the papers, it seems likely that Captain Biddle's oldest brother, James, collected them from various members of the family some years after the loss of the *Randolph*. His intent was to prepare a biography of his brother and two rough drafts were partially completed.[4]

An article about Captain Nicholas Biddle, written presumably by his nephew, Nicholas Biddle, the banker, was published anonymously in the *Port Folio* in October, 1809.[5] This memorial, however, shows no indication that the letters collected by James Biddle had been consulted. The *Port Folio* biography dwells more upon the events of Nicholas Biddle's life shared with his brother Charles, or imparted by him to Charles when they spent some months together in Charleston, South Carolina, in 1777 and 1778. As for the biographical notes on his brother's career gathered by Charles himself,

[4] "Memor[l] from Brother Nich[s] Letters," Nicholas Biddle Papers, Edward Biddle estate; hereafter cited as Nicholas Biddle Papers.

[5] "Biographical Memoirs of the Late Captain Nicholas Biddle," *Port Folio*, October, 1809; hereafter cited simply as *Port Folio*.

these also fail to disclose knowledge of the letters.[6] Apparently James Biddle, who died in 1797, had left the letters and papers in custody of his son, Marks John Biddle, who, as Prothonotary of Berks County, filed them for safekeeping in the courthouse at Reading subsequent to 1817. There they remained forgotten for close upon three quarters of a century.

Then, in 1880, a historically minded gentleman with "antiquarian tastes," the late Louis Richards of Reading, Pennsylvania, secured permission to examine "some old and dusty papers which had lain deposited for perhaps forty years past in a sort of rubbish room adjoining the main entrance of our [Berks] County Court House." Some months before, Mr. Richards had been introduced at The Historical Society of Pennsylvania to Craig Biddle, a member of the Society and much interested, as a vice-president, in its activities. Hence, when a small package of papers picked out of the pile in the rubbish room disclosed letters written by Captain Nicholas Biddle, Mr. Richards thought of his recent acquaintance, and wrote him of the find.[7] Craig Biddle expressed an immediate desire for the papers, and they were sent to him on December 24, 1880, Mr. Richards forwarding them "with the Compliments of the season."[8]

Back again as a Christmas present in the possession of the family, the letters remained untouched and forgotten until Gaillard Hunt assorted and bound them into that "precious volume," and sent them to Craig Biddle's nephew, Edward, in 1916.

The letters and papers in this volume fall into two periods. The first comprises twelve letters (1771–1774) written by young Biddle to his sister, Lydia McFunn; his sister-in-law, Frances Biddle; his brothers, James and Charles; and three autograph drafts of business letters written in 1771. They embrace the time during which he served as a midshipman in the British Navy and as a coxswain in Captain John Constantine Phipps's polar expedition, and a brief period following his return to America.

In these letters are interesting pen pictures of life afloat in George III's ships of war prior to the American Revolution. One contains a

6 Biographical notes on Nicholas Biddle, Charles Biddle's Letter Book, The Historical Society of Pennsylvania (HSP).

7 Louis Richards to Craig Biddle, Dec. 21, 1880, Nicholas Biddle Papers.

8 Richards to Biddle, Dec. 24, 1880, *ibid.*

paragraph describing his first contact with Benjamin Franklin; contemporary veneration and respect for the wisdom of "Poor Richard" are evidenced in every word of Biddle's brief account of this meeting. Several letters tell of his regard for Captain Walter Stirling, under whom he served for fifteen months, and whose elopement from Philadelphia years before with an heiress of the Willing family had been an exciting romance of colonial Pennsylvania. To his sister Lydia, his letters were bantering, jocular, and, as he admitted, occasionally filled with nonsense. In several, however, even while humorously styled, he passed along little items of London life in that period just before New Englanders upset tea in Boston harbor and tranquillity in Great Britain. To James, who financed his journey abroad and upon whom he drew not infrequently when short of funds, Nicholas's letters were serious and informative. He confided his hopes and aspirations, asked advice on numerous problems, and expressed always a high esteem for the then male head of the Biddle family. To Charles, who was only a few years his senior, he wrote chatty letters, dwelling upon subjects in which they had common interests.

The second, and by far the largest, group of letters represents one of the most important contributions to Revolutionary naval history that has become available to historians for a number of years. Biddle's six letters to his sister and brothers during the period he commanded the brig *Andrew Doria* in Esek Hopkins's first Continental fleet in 1776, are illuminating disclosures of the inept and inefficient operations of the Commodore whom Congress subsequently removed from command.

One of the letters clearly disproves Hopkins's claim that his crews were sickly before they left the Delaware Capes. Another comments on some of the captains of the fleet, showing, in the light of their subsequent conduct, that Biddle had keen powers of discernment. Three months before a court-martial dismissed John Hazard from the Navy, Nicholas had termed him an ignorant man of low cunning.[9] Three years before Dudley Saltonstall sulked while his reputa-

[9] Biddle was a member of a court-martial which sat on the *Alfred* at Providence, May 8, 1776, and convicted John Hazard on four counts—two of breach of orders, one of embezzlement, and one of neglect of duty. Papers of the Continental Congress, No. 58, 263, Library of Congress (LC).

tion went by the board in the Penobscot campaign, Biddle had characterized him as an "indefatigable morose man."[10]

In a jocular epistle to his sister Lydia, he throws new light on the episode of the capture of a deserter at Lewes, Delaware, an adventure described in the *Port Folio* biography. By the letter to Lydia, it appears that Biddle had first to convince the county court that he had prior rights to the man held in custody, before he could break down the jail door to get him out.

The captain's description of the engagement between the whole Continental fleet and H.M.S. *Glasgow* damns the conduct of it and concludes with a statement indicating that Captain John Burroughs Hopkins, the Commodore's son, should have lost his commission for bringing it on without orders. At one point Biddle pleaded with his brother to get him detached from following the fleet, so that he could cruise with some reputation to himself. In another letter, he makes the ringing declaration: "I fear Nothing but what I ought to fear. I am much more Afraid of doing a foolish Action than of loosing My Life. I aim for a Character of Conduct as well as courage, and hope never to throw away the Vessel and Crew merely to convince the world I have Courage. No one has dared to impeach it yet. If any should I will not leave them a moment of doubt."

One letter he devoted largely to an account of his capture "with a speaking Trumpet" of two Scotch transports loaded with Highlanders. Another is an autograph draft of his official report to Hopkins on a brief cruise in July, 1776. Two letters from Charleston, South Carolina, tell of two cruises in the frigate *Randolph*, and of his troubles with vessel and crew in that southern port. There are also a copy of his will and the original power-of-attorney to Collison Read, both executed just prior to his departure on his final and fatal cruise. Of that last engagement there is an incomplete letter written by Charles Biddle, who went to Charleston to piece together the tales of survivors and eyewitnesses.

[10] Dudley Saltonstall was charged with the principal responsibility for the Penobscot disaster of Aug. 14, 1779. He was tried by court-martial at Boston in October of that year, convicted, and dismissed from the Navy. The Navy Board of the Eastern Department forwarded the results "respecting this Unhappy and inglorious Event" to the Board of Admiralty, Oct. 28, 1779. Letter Book, Navy Board, Eastern Department, LC.

Although Nicholas Biddle's formal education ended in 1765, when he was but fourteen years old, his letters show a proficiency in orthography unusual for his generation, and particularly for seafaring men. His handwriting is small, but well formed and legible. The chief foible in his choice of words is his preference for the French form "favoir" for "favor." He is given to parenthetical remarks, some of which are exceedingly long, and his conclusions, in his letters to his sister Lydia, are frequently flowery and involved. Altogether, however, the letters show that he continued a student long after his school days ended, and that he had a command of the English language, a familiarity with literature, and a power of expression rarely found among the Continental naval captains. In all his letters he expressed himself as a modest man would.

Apart from the Captain's letters, there are numerous documents of historic importance in the collection, among them a copy of the agreement whereby the captains of Hopkins's fleet went to the extremity of a pact to share the proceeds of all prizes even when not in company. Existence of this agreement had been known hitherto only through such letters as one written by John Paul Jones protesting its unfairness.[11] Its actual content has never before been available.

Another document which has been missing, save for its adapted text in the Journal of Congress, is the report of the Naval Committee on the distribution of prize shares to a vessel's personnel.[12] A copy of this, in the flowing hand of Timothy Matlack, secretary of the Committee, is among the Biddle papers. So, too, is a contemporary copy of court-martial proceedings on board the *Andrew Doria* in Philadelphia, in September, 1776, against Luke Matthewman, first lieutenant of the *Lexington*. Biddle was the presiding officer. There is also the original Naval Committee order to Biddle, dated January 6, 1776, bearing the autographs of Stephen Hopkins, Christopher Gadsden, Silas Deane and Joseph Hewes. A printed broadside—a large sheet containing the pay resolutions of November 15, 1776—which is not

[11] "the Seamen have been very ill used and the Navy hath been much hurted by the Cursed Association for the Joint Share of Prize Money thro' the Fleet whether present at the Capture or Absent." John Paul Jones to Robert Morris, Jan. 12, 1777, John Paul Jones Manuscripts, LC.

[12] W. C. Ford, ed., *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774–1789* (Washington, 1906), IV, 35–37 (Jan. 6, 1776).

mentioned in the bibliography of the Journal of Congress for 1776, is also in this collection.

There are four crew lists for the *Andrew Doria*, one of which, in Biddle's handwriting, enumerates the forty-nine sick men landed at New London at the conclusion of the first cruise. These lists disclose many more names of Revolutionary seamen to aid the researches of genealogists.

The Captain's letters in this collection are greater than the total of all other letters of his found in other repositories. Rather than print just those that have so recently come to light, permission has been secured to reproduce other important ones. Two of these are in the Library of Congress; three, in the Rhode Island Historical Society; one, in the Franklin Delano Roosevelt collection at Hyde Park; and one in possession of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Biddle's signature is also upon two receipts for sundry foods purchased for his mother, dated 1763 and 1769, respectively; two petitions to the Pennsylvania Committee of Safety from the captains of the Pennsylvania row galleys, signed jointly with other officers in October, 1775; and a requisition for clothing for the crew of the *Randolph*. The petitions and the receipts are in The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and the requisition is in the Roberts' Autograph Collection, Haverford College Library. No others have been located, although a certificate to James Read, dated December 17, 1776, authorizing prize money for John Rogers for his part in the New Providence expedition, was sold at an autograph sale in Philadelphia on October 9, 1928. Efforts to trace it have so far failed.

Nicholas Biddle was born September 10, 1750, the ninth child of William and Mary (Scull) Biddle. He went to sea before he was fourteen, and, with his older brothers, helped support his widowed mother. On his third voyage the vessel was lost in a storm in the Gulf of Mexico and he, with several companions, was marooned for two weeks on a deserted atoll. From 1767 until the period of the letters herewith transcribed, he made a number of European voyages, two of them bringing emigrants from the Palatinate. Ever adventurous, and envisioning war between England and Spain in 1771, Biddle armed himself with numerous letters of recommendation and sailed for London to seek active naval service.

Brevard, N. C. WILLIAM BELL CLARK

To James Biddle[13]

Westminster June 28th 1771.

My dear Brother

I have been several times with the Gentlemen I brought letters to and the kindness and Respect they shewd me was such that I can scarce Mention or bear to think of till I am convinced I deserved it—Mr Mcleane[14] said he would get me an Officers birth in the India service or a free passage to the Indias if I would procure letters which Mager fell[15] frequently on the Passage promised to give me to Merchants in the Indias in order to sail in their service—but heres the mi[s]chief of it no ships will be fitted out till November—away I went to Dr Franklin[16] told him I had seen Capt Stirling[17] that he told me if I do nothing better to come as Midshipman with him I

13 Autograph Letter Signed (2 pp.), Nicholas Biddle Papers.

14 Lauchlan Maclane (1728–1776) was educated at Trinity College, Dublin, and practiced medicine in Philadelphia, apparently as an army surgeon, in 1761. Under the patronage of Col. Barré, he returned to England and, in 1766, was appointed private secretary to Lord Shelburne, Secretary of State for the Southern Department. In 1772 he received an appointment for India where he became an agent for Warren Hastings and brought home that gentleman's conditional resignation of the office of Governor General in 1775. When Hastings disavowed his agent's action, Maclane took passage for India to re-establish his good name, but the ship was lost at sea with all on board. John Stockton Littell, ed., *Memoirs of His Own Times with Reminiscences of the Men and Events of the Revolution by Alexander Graydon* (Philadelphia, 1846), 42, 418–421; hereafter cited as Graydon. Also Samuel Wharton to William Franklin, Dec. [?], 1766, Franklin Papers, XLVIII, 130, American Philosophical Society (APS).

15 Maj. Fell, a fellow passenger with Biddle in the ship *Britannia* from Philadelphia to London in the spring of 1771, was probably the British army officer described by Alexander Graydon: "There were two other majors with whose company we were a long time favoured. These were Majors Small and Fell; and if names had any appropriation to the persons of those who bear them, these might very well have been interchanged; for Small was a stout, athletic man, who might be supposed to possess a capacity for felling, while the other was one of the smallest men I have seen. Some one asking, one day, if major Small was at home? 'No,' says Fell, 'but the small major is.' " Graydon, 75. Fell was most likely personal aide to Gov. John Penn, for he was reported as accompanying the Governor to New Castle, Del., in the spring of 1770. Thomas Rodney to Caesar Rodney, Mar. 14, 1770, in George Herbert Ryden, ed., *Letters to and from Caesar Rodney, 1756–1784* (Philadelphia, 1933), 36.

16 Biddle carried to Franklin a letter of recommendation written Apr. 23, 1771, by Joseph Galloway. The letter has been preserved and is in the Franklin Papers, III, 50, APS.

17 Capt. Walter Stirling, R.N. (1718–1786), at that time commanded H.M.S. *Seaford*, a sixth rater of twenty guns, which was being put into commission at Sheerness. The Captain, in 1753, had eloped from Philadelphia with Dorothy (Dolly) Willing, daughter of Charles Willing, prominent merchant of that city. See *The Dictionary of National Biography* (London, 1937–1938), XVIII, 1271, where the family name is mistakenly listed as "Killing."

then told him what M^r^ M^c^leane said when after weighing the Matter he to my great joy a[d]vised me to accept of Capt Stirlings offer and made a long speech full of good advise and encouragement but what struck me most was the kind and free Manner in which he delivered it—from him I went to Capt Shirly[18] who hearing the whole matter seemed satisfied said that a Midshipmans birth was as hard to be got now as that of Lieutenant was in the war and added that I should now be serving my time which is requird in the Navy in a good s[c]hool and if any thing better should offer I was always ready as long as we kept the Channel Station I went from him to Capt Stirling told him all and I am to go aboard in two or three days—I have dind with Capt Stirling and his lady[19] with Dr Franklin and Breakfasted with Capt shirly I want for nothing but the power of doing good (and a very great one as you will say) which with all my vanity I cannot but think sin the master hand I intended this for our Maker and tell you of it because I know twill also fit you I beg you will Use all freedoms in writing to me that you will give my love to our Mother to whom time will not permit my writing by this opportunity and My Respect to all my friends not forgetting the Ladies who Recommended me to Major fell and Capt Shirly farewell Friend

Nicholas Biddle

Dont laughf at my Bulls and Blunders for people in a hurry are excusable

[*Addressed*] To
James Biddle Esqr
in
Philadelphia

[*Endorsed by James Biddle*]
Lre Bro^r^ Nicholas
Westminster June 1771

18 The identity of Capt. Shirly has not been determined. Apparently he had spent some time in the colonies, so he may have been Capt. J. Shirly, master of the ship *King of Prussia*, whose last visit to the port of Philadelphia had been in the summer of 1766. Custom-House, Inward, Outward and Cleared Entries, *Pennsylvania Gazette*, June 5 and 26, and July 10, 1766.

19 The elopement of Dorothy Willing with Walter Stirling was the cause of much gossip, and the bride's father never forgave her. Her favorite brother, Thomas Willing, however, liked his new brother-in-law and maintained cordial relations with his sister, who had been a reigning beauty in Philadelphia society. Lily Lee Nixon, *James Burd, Frontier Defender, 1726–1793* (Philadelphia, 1941), 19.

To James Biddle[20]

Nore, Seaford July the 13th 1771

Dear Brother

A few days before I left London I wrote to Commodore[21] and inclosed his letter in mine I shall for your satisfaction inclose you a Copy of that as well as another I wrote to Mr Mcleane the letters themselves will prove that Vanity had no share in my sending them to you I saw Mr Mcleane afterwards who told me to call upon him at any time and he would give me what assistance lay in his power— I would be glad if you Could procure a Certificate from Capt Smith[22] and if there is any one going to the Bay who could get One from Na[e]smith[23] it would be of Service I was twelve days in London But always slept aboard and was scarce twice in the same house I have seen the Abby Vauxhall St James and Hide Parks the Musium and among the rest those famous fellows who ride four horses at once But nothing pleased and astonished me more than the great Stpauls I shall defer giving you my opinion of those things till another opportunity I dont no w[h]ere to tell you to direct your letters Capt: Falkner[24] or Mr Willing[25] perhaps know We are going to Ports-

20 Autograph Letter Signed (2 pp.), Nicholas Biddle Papers.

21 James Biddle, in a "Memorl from Brother Nichs Letters," identifies the "Commodore" as "Commodre Hood." *Ibid.* This was Samuel Hood (1724–1816), later Viscount Hood, who in his earlier days in the Royal Navy had seen frequent service on the North American Station. *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (Chicago, 1948), XI, 724, 725.

22 Capt. Charles Smith, under whom Biddle had made several voyages to Europe in 1768 and 1769 in the ship *Crawford.* James Biddle's "Memorl from Brother Nichs Letters," Nicholas Biddle Papers.

23 John Lockhart Naesmith, retired naval officer, who had commanded the snow *Ann and Almack* in 1765, when Biddle had started his seagoing career. In the following year Naesmith had gone to the Bay of Honduras, running off with a Philadelphia married woman, and had settled on a plantation there. James S. Biddle, ed., *Autobiography of Charles Biddle* (Philadelphia, 1883), 15–20, 33; hereafter cited as *Autobiography.*

24 Nathaniel Falconer, master of the ship *Britannia,* in which Biddle had come from Philadelphia. Falconer had been a charter member in 1765 of the Captains of Ships Charitable Club, and was a shipmaster in the London trade until the outbreak of the Revolution. He was active in the outfitting of the first Continental fleet. William Bell Clark, *Gallant John Barry* (New York, 1938), 65. Falconer also was one of the Commissioners appointed in 1776 for the building of the four Continental frigates in Philadelphia. Papers of the Continental Congress, No. 78, xxiv, 331, LC.

25 Thomas Willing had succeeded his father as senior partner in the Philadelphia firm of Willing, Morris & Co., and had recommended Biddle to Capt. Stirling. *Port Folio.*

mouth soon But where we shall be stationd is not known I find myself much more agreeably situated than I expected I was very glad to find that Capt Stirling was in want of a Midshipman there being only one who could do duty with whom and the Doctors Mate I now Mess[26] I must not forget Capt Falkners kindness who desired I would use all the freedom in the world in writing to him for Money and he would answer my demands If ever I was able I might repay it if not he would never ask it.

To the Comm^{d} ["] Sir On letting Mr Willing know my intentions of serving in the Navy he was so good as to give me the inclosed But fearing you might not be in england on my arrival he gave me another to Capt Stirling with whom I am now going as Midshipman if any thing happens which requires the interest of my friends I hope Sir you will Pardon Me if I Presume on my Recommendation to solicit your Countenance in favoir of Sir your Most Ob^{t} Humble Ser^{t} ["]

To Lauchlin ["] Sir I can Only express how much I am obliged to you for your kind proffers But as it will be several months before there is a possibility of your Rendering me the service I solicited I have with the Advice of my friends accepted of Capt Stirlings kind offer of going as Midshipman in the Navy in which station I intend to continue if possible till I have served the time requird & if any thing should happen in the mean time that requires the interest of my friends I hope you will Excuse my presuming on your goodness to solicit your Countenance in favoir of Sir yours &c ["]

I have not had the pleasure of Seeing any of Our Passengers since they left us at Plymouth my love to all friends tell Statia[27] I shall give him an answer the next opportunity I was just going to knock off But looking round I thought it worth w[h]ile to describe our Room

26 The muster roll of the *Seaford* shows two midshipmen on duty at the date of Biddle's letter, John France and Charles Stirling, the latter being the eleven-year-old son of the captain. There was no surgeon's mate listed. Muster Table of H.M. Ship the Seaford between the 1st of July and the 13th of August, 1771, Public Records Office, London, Admiralty, Class 36, No. 7678.

27 Stacy Hepburn, a family friend, who is mentioned frequently by Charles Biddle. *Autobiography*, 4, 31, 35, 42, 50, 66 and 167. Hepburn became a prominent Philadelphia merchant, and in the latter years of the Revolution was joint owner of several letters of marque. Papers of the Continental Congress, No. 196, xv, 40 and 84, LC.

which is Square about 8 feet by twelve Chests are placed round a Table in the Middle our Partitions and curtains are the same viz Spare Hammocks in a word I never was so well of[f] for Room, [or] for time, But what pleases me most I Must always keep myself Clean in order to appear on the Quar[ter]deck the walking of which is the principle part of my duty. I have several letters in the press which I cannot send by this opportunity to Neddy[28] Charly[29] Fanny[30] Lydia[31] &c to all of whom I beg you will give the Compliments of your very good Brother

Nicholas Biddle

the Seaford is a 20 Gun Ship[32]

[*Addressed*] To
Mr James Biddle
in
Philadelphia
per Capt Sparks

[*Endorsed by James Biddle*]
Lre Bror Nich[s]
Nore July 31 [*sic*] 1771

28 Edward Biddle (1738–1779) was one of the most distinguished of the Biddle brothers. He saw active service in the Provincial Army during the French and Indian War; represented Berks Co. in the Pennsylvania Colonial Assembly, of which he was speaker in 1775; was a member of the First and Second Continental Congresses, but was kept from regular attendance by ill health; and was a member of the Pennsylvania State Assembly from 1776 until his death. *Autobiography*, 389–392.

29 Charles Biddle (1745–1821) was the author of the interesting *Autobiography*, which his descendant, James S. Biddle, edited in 1883.

30 Frances Biddle, née Marks, was the wife of James Biddle, oldest of the Biddle brothers. They were married on June 30, 1753, and had thirteen children, eight of whom died under ten years of age. *Autobiography*, 367.

31 Lydia McFunn, née Biddle, widow of Capt. William McFunn, and Nicholas's oldest sister. She was born in 1734 and died early in the nineteenth century. *Autobiography*, 367, 368, and 385.

32 Biddle entered on board the *Seaford*, June 22, 1771, being listed on the muster roll as "Nich[s] Biddle, Mid." Muster Table of H.M. Ship Seaford.

To John Allen[33]

[Portland, Spithead, November, 1771][34]

Sir,

as I am going to quit the Channel for the West India Station and Capt Faulkner is not in London[35] I am quite at a loss where to apply for 6 or 8 Guineas which I am much in want of If You will be so good as to favoir me with that Sum to receive it from Capt Falconer on his Arrival you will greatly oblige me If you knew me Sir that I had the Assurance to write to you on such a subject would have been at once an apology and proof how strongly I was urged to it But as you may not be so well acquainted with my Character as I could wish it may not be a miss to tell you that it was not till my third attempt that I resolved to Ask a favoir which if Granted will ever be Acknowledged by Sir your Most &c

To John Allen[36]

[Portland, Spithead, November, 1771]

Sir

I am much obliged to you for your favoir and according to your directions have enclosed an order on Capt: Falconer in your favoir to Messrs David and John Barclay and drawn A Bill payable to Mr Mathew King[37] or Order for 10 Pounds I am &c

33 Autograph draft (1 p.), on verso of an undated letter from John Allen, Nicholas Biddle Papers. Allen was a Philadelphia merchant who had been a fellow passenger with Biddle on the *Britannia*: "Sunday last sailed from Chester for London, the ship Britannia, Capt. Falconer, with whom went passenger, the Honourable JOHN PENN, Esq; now one of the Proprietaries of this Province, and Lady, also Mr. John Allen." *Pennsylvania Gazette*, May 9, 1771. Further reference to Allen is contained in a news item in the *Gazette*, dated New York, Apr. 12, 1772: "Last Thursday Evening was married by the Rev. Dr. Auchmuty, John Allen, Esq; of the City of Philadelphia, to Miss Johnston, daughter of David Johnston, Esq; of this City; a young Lady of great Merit and Beauty."

34 The date is approximated. Biddle transferred from the *Seaford* to the *Portland* on Aug. 14, 1771. Muster Table of H.M. Ship Portland between the 10th of July and the 22nd November, 1771, Public Records Office, Admiralty, Class 36, No. 7471. The ship sailed from Spithead, Nov. 24, 1771. Proceedings of His Majesty's Ship Portland, *ibid.*, Class 51, No. 710, Pt. II; hereafter cited as *Portland's* Journal. As Biddle's letter states, "I am going to quit the Channel," it is likely that a request for a loan would be written no earlier than the beginning of November.

35 Falconer sailed from London early in September, 1771, and arrived at Philadelphia in the *Britannia* on Oct. 16. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Oct. 17, 1771.

36 Autograph draft (1 p.), on verso of Allen's letter, dated "Sunday," in which he promised Biddle a loan of ten pounds. Nicholas Biddle Papers.

37 David and John Barclay were London bankers, and Matthew King, a merchant located "on Portsmouth Common." Nicholas Biddle to his brother James, May 14, 1772, *ibid.*

To David and John Barclay[38]

[Portland, Spithead, November, 1771]

[Gentlemen]

According to the direction of John Allen Esqr I enclose to you an order on Capt: Falconer in his Favoir and drawn on you for 10 Pounds payable at 6 Days sight to Mr Mathew King order

I am &c

To James Biddle[39]

Portland Madeira December the 20 1771

Dear Brother

I have just seen Capt Wallace[40] who informs me you were well the day he left Philadelphia I hope our Mother and all the Family are as well as I am I shall enclose you some letters which I hope you will examine and write me your opinion of them I am very concernd for fear you may have some Reason to wish I had not applied to him that I know not of[41]—Capt Stirling has introduced me to Mr Surles[42] with whom I din'd in Company with twenty *other* Gentlemen and Ladys he was very Complisant to me and I have Reason to think Capt Stirling is my friend here I cannot help telling you that he was not for my Comming into the Navy as there was no likelihood of war however after some Consideration he said it would be of service to me to be some time in the Navy I like it very well But Should very much better if there was a Prospect of Riches as well as honour. I have defer'd writing so long that I have but just time to tell you that we are going to sail for Antigua where I hope to hear from you by every opportunity My love to Fanny and all Friends

I am dear Brother your

your Most Affectionate—N. Biddle

[*Addressed*] To

James Biddle Esqr

in

Philadelphia

[*Endorsed by James Biddle*]

Lre Bro^r Nich^s

Madeira 1771

38 Autograph draft (1 p.), on verso of John Allen's letter, *ibid.*

39 Autograph Letter Signed (1 p.), *ibid.*

40 T. E. Wallace was master of the snow *Neptune*, which cleared Philadelphia for Madeira around Nov. 10, 1771. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Nov. 14, 1771.

41 See preceding three autograph drafts to John Allen.

42 "Mr Surles" has not been identified.

To James Biddle[43]

Barbadoes May the 14th 1772

Dear Brother

We arrived at Antigua the 3 of May and saild the 5th for this place Just before he saild one of Our Officers brought me the Letters you sent by Capt Cunningham[44] which he received from a Gentleman at StJohns I have just Received that you enclosed to Mr Willing[45] I was very uneasy about Neddy as you have not spoke particularly of him but said all the family are well I hope he is much better if not perfectly recoverd I am very glad you approve of my proceedings. We are going to Antigua from there to StKitts from whence we sail for England the 16 of July If any letter[s] you should send do not arrive till we are saild Mr Willing will forward them from Barbadoes Mr Hockly[46] from Antigua. I shall desire them to inclose them to Mr Mathew King on Portsmouth Common where they will be taken care of for me. I wrote from StKitts to Lydia Tommy Polly Bond Polly McfunN[47] also to you by Capt McKain[48] in a Snow I have plenty of time to study and improve my mind which I think I do not Misapply for I some how or other think Myself much more refind Which I think proceeds more from my conversing with good Books than good Men you will perhaps know better how Capt Stirling likes me from Mr Gilbert[49] than I can inform you Tho I cant help telling you that he has always shewd a Readiness to serve

43 Autograph Letter Signed (2 pp.), Nicholas Biddle Papers.

44 Gustavus Conyngham (1747–1819), in the brig *Charming Peggy*, cleared Philadelphia for Antigua early in March, 1772. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Mar. 5, 1772. His arrival at Antigua is recorded in the *Gazette*, Apr. 30, 1772, which also contains the following: "Extract of a letter from Barbadoes, dated March 20, 1772: 'Since my last arrived here Admiral Mann, with his squadron from the Leeward Islands, and are all at anchor in this bay, namely,—The Montagu, Admiral Mann, of 60 guns; the Portland, Captain Walter Stirling, of 50 guns; the Quebeck, Capt. Reynolds, of 36 guns; the Kennington, Capt. Clark, of 24 guns; the Active, Captain Williams, of 24 guns; the Favourite, Capt. Bigs, of 20 guns; the Seahorse, Capt. Pasley, of 20 guns, and the Spy sloop,——, of 14 guns.' "

45 Charles Willing.

46 "Mr Hockly" has not been identified.

47 The references are to Lydia McFunn, his sister; Thomas Biddle (1752–1775), his youngest brother; Polly Bond, probably a daughter of Dr. Thomas Bond; and Polly (Mary) McFunn, only daughter of his sister, Lydia. *Autobiography*, 368, 369, and 372.

48 Capt. T. M'Caine, of the snow *Penn*, whose arrival in Philadelphia was recorded in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, May 21, 1772.

49 Capt. A. Gilbert, of the sloop *John*, whose arrival from St. Vincent was announced in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, July 9, 1772.

me I live With the rest just as I would chuse to do I have their Good will But am not their Companion. I shall write to you from Antigua or St Kitts Please to remember me to all the Little ones I am Dear Sir your Affectionate

Brother N Biddle

give my love to sister Fanny I thought to write to her But have not time

[*Addressed*] To
Mr James Biddle
in
Philadelphia

[*Endorsed by James Biddle*]
Lre Bro^{r} Nich^{s}
Barbadoes May 1772

To Charles Biddle[50]

[Portland, Antigua, May 23–31, 1772][51]

[Salutation and two pages missing]
The bobstays in stead of dead eyes have large thimbles in them of a triangular form well Leatherd it is the same with the fore and Main spring stays and Mizen stays round the Bowsprit and Masts are Collers splised as close as possible and a kind of thimble in the shape of a half Moon With a season at each end fixed in them For the Gears there is a treble block of Each side aloft and a double one on the yards it is a 6 or 6½ Shroud laid Rope going upon a wind we house the lee one a block and slack away the weather one this is done when the y^{d} is Braceing about when in stays besides the Gears there is a very large Coller that goes round the head of the Lower and heel of the topmasts and come through the top before the fore mast Crosstree there is another also on the y^{d} between the block seized cloce to the Y^{d} that above but just enter^{d} through the top they have

50 Autograph Letter Signed (3 pp.), Nicholas Biddle Papers.

51 As this letter gives a detailed description of the ship's rigging and contrasts it to that of merchant vessels, and as it also refers to the passage, it apparently was written from the *Portland* at Antigua in late May, 1772. In Nicholas's letter of May 14 to his brother James, he lists those of his family to whom he had previously written; Charles was not included in the list. The *Portland* sailed from Barbados, May 16; watered at Dominica, May 17–21; and arrived at Antigua, May 23, 1772. *Portland's* Journal.

thimbles and lashings in proportion the bite of our top sail tyes are clapt over the mast head the ends reeve through a double block on the Y^{d} up again and through a Single block close under the Rigging the purchase below is two large Single blocks top G^{t} halliards come in the top with a big tackle purchase the fall on deck the Brace blocks are strapt close round the Y^{d} except the top G^{t} Y^{d} which have long brace pendants we have two Cat harper legs to the topmast shrouds and those in the fore and Main do not go from one side to the other But round the mast there is two long legs and a short one splised to one of them the after part of the mast so that you have two round the fore part and three abaft those for each side are stript and leatherd together in the Necke of the Mast most Merchant Ships have their Mizen mast nearly the same way When Studding sails are set we have a tackle on the topsail Yr^{d} two thirds out another on the Boom D^{o} for which there is a long pendant on the Boom this is to support the Boom when the Lower one is set M^{n} top mast spring and Mizen top mast stays reeve through those close Collers and half moon thimbles under the top and are housed up and belayed in the top, we have a Gaff I do not know the use of a Y^{d} unless you make use of the Mizen to Lie too under when the Bowling helps to Remove the strain from the Mast head and peak halliards lower down to where the Y^{d} takes the mast tho I know Not any instance of its Carrying away the head of the mast nor do I believe it will our Captain is very particular in inspecting into the duty of the Ship on our passage every spare coil of Rigging hawsers and all were opend And towd three or four hours with a handspike at the end of them then hawld in dryd and made up the Sails have all been well soakd I have seen four Cables Veerd away and rid by for ten or 12 Hours then hove in and Quild [coiled] down We have two Capstains one between the fore and Main Hatchways calld the geer capstain which is made use of for the Viol, the Viol block is lashd round the M^{n} Mast the Viol is rove through carried round the four Mast brought to the Capstain and splised the Messenger is Carried forward round the fore mast brought aft the other side taken three times round the Capstain abaft and the two ends lashd together for which purpose there is an eye in each end this is stopt to the Cable by stopers made on purpose of yarns like Salvagers the Number Clapt on is in proportion to the Strain that is hove The Messenger

is 12 inch. Suppose you reeve your Spritsail Lifts through a hole made on purpose in the Bees of the Bowsprit

Why have you not given yourself the trouble to write a few lines to one who loves you as much as ever one Brother loved another and who delights in Conversing with you as much as Does your

Affectionat Brother
Nicholas Biddle

Let your Spritsail Brace pendants come through the Blocks under the top it is more purchace and not so clumsy as short ones a Block on the jibb guys are of no use[52]

[*Addressed*] To
Capt Charles Biddle
in
Philadelphia

To Charles Biddle[53]

Montserrat Portland June the 20 1772

Dear Charly

I intend to describe the situation I am in. I have Little too Little duty I have plenty of time to Study or Learn what I chuse. this situation I liked very well with the expectation of a war and intention to continue in it not with standing I Lived at our Brothers expence the prospect of having it once in my power to Return it made me willing to accept of it But as that prospect is past I cannot bear to think of Murdering more of my time and it was with great joy that I heard of our being orderd home. I find Capt Stirling description of this Life very just and true When he endeavoird to perswade me from it, he told me that every officer only Lives from hand to mouth that kept up to the dignity of his station that he could afford to Live much better when he commanded a Merchant Ship that it was all show &c I need not tell you I am wavering what to do Some time I think of Coasting it a while then having a Little funn in waiting upon Laughlin as a most humble dependent which will afford me diversion if I can hold from Laughing in his August presence—I have Blushd in it before now—Tell Statia I would be glad he would send

[52] For a glossary of rigging terms used in this letter, see Appendix.

[53] Autograph Letter Signed (2 pp.), Nicholas Biddle Papers.

me Pilmores morning prayer[54] which he in his usual manner of expressing calls a damnd fine one I hourly hear damnd ones But fine ones only on Sundays our Minister told me a few days ago that it was mere mockery to preach here besides he said he could not preach against any folly or Vice Scarcely without seeming to offer an affront to the whole Congregation What a round turn I have taken began with duty and have got round to preaching My Love to our Mother and all the family Dear Charly

I am Your
Affectionate Brother
N Biddle

[*Addressed*] To
Capt Charles Biddle
in
Philadelphia

[*Endorsed by James Biddle*]
Lre
Bro^{r} Nich^{s} to Bro^{r}
Charles—
Montserrat June 1772

To Lydia McFunn[55]

Montserrat Portland June 20 1772

My Dear Sister

My Letters to you are Like an Uproar I have so much to say and my thoughts flow in so fast that I can neither write them nor even seperate them so that I must humbly beg you to be so kind as to pardon me for not doing that which I am not able to perform Dear Sister

I am your most Affectionate
Brother N Biddle

P S When we Lay at portsmouth one of the Leuftenants used to talk much of his Wife that she was rec[k]ond one of the finest Women of

54 Rev. Joseph Pilmore, D.D. (1739–1825), had arrived in Philadelphia in 1769 on a mission from John Wesley, and introduced Methodism to the city, preaching from the steps of the State House. Later he became an Episcopalian and was for many years rector of St. Paul's Church. Henry Simpson, *The Lives of Eminent Philadelphians Now Deceased* (Philadelphia, 1859), 801–804.

55 Autograph Letter Signed (2 pp.), Nicholas Biddle Papers.

the age &c. I was anxious to See once more a person so Ameable so Beautiful and good as She was Represented to be. forgive my extrav[ag]ance when I declare that [I] Realy expected to See a Miss Cliffton[56] or Mrs Stirling But Oh what a disappointment. No doubt the Comparison I had formed help'd to Lessen my oppinion of her. Her Person is tolerable well shaped C[l]eare featurd Rudy Complection But in her Manners she was very awkward and wanted very much a little of that gracefulness the above persons are so Conspicuous for. One good quallity she had however, a very Remarkable one for an ignorant woman. I mean that She was free from that impertenant talketiveness the Vulgar are given to—When I was viewing the Rarities in the British Museum in Company with about 30 other Gentn and Ladies amongst the rest a new married pair, poor fellow I blush for him when ever I recollect it. His Wife who perhaps but a few days before would scarse deign to smile upon him was continually crying Lovey do this or Lovey do that. Tis wonderfull to think what an expance of Blushes there was for none were so insensible as not to see either her folly or his concern—I wish you would tell me what it is that keeps me from home I hardly know my self I think a Longer stay in the Navy is only murdering time and as I gro[w in] years I am more anxious of making money by some sure[r wa]y If I have any encouragement I intend to take one [tri]p to India and so come Round by Land call at Reading Visit the Northam[p]ton Merchants[57] in my way and so Come on and Surprize you—

It was my misfortune about 35 years ago to Read the following Remarkable Line in Pope the proper Study of Mankind is Man[58] I took the Man's word for it left Astronamy and indeed every branch of what the Works calls usefull learning even the admirable art of finding how many different sounds every particular Sylable will bear which tis thought I was within ten years of attaining to the Knowl-

56 Anna Maria Clifton (1741–1811). Of her Benjamin Rush wrote in his Commonplace Book, Apr. 13, 1811: "Miss Ann Clifton died in the 70th year of her age of a dropsy. . . . She was the Survivor of 3 sisters, all very handsome. . . . Miss Nancy was uncommonly beautiful when young, and retained the remains of it to the last year of her life. Her manners were polished and her conversation pleasant and full of anecdote." George W. Corner, ed., *The Autobiography of Benjamin Rush* (Princeton, 1948), 295.

57 Members of the Biddle and Scull families lived in both Berks and Northampton Counties. *Autobiography*, 380, 389.

58 Alexander Pope, *Essay on Man*, Epistle II, Line 1: "Know then thyself, presume not God to scan; The proper study of mankind is man."

edge of I left all to pursue the proper Study and now find myself as far of[f] as ever every Man being different from all the rest of the world in some one particular or other so that whenever I See a strange face I have new work Now it cant be supposed that I Could be deceivd in the Mans meaning But he was Certainly mistaken—I am Studying Algebra by the powers of which I hope soon to be able to bring Philadelphia and London together if you have no objection Now this is the greatest proof I can give of my Esteem for you to Submit to your pleasure in an affair I have much at heart I think it may be done with the Same ease that My Son John Moved his House allowing only for the Greatness of the under taking a due proportion of every necessary article [balance missing].

[*Addressed*] To
Mrs Lydia Mcfunn
in
Philadelphia

To Frances Biddle[59]

Montserrat Portland June 20 1772

Dear Sister

When I was at Barbadoes I set down to write to all my friends But was quite mistaking in the quantity of thoughts my head seemd so full of whether some of them had retird through sulkiness for not being calld in their proper turn or from a consciousness of my incapacity they slunk of[f]. whatever was the cause or whether there was any or no tis certain I was quite out before I had wrote what would scarce fill a quarto Volume—I am now convincd by my own Reason that I ought not to Leng[t]hen my Letter I even I know how insipid it is for a person to read the writings of those far inferiour to themselves in knowledge therefore the fear of offending in being too troublesome obliges me much against my inclination to Leave a task I am unable to perform either to my own Satisfaction or your entertainment you will not imagine me so ignorant either as to think

59 Autograph Letter Signed (2 pp.), Nicholas Biddle Papers. The recipient of this letter was the wife of Nicholas's oldest brother, James. She was born in 1731, the daughter of David Marks, a Reading merchant. *Autobiography*, 369.

I mean to give you an opportunity of passing some compliments on me no no I can never expect Praise at the expence of your Veracity Please to give me Compliments to Mrs Marks[60] Mrs Graydon[61] and Miss Genny[62] my Love to dear Lydia Marks[63] and the other Chaps I am Dear Madam

Your Most
Affectionate Brother
Nicholas Biddle

[*Addressed*] To
Mrs Frances Biddle
in
Philadelphia

To James Biddle[64]

Antigua Portland July 6th 1772

Dear Brother

I Received your kind and Affectionate Letter by Capt Williams[65] Lydia and our Good Mother had not time to write as you supposed however they sent a promise to write as you supposed however they sent a promise to write by Capt Cuningham I was not much disappointed at their Non performance as I expected Mr Gilbert would arrive there and Stop them. We are now at St Johns in daily expectation of the Admirals arrival upon which we sail for England[66] I believe Capt Stirling has not Recd the Letter you mentiond and being apprehensive of his not Receiving it while in the Country and fearful of our Lying a long time at Spithead before we are paid off I have drew an order on you for Nine pound 18 currency which Capt Cuningham very Chearfully accepted, Mr Hockly is a

60 Mrs. David Marks, Frances Biddle's mother.

61 Mrs. Alexander Graydon, a sister of Mrs. Frances Biddle. *Autobiography*, 74.

62 Miss Genny was possibly Jane Biddle, oldest daughter of Nicholas's cousin, Owen Biddle. *Ibid.*, 372.

63 Lydia Marks was probably Lydia Marks Biddle, youngest child of James and Frances (Marks) Biddle. *Ibid.*, 368.

64 Autograph Letter Signed (2 pp.), Nicholas Biddle Papers.

65 Capt. Samuel Williams, in the brig *Carpenter*, cleared Philadelphia for Antigua toward the end of May, 1772. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, May 28, 1772.

66 The *Portland* finally sailed for England, in company with Admiral Mann, on Aug. 4, 1772. *Portland's* Journal.

very Kind and Friendly Man and has treated me with great Respect on your and the Rest of the familys account I shall always Esteem him for his behavour to me Especially as it was out of his great esteem for the family—My Dear Brother I have sometimes thought that any one might tell by my Countenance that I was not so well provided with Cash as my appearance deserved. the Command of it in case of emergency certainly gives a person an air of Assurance very Requisite in all Stations of Life put [but] particularly in this However you may depend on my being as great an Eoconomist as you would wish I shall Make a purchase of a Sextant If I can meet with one that is Cheap as I know every Method yet proposd for finding the Longitude I will also get a three foot telescope if I Continue in the Navy in which I intend to be guided by Capt Stirlings advice I am extremely fond of him he has not only the Character of an Excellent Commander but that much Nobler one of an Excellent Man I must now conclude with my Love to our Dear Mother to Fanny and all the dear Little ones to all friends and believe me to be Dear Sir your Affectionate Brother

Nicholas Biddle

[*Addressed*] To
Mr James Biddle
in Walnut street
Philadelphia

[*Endorsed by James Biddle*]
Lre Bror Nicha
July 1772

To Lydia McFunn[67]

London October the 20th 1772

Dear Sister

The Portland is paid off and Capt Stirling being in a bad state of health dont chuse to be employd[68] But the case is otherwise with your Most Obedient I am Ready for any service or station Yet am somewhat nice at present I refused going in the Lynks in expectation

[67] Autograph Letter Signed (2 pp.), Nicholas Biddle Papers.

[68] The *Portland* was paid off at Sheerness, Oct. 13, 1772. Muster Table of H.M. Ship the Portland.

of better bread which if I do not get I know and am always prepared for the worst As the British Nation in Revenge for the many insults they have Received from Uroppean powers have Wisely Vented there wrath on the Indians of St Vincents they will hardly dare to War with any other Nation till that is happily concluded[69]—So that finding all my hopes Blasted I determind to Learn to Despise that power I could by no means attain accordingly I began to say that all was Vanity that nothing was great the contempt of Which was great &c faith I could give a lecture that would take three feet from the height of Geny's Cap[70] make Polly[71] forget her Lover for half an hour and Statia Sleep a whole night without dreaming of the Isaacks[72] and even make myself think the Grapes sower while I was speaking Messrs Franklin M^c^clane & Allen are out of town Capt Shirly since I was here last fell from his horse and broke his Arm and two of his ribs and has lately lost his eldest Daug[h]ter I dind with him yesterday at Mrs Randolfs an old Play mate of yours[73] She is a Daughter of Capt Hardgraves[74]—I force see Your curiosity will not be satisfied with what I have already said therefore shall endeavoir to do as far as my Abilities will Let me I wear my own hair Black hat Cloth coat knit Breeches Paper Coulourd Stockings Leather shoes Metel Buckles and Linen Shirt I Lodge in London and Sleep on a bed There is many very well looking Girls here But I have had a bad opinion of their Taste as I have walkd much through the City and not been spoke to by any whom I would Chuse to Converse with —Again I am Peculiarly happy in having the Well wishes of Many Excellent Persons and I believe of every Person who knows me Yet

69 The Caribs on the island of St. Vincent had resisted British efforts to take over control of the island, which had been ceded to Great Britain by France as one of the spoils of the late war. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, XIX, 862.

70 See note 62.

71 Polly (Mary) McFunn. See note 47.

72 Presumably a reference to Stacy Hepburn's interest in a daughter of the Isaac family of Philadelphia.

73 "Mrs Randolf" was Sarah Randolph, née Hargraves, who had visited in the colonies and had been a friend of Lydia Biddle McFunn and also of Sarah Franklin Bache. Twelve years later, in July, 1785, Mrs. Randolph wrote a plaintive letter to Benjamin Franklin, stating that she lived in an almshouse in Deptford, owing to misfortunes "due to the late unnatural war." Franklin Papers, XXXIII, 162, APS.

74 "Capt Hardgraves" has not been identified, but was probably a merchant marine captain who had plied between England and the colonies.

fortune is determind to Baffle all our intent and Fate swears I shall never Command any other Person But have intire Power to rule over Self and every Requisite appertaining thereto is accordingly granted I encourage every Principle to Perform its office according to their Different functions indeed Mr Conscience seems to Play the Tyrant at times however Reason always Reconsile us when I fall out with her Shame follows me like a Spaniel and is Rather too officious Upon my word since I took the Government of myself in hand my wonder daily increases to think how I Could suffer it to Lie so long uncultivated—Whereas I shall be able to Reach the Bottom of the Page without the help of more Nonsence Ill Change the Subject and or Conclude with desiring that you would be so kind as to Remember me to our Dear Mother to our Brothers Sisters Relations Friends and so forth Also beg as a Very great favoir that you believe me to be your Affectionate Brother

N: Biddle

[*Addressed*] To
Mrs Lydia Mcfunn
in
Philadelphia

To Lydia McFunn[75]

London October the 18th 1773

My Dear Sister

I wrote to Charles yesterday and directed the letter to you for fear in Case of his Absence you should be Rob'd at least for some little time of so inestimable a treasure

Tis three days since we were discharged from the Carcass[76] and I intend (But why need I tell what at this moment I purpose to do when my Mind like the wind or ten times more wavering like Women and to the full if possible as fickle and inconsistant (I only speak from

75 Autograph Letter Signed (3 pp.), Nicholas Biddle Papers.

76 Nicholas had entered the *Carcass Bomb* as a seaman, on May 4, 1773; rated as coxswain, May 11; and participated in the Phipps Polar Expedition of that summer. The vessel had been paid off at Deptford, Oct. 14, 1773. Muster roll of H.M.S. Carcass Bomb, Public Records Office, Admiralty, Class 36, No. 7567.

hearsay and the General Opinion of the impartial not from my own Knowledge and experience which directly contradicts it and if I had not an Abrahams faith and the Curiosity of a Locke to search after truth I should certainly have my doubts concerning these Aspersions on the fair) is constantly making and Breaking Schemes it hourly and minutely forms) to wait as many more for my friend Duncan then walk of[f] Do not imagine the Person about whom I used to write so often and so much is going to take another spell on shore no no He is at present incog in the Character in which He shirks being that which is most agreeable to and most suitable for him viz tar Neither of his Friends or acquaintances knew where he went nor do they know he is now Returns He says he intends God willing (that his sanctified manner of Speaking you know he is a half Quaker half P——n names which convey the same Idea and with all Wise Men are synonimous terms to —— ——) to see his Friends in Delf[77] next Spring not with a view of getting into an employ no indeed he does not mean to lay himself at the feet of any Slave to solicit support the Manner in which he spends his youth will Make Greenwitch a comfortable sanctuary for his grey hairs & poor Creature how I feel for him

I do not intend to go to Greenland again for there I had no opportunity of writing or receiving letters from you a very Suficient Reason Five months and not Clap pen to Paper Suppose I should now give you some small account of our proceeding or do you not think it would be most Proper first to forewarn you not to Credit Idle tales for you must know I have been so frightened so terified at hearing of the surprizing difficulties we encounterd the Dreadfull dangers we were in that I am positive my hand shakes while I write and what astonishes confounds and frightens me most of all is that during the whole Voiage I did not aprehend danger But now good lack a daizy perceive it plain as the Balled in sister Pollys hand Pray does she sing sweetly as ever has she learnd any of My songs methinks I hear a melody Like the Screaching of a Jack when Polly winds and every

[77] The town of Delft, Holland, near Rotterdam, the port of embarkation for the Germans of the Palatinate, who were brought to America by Capt. Charles Smith in the ship *Crawford* in 1768–1770. *Pennsylvania Archives, Second Series* (Harrisburg, 1890), XVII, 486, 490, and 494.

wheel grates like the file on stubborn steel. Should I tell you of the Suns not setting for two months and of our observing him when lowest at 12 P M or with Merridian in order to find the Latt: the same as at 12 Midday You who are perfectly well acquainted with with [*sic*] those things would be apt to answer certainly in the Latt: 80 or 81 it will be so Should I tell you that all the Valleys Coves &c are fill'd with What once was snow and is now so on top But the under part either warmed by the upper coat or by the Sun when upper most is Congeald into Ice and from these Coves fall Large Pieces of Ice which appear higher than than [*sic*] any to be met with at Sea and Places from whence they Part are Perpendicular higher than Delf Steeple[78] That all the Ice you meet seems formd of the Same Matereils Coverd with Snow &c that most the Ice you meet with at Sea is her[e] 2 or three feet above the surface of the water some 4 or 5 and some few hammocks 18 or twenty feet would you Answer you Supposed so Whatever you would say wherever you are whatever you do May God of his infinite Mercy Bless and Protect you from all Evils both now and evermore so sincerely Prays your affectionate Brother

N Biddle

Pray Remember my Love to our Dear Mother to Fanny and all Friends God Bless them Pray Lydia What do you Mean by Ironical Ment Letters you alarm me I cannot conceive your meaning and therefore beg you would distrust your judgment if it cannot interpret a fairer meaning I did not think I writ so dark a manner as to Leave my meaning doubtfull I wish I had the Means to testify my Love otherwise than by words God who knows all hearts knows how much I Love and Esteem You Ask him whether my Affect[ion] for you is not as great as ever a Brother was for a Sister

[*Addressed*] To
Mrs Lydia Macfunn
in third Street
Philadelphia

[*Stamped*] New York

[78] The Delft Church, built in 1476, is famous for its fine tower and chime of bells. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, VII, 161.

To James Biddle[79]

Friday [October 28, 1774][80]

My Dear Brother

I went the Other day with the Gentlemen who are concernd with me and the Person who acts for Ch^s^ Lukens & Surveyd the Land I had a Warrant for.[81] I am desired by them to Beg you would as soon as You conviently Can Apply for 250 Acres adjoining and Westward of land Granted to Mary Read, in Turbutt Township, North^d^ County. I will write to Charles to Leave some Money he Was to let me have in Your hands for that Purpose.[82]

I go to morrow for Moconoy[83] I am not quite so anxious about Clearing that Place as I was, Every one objects to the Situation and I am in great hope of getting a tract more Pleasantly situated. That of Jacky scull[84] is what I much wish for Give My love to Fanny and the little ones And believe me to Remain your Aff^t^

Brother

N Biddle

[*Addressed*] To
James Biddle Esqr
in
Philadelphia

[*Endorsed by James Biddle*]
Lre Bro^r^ Nich^s^
North^d^ Octr 1774

79 Autograph Letter Signed (1 p.), Nicholas Biddle Papers. This is the first letter extant from Biddle after his return from England. He probably sailed with Capt. Falconer in the ship *Mary and Elizabeth*, which arrived at Philadelphia Apr. 26, 1774. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Apr. 27, 1774.

80 Nicholas dated the letter "Friday," and his brother endorsed it "October." Land grants to Nicholas of 300 acres in Northumberland Co. were made Tuesday, Oct. 18, 1774. *Pennsylvania Archives, Third Series* (Harrisburg, 1897), XXV, 66. Hence, the earliest possible Friday date in October that Nicholas could have gotten to Northumberland Co. and completed a survey would have been the 28th.

81 Charles Lukens, a deputy under his father, John Lukens, Surveyor General of Pennsylvania. *Autobiography*, 380.

82 Torbot Township lies in the northern part of Northumberland Co. Nicholas secured another grant of 100 acres in that county on Dec. 29, 1774. *Pennsylvania Archives, Third Series*, XXV, 67.

83 The present Mahonoy City, Schuylkill Co., Pa.

84 John Scull, son of Jasper Scull and a first cousin of Nicholas. *Autobiography*, 389.

To Peter Long[85]

[Galley Franklin, Philadelphia, November, 1775][86]

Sir

Please to Pay the Bearer Michael Mingham for 8 and a half Cord of Oak and two and a quarter of Hickory Wood which he has delivered on Liberty Island for the use of the fleet

Your most Ob[t]

To Peter Long[87]

[*Endorsed by Long*] Nich. Biddle's order fav[r] of
Mich[l] Mingham £ 10 . . 5 . . 3 paid Peter Long

Account with the Naval Committee of Congress[88]

[Philadelphia, January, 1776][89]

Naval Committee of Congress D[r] to Nicholas Biddle

To Cash paid for Officers and Seamen Board Wages as Pr enclosed Account	£53–15–3
To a Months pay Advance to John Chisnell James Wilson George Kelly John Moies and William Adams Seamen and Peter Miller Landsman	17–10–0
To Cash paid M[r] Josiah[90] for his expences in Philadelphia in quest of Deserters for 9 days	1–13–0

85 Autograph Letter Signed (1 p.), Simon Gratz Autograph Collection, 5, 27, HSP.

86 Biddle had been commissioned Captain of the Pennsylvania galley *Franklin*, on Aug. 1, 1775. The galley had not been launched until Aug. 28. As each galley was armed, it was dispatched to Liberty Island, where nine of them, including the *Franklin*, had arrived by the end of October. Hence, the probable November date for the letter. *Colonial Records* (Harrisburg, 1851–1853), X, 296; William Duane, ed., *Extracts from the Diary of Christopher Marshall* (New York, 1835).

87 Peter Long was appointed ship's husband for the Pennsylvania fleet, Oct. 12, 1775. *Colonial Records*, X, 363–365.

88 Autograph document (1 p.), Nicholas Biddle Papers.

89 The approximate date is established by the items in the account. Biddle was appointed to command the Continental brig *Andrew Doria*, on Dec. 9, 1775, and resigned the same day from the Pennsylvania Navy. *Colonial Records*, X, 425.

90 James Josiah (1751–1820) had been commissioned first lieutenant of the *Andrew Doria*, on Dec. 11, 1775. He served with distinction through the war and made several voyages to

To Cash paid Mr Josiah for Boarding five Men for four days in Philadelphia and for Supper and Lodging for the Boats Crew one night	£1–10–0
To Cash paid Liu^{t} Josiah for Horse hire and other Expences he was at in travelling from Philadelphia to Port Penn with five Seamen, as p Account	5–19–0
To Cash paid John Berketts for Boarding 6 Men from the 2nd to the fourth of January 1776	10–0
To Cash paid (for wages due) to Mr William Moran[91] 1st Mate	6–10–0
To a Months Advance paid to John Mergeson[92] 3rd Mate	3–15–0
To Cash paid for an Arm Chest	1– 5–0
	92– 7–3
Naval Committee C^{r}	
By Cash Received of Silas Deane Esqr[93]	88–10–0
By Cash Liu^{t} Josiah Received from Silas Deane Esqr	4– 2–6
	92–12–6
	92– 7–3
	£ 0– 5–3

China in the postwar years. His tombstone inscription called him "An exemplary citizen, a firm patient and christian believer, But the fond hopes inspired by pious love draws back the veil when spirits meet above." *Publications of the Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania*, XI, 29–31. Josiah's account, dated Jan. 8, 1775, is among the Nicholas Biddle Papers.

91 William Moran, first mate of the *Andrew Doria*, was commissioned a lieutenant in February, 1777, and assigned to the Continental sloop *Hornet* in which he was captured in April of the same year. He was sent to England, confined in Forton Prison, and escaped in November. One of those who helped get him out of England called him "a cleaver fellow, was Mait of Biddle." Moran outlined his services in a letter to Franklin, written from Dunkirk, on Dec. 6, 1777. He stated, "I have served since the year Seventy-five." Franklin Papers, VII, 135, APS; B. F. Stevens, *Facsimiles of Manuscripts in European Archives relating to America, 1773–1783* (London, 1889–1898), No. 294.

92 John Margeson, third mate of the *Andrew Doria*, was landed sick at New London, in April, 1776, and, when recovered, was sent to the Continental sloop *Providence*, John Paul Jones, first mate. When Jones transferred with his crew to the *Alfred*, Margeson went with him, and was sent prize master in the ship *Betty*, Dec. 8, 1776. Muster roll of the *Andrew Doria*, Nicholas Biddle Papers; Muster rolls of the *Providence* and *Alfred*, Massachusetts Archives, Boston; John Paul Jones Manuscripts, LC.

93 Silas Deane (1737–1789), member of the Naval Committee of the Continental Congress, was active in the creation of the Continental Navy. George L. Clark, *Silas Deane, a Connecticut Leader in the American Revolution* (New York, 1913), 29.

To Lydia McFunn[94]

[Andrew Doria, Delaware Capes, February 15, 1776][95]

(A Sp[eec]h) of N.B. Before the County Court held at Lewis town Feb: 14th 1776 N:B: The Sheriff was afraid of being acc[oun]t[a]ble for the dept and desired the Court to indemnify him.

["] I was this Morning inform'd that one Green[96] who had deserted from me was last evening on that account taken up and put in your Goal. As it was very common whilst we lay at Reedy Island for the Good People about New Castle to apprehend deserters, and either send them on board or keep them in Goal till we sent for them, I thought I had nothing more to do than to send an Officer to pay his Goal fees and take him out. But it seems that after he was put in Goal for desertion a writ has been served on him for a debt in consequence of which the Sheriff has Refused to deliver up My Man

["] This Man May it please the Court and you Gent. of the jury was put in Phila: Goal for Raising a Mutiny in the Gallies and I Obtaind an Order of the Committee to take him out. Provided he enterd into the Continental Service? and on no other terms would he have been Released. I beg the favoir of the Court to Read a Resolve of Congress Respecting the arresting of Men enterd into their Service which is directly in point.[97] And which I hope you will allow aught to Supercede all other Laws whatever. (the Resolve) by this Gents you see the debt must be attested on Oath before a writ can be issued. In this Case no oath has been made, Neither before nor since the Arrest.

["] I know not the Particular laws of Your Country. But will Venture to say that if you make a distincktion between the Goal and

94 Autograph Letter Signed (3 pp.), Nicholas Biddle Papers.

95 While the salutation and apparently one or two pages of the letter are missing, its date is established by James Biddle's rough draft of a memorial which states, "1776, Feby 15. And^r Doria at the Capes—1 Lre to me and one to Lydia." Nicholas Biddle Papers.

96 William Green had been involved in a mutiny in the Pennsylvania fleet and was sent to jail in Philadelphia from where Biddle took him for the *Andrew Doria*. *Colonial Records*, X, 405, 432.

97 "[Resolved] That it be recommended to all creditors whose demands against any person who is inlisted, or shall inlist in the continental service, shall not amount to the value of 35 dollars, not to arrest any such debtor till the expiration of the time for which he is inlisted." *Journals of the Continental Congress*, IV, 103 (Jan. 30, 1776); *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Feb. 7, 1776.

Goal Yard, and that it [is] against Law to arrest in the Goal and not in the Goal Yard Your Laws differ from those of the Rest of the World. They are both equally Places of Confinement. I again say such Procedure is without Precedent in any other Laws & directly against those of the Congress. It is most strongly Recommended by the Congress to Abate as much as possible the Rigours of the Laws in such Cases. In the Present it is streched far beyond its bounds. I should be very sorry to have the least Cause to Suspect this County of want of firmness in the Cause. But Really this Conduct seems Calculated to counteract their Measures. I shall only add that it is in your Power to give Me the Man as you plainly see that He is not or cannot be Legally detaind. If I am not to have him Let me know the Men by whose power & Authority he is kept in Order that I may transmit their Names to the Congress, And let them take order in the Matter. ['] We will send for his Creditors and talk with them ']— What!!! Whenever I Ship a Man I must send through the Provinces or Continent to know to whom he is indepted and whether or not tis agreeable to them I should have him ['] Oh damn. I believe you may take him———[' "]

twas near five Oclock before I got ashore and what with turning Orator and Breaking the Goal Door made it so late that I did not see my favoirite M^c^corman [*sic*]

Four Raskels stood on their defence Barricaded their Room door which Obliged me to force it. Tell Couzin Clemmy[98] I must owe him a letter till I can find Something worth telling I am very happy in having Sam Nicholas[99] in the fleet If he wants any news in the small ware way, tell him come to you, that I write you ten times as [much] as you can have patience to Read. Give my love to Mother Charles and all Friends I am Yours Aff^y^

N: Biddle

[98] Clement Biddle (1740–1814), Nicholas' first cousin, served from 1776 to 1783 in the Quartermaster's Department of the Army. *Autobiography*, 421–423; Francis B. Heitman, comp., *Historical Register of Officers of the Continental Army* (Washington, 1914), 102.

[99] Samuel Nicholas (? –1790) was the first commissioned officer of the Marine Corps (Nov. 28, 1775) and served as captain of marines on the Continental ship *Alfred* until June, 1776, when Congress commissioned him a major. He saw no more sea duty and retired from the service on Nov. 22, 1781. Papers of the Continental Congress, No. 78. xvii, 301; also *Publications of the Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania*, XI, 84.

[*On the covering sheet*]

Cap[t] Hazard,[100] a Stout Man Very Vain and Ignorant—as much low cunning as Capacity

C: Hacker[101] of the Fly[102] an Active Smart Seaman

C: Stone[103] A Very Stout and Very Good kind of Man

C: Saltonstal,[104] a Sensible indefatigable Morose Man

C Hopkins[105] a Good Naturd Man

C B[106]—a *Mighty good Young Man*

[*Addressed*] To M[rs]
Lydia M[c]funn
in third Street
Philadelphia

100 John Hazard, a New York shipmaster, commanded the sloop *Providence* until dismissed from the Navy by court-martial, May 8 and 9, 1776. *New York Gazette*, July 1, 1771; Papers of the Continental Congress, No. 58, 263.

101 Hoysteed Hacker served in the Continental Navy from Dec. 22, 1775, when he was commissioned a first lieutenant, until June, 1781, when he took leave of absence to enter private employ. His final Continental services were on courts-martial in 1782 and 1783. He petitioned Congress for relief in October, 1786. Papers of the Continental Congress, Committee Book No. 190.

102 The Continental sloop *Fly*, which had brought seamen from Rhode Island, was taken into the fleet by direction of Congress, Jan. 16, 1776, and was destroyed in the Delaware, Nov. 21, 1777, to avoid falling into the hands of the British. *Journals of the Continental Congress*, IV, 60 (Jan. 16, 1776); *New Jersey Gazette*, Dec. 5, 1777.

103 William Stone, a Baltimore sea captain, owned the sloop *Hornet* and commanded her from December, 1775, to April, 1776. *Maryland Journal*, June 19, 1776.

104 Dudley Saltonstall (1738–1796) served as commander, in turn, of the ship *Alfred*, frigate *Trumbull*, and frigate *Warren*. In the latter, in 1779, he lost his reputation, his fleet, and his commission, in the Penobscot Bay disaster. Subsequently he commanded privateers. *Journals of the Continental Congress*, III, 443 (Dec. 22, 1775) and V, 696 (Aug. 22, 1776); Navy Board of Eastern Department Letter Book, LC.

105 John Burroughs Hopkins (1742–1796) was the oldest son of Commodore Esek Hopkins. He commanded the brig *Cabot* until wounded on Apr. 6, 1776, in the engagement with the *Glasgow*. He was assigned June 6, 1776, to the frigate *Warren*, and was suspended from command, May 3, 1779. Subsequently he was in private service. *Journals of the Continental Congress*, III, 443 (Dec. 22, 1775) and V, 422 (June 6, 1776); Navy Board of Eastern Department Letter Book, New York Public Library.

106 Nicholas Biddle himself.

To James Biddle[107]

Andrew Doria Feb: 15th 1776

My Dear Brother

I have the Pleasure to inform you that since I wrote to you we have Received a Reinforcement of 120 Men from Rhode Iland[108] and have also encreased our fleet with a Sloop of ten Guns and 70 Men and small Schooner of 8 two pounders from Maryland.[109] I now muster 109 Men in the Whole, and am in every Respect well equipt. have by great odds the fastest sailing Vessel in the fleet, except a Small Sloop calld the Fly and the Schooner from Maryland with which I have not had a fair tryal. Tis now twelve Oclock & we are now lying at Anchor in Old keel Road at C: Henlopen waiting for wind. tis quite calm and like a Summers day. Fare you well my Dear Brother May the Mercifull God who has upheld Me in all My Dangers and Difficulties Preserve you and Proteckt you from all Evils. May He who has Mercifully led me through the World keep My dear Brothers Cheek from ever being staind with a Blush for me. I well know the Glorious Cause I am engaged in. And if ever I disgrace it May My Kind father who gave me being instantly Blast me in Mercy to me. I mean not to be desperate beyond measure. But to do my duty to the utmost of My Ability. If in spite of my best endeavoir I should be taken. If Fortune Should frown on me I hope I shall bear up against it with that Fortitude Patience and Resignation which I usually found Myself Posessed of, Which has hitherto been sufficient for my purpose And that they ever will be proportionable to my wants Whilst I am Conscious of having disc[h]arged my duty I cannot doubt. I am thank Heaven in Good health and Spirits. And never in my Life was better pleased with a trip I was going to take than I am with this.

I beg you to give my Sincere Love to My dear Sister Fanny to My Mother and all the Family and believe me to be Most Affectionately Yours

N: Biddle

107 Autograph Letter Signed (2 pp.), Nicholas Biddle Papers.

108 "gott 40 Men for ye Fleet from Rhode Island in ye Fly." "Journal of a Cruse In the Brig Andrew Doria," in Robert Wilden Neeser, ed., *The Despatches of Molyneux Shuldham* (New York, 1913), 275; hereafter cited as Shuldham.

109 "on Tuesday ye 13th was join'd by ye Sloop Hornet Schooner Wasp, Arm'd Vessels from Baltimore." *Ibid.*

Feb. the 16th I forgot to tell You that all the Officers and Men of the Fleet have Signd an agreement to Share all Prizes that may be taken in Case of seperation the same as if the whole fleet were together and concerned in taking Such Prizes.[110] Tis a fine evening and at the turn of the tide I hope to sail.

[*Addressed*] To
James Biddle Esqre
in Walnut street
Philadelphia

[*Endorsed by James Biddle*]
Lre Bror Nicholas
Feb 15, 1776
The Capes

To Lydia McFunn[111]

New London April the 26th 1776 A:Doria

My Dear Lydia

I think I may safely say that this is the first spare moment I could find since our first arrival at this port, to speak one word to you. I have been either Sailing or under Sailing Orders continually, and could find no time to tell you what I know you long to hear. I mean [an] account of our Proceedings. And now unfortunate fellow that I am, it is too late, A very circumstantial account having appeard in the papers[112]—Had the Plauguy papers held their *confounded* tongues what a fine field Should I have had before me. With what Pleasure could I have said that in Lattitude North and Longitude West we did Wonders and that in Latt South and Long East we did a great deal more. But Alas I have now nothing to tell you worth your notice except that in the beginning of April one very fine morning we exercised Great Guns and small Arms and had two men hurt by it.[113] And that I am most Affectionately yours. dont be Angry or frightened or Amazed I am not going to follow Charles example to write

110 See Appendix.

111 Autograph Letter Signed (3 pp.), Nicholas Biddle Papers.

112 The first account of the cruise was printed in the *Connecticut Gazette and Universal Intelligencer*, New London, Apr. 12, 1776, and was widely reprinted.

113 This was the engagement with the *Glasgow*, on Apr. 6, 1776, although the journal of the *Andrew Doria* lists only the brig's drummer as being wounded. Shuldham, 287.

a note instead of a letter No no My Dear Lydia I am too much like Genny G: and Nancy B.[114] (thats a Rhime and believe me I did not intend it,) and your own dear self to be so soon tired of talking.—Do give My most sincere love to those two Dear Girls—But dont tell them that I am in love Because I am not quite certain of it Myself. to be sure I was a few days ago. But there never was a more free sociable set of dear Creatures got together in any one place as in this. And so I went into another Company. And so I alter'd my Mind And so I am at a Loss. Yes at a Loss to know which I love most. I am sure I begin to grow Old for My Love fits dont hold half their Usual time. I have known the day when I have been held in Chains during a whole tide of Ebb. I wish you would write to me in Providence or Newport and tell me whether or not My old flame H G[115] is Married. Yet I wont own I have a hankering that way

I think I was never more happy from home than at present, owing as I take it to my being fully employd. I am now (I do not mean at this instant I am writing) Cleaning my Brig for a Cruise, and hope in three or four days to sail. Should I feel in a writing humour before I go out you may probably hear from me again. If You should not swear that I had not time, or any thing else you Please except that I wanted inclination. Remember me most sincerely to Our dear Mother tell Her She may depend on hearing from me as soon as ever Madam Fortune is pleased to Smile upon me. Tell My dear Sisters and Brothers how Much I love them, but that you Cannot. Tell Andrew Robeson[116] I long to hear from him and from all the Rest of My most sincere friends. Tell Cato[117] and his Party that if I take a trip to Purgatory I will never Return to America if they Make peace with the English D–gs. Tell Your Dear Polly[118] that I love her a thousand times better than She thinks I do. Tell the Dear Girls in Your

114 "Genny G" has not been identified. "Nancy B" was Nicholas's first cousin, Ann Biddle, who married Gen. James Wilkinson. *Autobiography*, 375.

115 "HG" has not been identified.

116 Andrew Robeson (1753–1781) was appointed Register of the Admiralty Court of Pennsylvania, in April, 1776. His death, in his twenty-ninth year, brought a eulogy from the *Pennsylvania Packet*, June 2, 1781, which stated: "Few instances have happened where the death of a man, at so early a period of his life, has occasioned more regret among his fellow citizens in general, and a large number of particular friends."

117 "Cato" was the signature of the writer of a number of letters appearing in certain colonial papers, which sought to undo the effectiveness of Thomas Paine's *Common Sense*.

118 Mary Biddle McFunn.

Neighberhood I long to be acquainted with them. Tell Yourself that Katy Hucheson[119] alias Hudson is the finest Woman in Providence except My Polly Gold.[120] She was in St Vincents when the Caribbs were subdued and has since been in London Bermuda and Philadelphia. She enquird but could not find you out. Do not scold so abomanably. I will conclude as soon as ever I can tell You that I am your most Aff^t^ Brother

N: Biddle

To Charles Biddle[121]

[Andrew Doria, New London, May 2, 1776][122]

[No Salutation]

I with great pleasure Receivd your *Note* but did not see Capt Allen,[123] As I Lay a League below the town While he was here—What is it that now Ails our Dear Brother,[124] Why was you not more particular on that head, Why do you tell me only just enough to keep me in doubt and suspence about What is of much more concern to me than any thing that can happen Myself. Does the Damn'd Rhumatism still hang on him. How does our Dear Betty[125] keep up her Spirits. I would write to her and to all the Family, but must first forget in some measure the Shamefull Loss of the Glascow.[126] A More imprudent ill conducted Affair never happend. We were just off a port in which we knew a fleet of Superiour force to ours Lay We had five prizes in Company and all the Stores taken at [New] Providence on Board our Arms Vessels. It was in the night, the Glascow was Standing off from the Land, And we were to windward of Her. We ought, in my opinion to have jogged on with her, till daylight for had

119 "Katy Hucheson" has not been identified. She was, no doubt, a friend of Lydia Biddle McFunn, while the latter resided in Antigua in 1760 or 1761. *Autobiography*, 15.

120 "Polly Gold" has not been identified.

121 Autograph Letter Signed (2 pp.), Nicholas Biddle Papers.

122 The date of the letter is established by the fact that the careening of the *Andrew Doria*, referred to in it, was completed May 1, and the brig sailed on a cruise on May 3, 1776. Shuldham, 295.

123 Capt. Thomas Allen, for whom Charles Biddle expressed the warmest attachment, was lost in his ship with his entire crew in a heavy squall off the North Carolina coast in 1783. *Autobiography*, 62, 188, 189.

124 Edward Biddle had been taken seriously ill in 1775, and never fully regained his health. He died Sept. 5, 1779. *Ibid.*, 389–392.

125 Elizabeth Ross Biddle married Edward Biddle in 1761. *Ibid.*, 370.

126 H.M.S. *Glasgow*, of 20 guns and 130 men, Tyringham Howe, commander. Shuldham, 8.

the Ships been with her then, that were in Company with her the day before, We should every damn'd Soul of us been either taken or sunk. She had all the appearance of a Warlike Vessel. And no one in the fleet doubted her being an English Man of War And therefore there was no room to think She would fly from us till She felt our force. And as there was a tender just to Leeward of her it was more than Probable the Rest of the fleet were out for they seldom separated. If we were A match for the fleet Why did we not Chase her in. tis possible they might have afforded us some Assistance from the the [*sic*] Shore. I had Rather have Dawson's Pilot Boat to Cruise where I please than be even in the A.Doria and follow the fleet. I never but once wishd to have the Command of the Columbus.— And yet I do not see how the Admiral can be Blamd for whether it was against his judgment or not he could not help the Action being brought on. For there was no signal from the time (about two o'clock) I made the one for seeing a Strange sail and the one (about six) for giving over Chase. The Cabot and Columbus run on without Orders but the Cabot got of[f] again as quick as possible and came no more up. In fact She and the Alfred Received their Dose in about a Quarter of an Hour. I know the papers say three Glasses.[127] they must mean half Minute Glasses.—

I have just careend and expect to sail tomorrow or next day to join the fleet who have got safe into Providence.[128] There is a Frigate and twelve Gun Brig off here. And I expect to be forced to run the Ga[u]ntlet. The Ships must have passd them in the Night as they see nothing of them.—

Give my Love to our Dear Mother and all the Family and believe me to be Dear Charles Your

Most Affectionate Brother
Nicholas Biddle

[*Addressed*] To
Cap[t] Charles Biddle
in
Philadelphia

[*Endorsed by James Biddle*]
N[ew] L[ondon] 3.8

127 ". . . and at 3 o'clock engaged her with Part of the Fleet, for 3 glasses." New London dispatch, *Connecticut Courant*, Hartford, Apr. 15, 1776.

128 "Last Thursday night [April 26] the Continental ships Alfred and Columbus, and the brig [*Cabot*] arrived in our Bay." Newport dispatch, *Pennsylvania Gazette*, May 8, 1776.

To James Biddle[129]

Providence Sat: Night May 10th [1776]

My Dear Brother

I have been exceedingly disappointed in not having a line from any of the family except one Short note from Charles since I left the Capes. I have wrote at different time to Charles, Lydia and Yourself but fear My letters have not Reached You. And as Capt Dunn (a Brother of one of My Officers and a Man much Respected here)[130] is going to the southward I shall make another attempt to speak with you.

On our Arrival on this Coast we took a few Vessels the Masters of which Informd us of a fleet being in Newport which we thought much stronger than ourselves. And we Began to look Round for a safe port to Shelter in, When at 1 Oclock on the Morning of the 7th of April we saw a Ship to leeward dogging of us as we steerd off Shore. As it was well known that the Enemy seldom separated we had all the Reason in the world to Believe the Rest of them were not far off.

If it was thought the Conquest would be easy there was Courage shewn in the Attack. If it was judgd otherwise there was no Conduct in Making it before the Prizes had some orders given them—And as it was I think there was neither. there was no order in the Matter. Away we all went Helter Skelter one flying here another there to cut of[f] the Retreat of a fellow that did not fear us. I kept close to the Admiral that I might the sooner Receive his orders. But he had none to give. And the Cabots Running off Obliged Me in order to Clear her to go a little out of my way. And before I could Regain my Ground the Alfred had sheerd off. Had I behavd as Capt. Hopkins[131] did, had I run on without Orders and brought on the Action in the Night I think I should have lost my Commission before now.

The day we arrived at New London I Asked to go out for a few days and the sixth Returnd with a Schooner prize.[132] From that we

129 Autograph Letter Signed (3 pp.), Nicholas Biddle Papers.

130 Benjamin Dunn was sailing master of the *Andrew Doria*. The brother may have been Samuel Dunn, Jr., of Boston. Muster roll of the *Andrew Doria*, Nicholas Biddle Papers.

131 John Burroughs Hopkins, of the *Cabot*.

132 The prize was a recapture, the schooner *John and Joseph*, retaken Apr. 12, 1776. Shuldham, 292, 293.

were kept under sailing Orders But were afraid to go out for fear of some Ships we heard was on [the] Coast till April the 22nd (though I often Askd to go out to discover their force) when I was ordered up to the town of New London to Clean and the Rest of the Vessels saild for this Place. I was unlucky in heaving down and got My Vessel twice full of water but was attended with no other ill consequence than detaining me a day or two Longer. When I was Ready I Run out a head of a Number of Merchant Vessels to no Whether the Coast was Clear. I See the Cerberus[133] and gave them timely Notice But as We were far to windward and the time of day favoirable they thought they might with safety stand on. I thought so too. And if I had not I had no Right to stop them. When I parted with them I had to run so near to her that had She Chased me She could easily have come within gun shot of Me. I have been here this week Ready for Sea and waiting Only for orders. The Cabot is to go with Me And I expect to sail in a day or two on a Cruise. I wish with all my Soul I was not Obliged to be taging after these Dam'd Ships I ask Nothing more of the Congress than the Vessel I have. Good God of Heaven I am out of all patience with being kept so much a port. Do Get Me a Cruizing Commission if it is possible to obtain it. And then You may expect to hear from me. Before you Cannot. Give my Love to the Family And believe Me to be

Your Aff^t Brother
N: Biddle

P S Do take Notice of Capt Dunn he is a worthy Man

[*Addressed*] To
Capt James Biddle
at the Prothoneters Office
in Walnut street
Philadelphia

[*Endorsed by James Biddle*]
Bro^r Nicholas
L R Island
May 1776

133 H.M.S. *Cerberus*, of 28 guns and 160 men, John Symons, commander. Shuldham, 9.

To Esek Hopkins[134]

Andrew Doria May the 21st 1776

Sir

The Night after we left Newport being Chased by a Vessel we took to be the Cerberus the Cabot Run a more direct course for Nantuc[k]et Shoals than I thought safe to do by which Means we have lost company with her. This Morning we took a Sloop bound from Saltertudas to Liverpool in Nova Scotia.[135] Mr. Brown[136] my third Mate to whom I have given Charge of Her will Give You what further information You may want to know

I am Sir your most Obedient Sert:

N. Biddle

[*Addressed*] To
Honble Esek Hopkins Esqr
in
Providence

To Charles Biddle[137]

[Andrew Doria, Newport, June 16, 1776][138]

My Dear Brother

It is with the greatest Pleasure imaginable I Received letters from home as it convinces me that I am not intirely forgot which I had some Reason to suspect, as I have not before Received any except the single line you were pleased to favoir me with, since I left Reedy Island, Altho every other Officer in the Fleet got letters by every post and I seldom let an opportunity pass without writing to one or other

134 Autograph Letter Signed, Esek Hopkins Papers, Rhode Island Historical Society (RIHS).

135 Sloop *Two Friends*, Abraham Copland, master. Newport *Mercury*, May 27, 1776.

136 Philip Brown, who was shipped as a master's mate at Providence in May, and who became acting master on June 17, 1776. Alverda S. Beck, ed., *The Letter Book of Esek Hopkins* (Providence, 1932), 69.

137 Autograph Letter Signed (4 pp.), Nicholas Biddle Papers. The recipient of this letter is identified as Charles Biddle by the reference to "the single line" received from him, and the previous comment in the letter of May 2, 1776, to James Biddle, that he had only received "one Short note from Charles."

138 The date of the letter is based upon Biddle's statement, "Night before last I arrived here," and a dispatch from Newport, June 17, 1776, stating that Biddle had arrived "Last Friday [14th]." *Pennsylvania Gazette*, June 26, 1776.

of the Family. Not a sylable has ever passd between the Admiral and Myself about either the Action or letter you speak of. For the Action he deserved the severest censure And the injustice and Partiality of the letter were so very glaring that it needed no comment, tis not from him that I can expect justice.[139] It must depend on Fortune throwing an opportunity in My way. At Present She seems to sport with me. I have just Returnd from a short Cruise two days after I went out I took a sloop[140] a week after early in the Morning I see two Ships close together I took them with the Speaking trumpet: they were two transports[141] with Highlanders on board who came out with thirty three sail on board of which were three thousand troops bound for Boston. It Blue fresh and there was a very heavy Sea so that it was night before I got every [thing] to Rights. I put all the Soldiers on board one of the Ships. In the other two of the Officers had their wives Them with two other Officers who were sick I left on Board with the Ladies[142] Four of the land Officers the Captains Mates and all the Crews I took on Board the doria And Mannd the Ships with my own People. For thirteen days we kept together On the 14th in the Morning we see five sail of Vessels to windward (wind at North) and soon after they gave us chase. I ordered the Best sailer the one the Soldiers were on Board to steer South the other S S E and I went under an easy sail steering a little wide of them. This I did for two Reasons, that they might think we were Vessels of war that wanted to hem them in, or that we might stand a better Chance of escaping should they come up with us. about Eigh[t] oclock a squall came on and the Ship that steerd south

139 Esek Hopkins's official report to Congress was dated Apr. 8, 1776. A deleted version of it, dated Apr. 9, was first published in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Apr. 17, 1776. In neither the original nor the printed version did the Commodore mention Biddle or the *Andrew Doria*.

140 The *Two Friends*. See Note 135.

141 The *Oxford*, carrying a company of the Forty-second Royal Highland Regiment, and the *Crawford*, with a company of the Seventy-first Regiment, both taken May 29, 1776. "Authentic Account of the Fate of the Scotch Expedition from Clyde," *Public Advertiser*, London, Sept. 16, 1776.

142 The officers on the *Crawford* were Capt. John Smith and Lieut. Robert Franklin, of the Forty-second Regiment, and Capt. Norman McLeod, Lieut. Roderick McLeod, and Ens. Colin Campbell, of the Seventy-first Regiment. The wives of Capt. McLeod and Ens. Campbell were also on board. Peter Force, comp., *American Archives, Fourth Series* (Washington, 1846), VI, 1055.

hauld on a wind to the Westward. And when the Squall blew over She was nearly out of sight to windward. The Vessels who chased us then hauld on a wind to the West ward and when we had Run them out of sight we did the same About four Oclock we saw them again in the N W and at six I saw a large Vessel bearing east steering to the West ward. I wore round and order'd the ship to steer S W At Eight Oclock The Vessel to the E^t^ward was about 3 Leag^s^ off those to the N N W about the same distance when I haul'd up West The Prize then about a mile and half from me in half an hour we lost sight of her and about 9 o'clock we heard several Guns to the N E. But I was in no condition to know the Occasion. I had forty Prisoners who did duty on on [*sic*] Board and when I cleard Ship for Action they were put below under guard and I had but fifty three Men and boys sick and well to fight. I see no Vessels from that time (Except a Sloop outward bound that I brought too one night) till I arrived which was the night before last. I landed my Prisoners and Yesterday Morning some guns being heard in the offing I told the Admiral if he Pleased I would go out and see who it was, he Assented, and I went out and met two of our Sloops and Brig from the west Indies with 13 tons of Powder and other Valuable Articles on Board the Brig had 12 Guns and being chased in by a Frigate our Sloops thought her to be her tender and had fired the Guns we heard at her. The Columbus and Sloops followed me out and we chased the Frigate till four Oclock. I had got so near as to see the Men in her tops but being Obliged to Make several tacks to weather point Judith After She had passd it, She got considerably the [a line cut from the bottom of the page], of me. Had She behaved well She could have taken or driven us back into port again.[143]

I have almost given over hopes of seeing my Prizes any more. I am Glad however that I have got all their Arms and ammunition. I lost one of the Ships ['] and one of my own Boats in carrying the People and things from one Vessel to the other but happily no lives were lost. It was in Lat 42 and Long 55 that I took them. If the Admiral does not send me to that out of the way Place Providence I may be Ready for another Cruise in a few days as I have only to wood and

143 This engagement probably was with H.M.S. *Merlin*, of 16 guns and 100 men, William C. Burnaby, commander, then cruising between Martha's Vineyard and the east end of Long Island. Shuldham, 266, 267.

water and get a New bowsprit. I had pitched away my bowsprit and spritsail Yard in a Calm and Reeft him near three foot the the [*sic*] day before I was Chased—Give my Love to the Family tell them they Shall hear more from me When I am More at Leisure. give my compliments to Montgomery[144] Rice[145] Henderson[146] Houston[147] Boyce[148] &c And believe me to be most Affectionately

Yours N. Biddle

P S I fear Nothing but what I ought to fear. I am much more Afraid of doing a foolish Action than of loosing My Life I aim for a Character of Conduct as well as courage And hope never to throw away the Vessel and Crew merely to Convince the world I have Courage No one has dard to impeach it yet. If any should I will not leave them a Moment of doubt

To Esek Hopkins[149]

New London June the 28th 1776

Sir

I arrived here the 26th of June in company with Capt Hacker in the Fly Who saild for New York with a fair wind yesterday morning

There are several Vessels here outward bound Capt Kennedy who commands one of them Shew me a paper signd by one of the Committee of Congress Directed to the Commander of Continental or Provincial Vessels of War Desiring they would Assist them in getting Clear of the Land And Another to the same purpose signed by General Putman. As soon as a favoirable opportunity Offers I purpose going out a Head of them and to give them a Signal to Return in case I see danger.

Capt Jones[150] has according to Your Orders gone to Boston. I shall send You with this the Account of Stores &c on board the Doria

144 James Montgomery, as captain of the galley *Ranger*, had served with Biddle in the Pennsylvania Navy in 1775. *Pennsylvania Archives, Second Series*, I, 333.

145 John Rice commanded the galley *Dickinson* in 1775. *Ibid.*, 278.

146 Alexander Henderson commanded the galley *Bull Dog* in 1775. *Ibid.*, 252.

147 Thomas Houston had been Biddle's first lieutenant on the *Franklin* in 1775. *Ibid.*, 294.

148 Nathan Boys had succeeded Biddle to the command of the *Franklin* in 1775, and served continuously in the Pennsylvania Navy to 1780. *Ibid.*, 294, 298.

149 Autograph Letter Signed (1 p.), Esek Hopkins Papers, RIHS.

150 Capt. John Paul Jones had succeeded John Hazard to the command of the sloop *Providence*, May 10, 1776. Papers of the Continental Congress, No. 58, 149.

And have Orderd Capt Jones and Capt Hacker to transmit You theirs as soon as possible

I am Sir your Humble Ser^{t}

Nicholas Biddle

[*Addressed*] To
Esek Hopkins Esqr
Commander in Chief of the
Continental Navy
in Philadelphia

[*Endorsed*]
New London June 28th
1776 from Capt Biddle—
And^{w} Doria.

To Esek Hopkins[151]

Newport July the 22 17[76]

Sir

I am to acquaint you that I saild from this place in the Continental Armd Brig Andrew Doria on the 25th of June, and accompanied the Armd Sloop Fly as far as New London on her way to New York. On the 30th I saild from New London on a Cruise And on the 11th of July took the Nathaniel and Elizabeth a Ship bound from Jamacai to London commanded by William Hoare who is the Principle Owner. Just as I had taken the Captain and Crew out of the Ship and Mann'd her another Vessel came in sight to which I gave chase ordering the Prize Master to make the best of his way to the first Port of safety he could get to.[152] The Vessel I Chased Proved to be a French Ship. Cap Hoare saild in Company with a fleet of fifty Sail under Convoy of a Fifty Gun Ship.

I Cruised till the 15th without seeing any of the Rest of the fleet and as the wind blew hard from the S W had no doubt of their having passd me. I then Steerd for Newport and Arrived here Yesterday. I had the Misfortune to strike on a Rock coming out of New London

151 Autograph Draft (1 p.), Nicholas Biddle Papers.

152 The *Nathaniel and Elizabeth* was run ashore and bilged behind Fisher's Island, off New London, while escaping from H.M.S. *Cerberus*, July 17, 1776. *Pennsylvania Evening Post*, Aug. 3, 1776.

which makes it Necessary for to Careen the Vessel. I shall Make what dispach I can in getting Ready for Sea And wait for Orders

I am Sir

Your Humble Servant

To Nicholas Cooke[153]

Andrew Doria, July 26th 1776

Sir

A gentleman in Philadelphia desires me to make enquiry concerning a certain Capt Golly,[154] who was taken in a vessel from Philadelphia, and carried to Halifax, from which place he made his escape, and on his way home was Stopped, and confined in Providence goal. As his wife and friends have not heard any reason assigned for his confinement, they are very uneasy on his account. I am not acquainted with Capt Golly, but the gentleman who writes to me in favoir of him is a warm friend to the cause of liberty.

The subject I write on, will, I hope, apologize for my troubling you and the mentioning the matter induce an enquiry into the cause of his confinement, which if it is (as is apprehended) only on suspicion of being inimical to the cause, may be the means of procuring him his liberty.

I am Sir, with the greatest respect

Your most humble servant

Nicholas Biddle

To James Biddle[155]

My Dear Brother

I have just got here after one of the most disagreeable Passages that ever I experienced—We sprung our Fore Mast and were forcd to get every thing of[f] it to keep it from going over the side. And a

153 Autograph Letter Signed (1 p.), Nicholas Cooke Papers, RIHS.

154 Capt. Golly has not been identified.

155 Autograph Letter Signed (2 pp.), Nicholas Biddle Papers. The frigate *Randolph* had sailed from the Delaware Capes on a cruise about Feb. 12, 1777. Anne Izard Deas, ed., *Correspondence of Mr. Ralph Izard of South Carolina* (New York, 1844), I, 264, 265. Biddle had taken command of the *Randolph* in October, 1776, shortly after his return to Philadelphia from a final cruise in the *Andrew Doria*. *Journals of the Continental Congress*, VI, 861 (Oct. 10, 1776).

few days after we lost our Main Mast which gave way even with the deck, and gave us little more warning than was Necessary to stand from Under. As it Blew a fret of wind and a very high Sea going to see it stagger from side to side with the rowl of the Vessel was as unpleasant a sight as ever I wish to behold. We rigged Jury Masts and very fortunately have got in just before a Gale of Wind came on that would undoubtedly put us ashore. The Randolph is the very Best Vessel for Sailing that ever I knew I hope soon to be out in Her again—

A Person of Credit Declares to me that He knows those Spars our Masts were made of to have lain these 18 Years in the Water at the Mast Yard—

A Gentleman told me today that He se[e] Charles in Hispaniola the Middle of January That he was well and had Purchased a Brigg very Cheap. Said that He was either to come here or go to Philadelphia—[156]

I lost 14 or 15 Men on the Passage by sickness but have been very Hearty Myself. Give My Love to Fanny and the Family. I will write more fully when I have more Leisure. If an oppertunity Offers soon do embrace it and let me know how Neddy is

God Bless You
Nicholas Biddle

Charles Town
Feb: [March] 11th 1777

[*Addressed*] To
Mr James Biddle
Philadelphia
p Express

[*Endorsed by James Biddle*]
Lre
Br. Nich° Ch° Town Feb: 1777

156 Charles Biddle had been captured by the British. He had escaped from Jamaica and had arrived at St. Nicolas Môle, Hispaniola, in January, 1777, in command of a brig which he had purchased jointly with a resident of Jamaica. *Autobiography*, 97.

To Robert Morris[157]

Randolph Sepr 1st 1777

Sir

I have the pleasure to acquaint you that I have at last got once more without the Barr of Charles Town Since I wrote my last letter to you I had another Main Mast Split with Lightning We had been ready for Sea for some time and only waited for Men A Bounty of Thirty Dollars I offerred had little effect and some of the State Armed Vessells being in Port nothing could be done by the State untill they were manned Since I have had my New Main Mast (the third I have had in this Port) the President[158] has given an additional Bounty of Twenty Dollars by the help of which I have got many Men I have Officers & Boys included about Two Hundred & Ten People

Several Capts of Privateers have been detected in carrying off my People but I can get no redress of them From one I had taken four Men in lieu of as many he had enticed & taken from me but the Civil Power obliged me to give them up I applied to the President and he ordered the Capt to replace my Men or he would not let him pass the Forts The Capt Sailed without giving me a Man A few Days since a Privateer Brig Charles Morgan Commander[159] was comming in I had certain intelligence of his having four of my Men on Board I sent my Barge to Board him but he would not bring too I was Determined to Sink him if he did not and fired at him He brought too and I got two Men from him Two others he had put in a Prize I sent five Men to the President who swore he had Ship'd them knowing them to belong to me But as I could not Stay for a tedious Law Suit no Satisfaction is to be had. It tis easy for those Fellows to act so as to make it difficult to prove they knew of their being on Board untill they Sailed but this was not the case in this instance I wish to have instructions how to conduct myself in such circumstances Also with respect to State armed Vessells. If none of my People had been taken away I could have been at Sea Three months ago and long before my last Main Mast was Struck. Indeed I had despaired of getting Men and was the Day the Lightning Struck us

157 Autograph Letter Signed (2 pp.), Papers of the Continental Congress, No. 78, ii, 237.

158 John Rutledge, president of the South Carolina Privy Council.

159 Privateer brig *Fair American*.

Bending Sails Thinking it better Risk to getting Men at Sea than Lie here on an uncertainty at this Season so bad for the Worms

Lieut^t Falconier[160] of Marines is so exceeding Troublesom and has behaved in so many instances unworthy the Charracter of an Officer that I can not hesitate a moment to comply with the Request of the Officers which I inclose under cover to you and which contains the principle Charges against him[161] I have ordered him to proceed to Congress

I am with the Greatest Respect Your most Ob^t
Humble Servant
Nicholas Biddle

[*Addressed*] To the
Honble Robert Morris Esqr

P:S: The Ship does not Sail well owing to Her being foul

To Robert Morris[162]

Sir

I have the Pleasure to acquaint You that on the fourth of Septr 30 Leag^s S E of Charles Town Barr I met with and took after a little Resistance the True Britain Thomas Venture Master[163] of twenty six pounders and seventy four Men

The Brig Charming Peggy Capt Lyon[164] both Laden with Rum for the British Army and Navy and bound from Jamacai to New York—The Ship Severn Capt Henderson of eight four pounders who had been taken by an American Cruizer on His Passage from Jamacai to London, And Retaken by the True Britain.[165] Also a French Brig

160 Panatiere de la Falconniere was commissioned a lieutenant of marines by the Marine Committee and assigned to the *Randolph*. *Journals of the Continental Congress*, V, 747 (Sept. 9, 1776).

161 The detailed charges against Falconniere are in the Papers of the Continental Congress, No. 78, ii, 239.

162 Autograph Letter Signed (2 pp.), *ibid.*, 241.

163 The *True Briton* had a cargo of 399 hogsheads of rum, 20 hogsheads of sugar, 7 hogsheads of coffee and 10 pipes of Madeira wine, and carried a number of passengers bound for New York. *Gazette of the State of South Carolina*, Sept. 15, 1777.

164 The *Charming Peggy* carried 250 hogsheads of rum. *Ibid.*

165 The *Severn* had been taken, on Aug. 3, 1777, by a North Carolina privateer, and had been retaken, on Aug. 17, by the *True Briton*. The *Severn*'s cargo consisted of 195 hogsheads and 74 tierces of sugar, 53 puncheons of rum, 50 bags of ginger, and 11 tons of logwood. *Ibid.*

laden with salt going from the West Indies for Charles Town Which Capt Venture had made Prize of[166]—There was a small Sloop in Company with those Vessels that made Her escape (the Weather being Squally) whilst I was Manning the Rest—I Arrived Safe here with My Prizes the 7th inst: I have not laid Claim to Salvadge for the French Brig as I thought it would be most agreeable to Congress to give her up.—For an account of the Cargoes I beg leave to Refer You to Mr Dorsius's letter—[167]

The Randolphs Bottom is very foul having lain in this Port the three worst Months in the Year since We Cleaned—And Being apprehensive that the Worms will Ruin her Bottom unless they are soon destroyd, I have thought Proper and am preparing to heave Her down

I shall be as expeditious as possible and hope to be Ready to execute any Orders You may Please to send by the Return of the Express—I cannot omit telling You that My Officers have on every Occasion given Me the greatest satisfaction Two better Officers are not in the Service than Barnes[168] and M^cdougal[169] My first and second Lieuts: And the Men I took from here behaved exceeding well—

I am Sir with the Greatest Respect

Your Most Obedient Humble Servant
Nicholas Biddle

[*Addressed*] To
The Honble Robert Morris Esqr
[Charleston] Sep^t 12th 1777

166 The French brig *L'Assomption*, Andrew Laffont, master. *Ibid.*

167 John Dorsius was one of the Continental agents at Charleston, S. C. His letter, dated Sept. 12, 1777, is in the Papers of the Continental Congress, No. 78, vii, 127.

168 William Barnes, first lieutenant of the *Randolph*, had been a colonial shipmaster as early as 1764, and was commissioned to the *Randolph* by Congress, on Aug. 13, 1776. In his will, made at Charleston, Jan. 14, 1778, he bequeathed most of his property to "prossilla Walker of great valey in Treduferin Township Chester County." *Pennsylvania Archives, Second Series*, II, 640, 645, 651; *Journals of the Continental Congress*, V, 649 (Aug. 13, 1776); Will Book, 1774–1779, Charleston Free Library (CFL).

169 John McDougall, a nephew of Gen. Alexander McDougall of New York, had served with Biddle since the creation of the Continental Navy. He had been appointed third lieutenant of the *Andrew Doria*, in December, 1775, and had been promoted and transferred to the *Randolph* at his captain's request. Will Book, 1774–1779, CFL; Muster roll of the *Andrew Doria*, Nicholas Biddle Papers.

To James Biddle[170]

Charles Town November the
22nd 1777

My Dear Brother

If you could form any Idea of the unhappiness I feel at not haveing a single line from home during the Many months that I have staid here You will I am sure favoir me with on[e]

If an express or Gentleman comes in from Pennsylvania My friends here tell me they hope all my Friends at home are well. And I am sick of Repeating that I do not get a line from any one there. They Naturally conclude I am a Person very little Esteem'd or some one or other would surely take notice of me—These considerations together with an ardent desire I have of doing My duty made me on the first of Sept when the Pilot wishd Me joy on being safe over the Bar of Charles Town burst into tears and cry God Bless You, Altho we struck twice in going over and (as I have since found) knocked off 11½ feet of the false keel.

On the fourth We came up with two Ships two Brigs and a small armed Sloop—They fired on us for about an Hour as we run down before the wind upon them one Ship had 20 the other 8 Guns—Both Ships and one Brig Struck after giving them a few Broadsides. The other Brig and Sloop steerd different Courses. The Brig I Chased and took—but the Sloop got off—One of the Brigs was a Frenchman I let Her go—But they Came here under My Convoy—The Eighth of Sept I got My Prizes safe in Port—Their was not a Man Killd on either side and but three or four wounded—My Ship being very full of Barnacles and oysters which grow Amazingly fast here in the Sunshine thrive on Vessels Bottoms—I came in to Clean I wrote to Neddy but find the letter was mislaid and not sent by the express

The Prizes altogether sold for about [torn]ty Thousand Pounds Sterling—Agents Commission and expences attending the Sales will amount to 12 or 15 thousand sterling The half of the rest will will [*sic*] be divided among My self officers & Crew—I think it a dam'd Shame that an Agent should have nearly as much as Myself and all the Commisn officers on Board for doing no Business and Running no Risk either of Property or Person For he employs a Gentleman

170 Autograph Letter Signed (3 pp.), Nicholas Biddle Papers.

who for one and half per C^{t} does the Business, Runs all Risks of bad debts Bad money &c—[171]

Since I wrote the foregoing I have Received a letter from You by Major Butler.[172] It is the only one from any of the Family (Nancy & C Biddle, excepted) Since I left You

I have had a very narrow escape from a Fever that laid Violent hands on me soon after I came in to Port.—And to Comfort Me in my distress the Randolph was Sunk in Careening and lay under water two Weeks before they could get Her up.[173] I need not tell you that I felt much more concern on account of the Ship than for My own Safety—I am now well and hope Soon to Sail—But as it [torn] on getting Men in place of those wh[torn] while the Ship was Sunk I cannot certainly say how soon it May be.—

Andrew Robeson has My Power of Atorney I wish it could be instrumental in getting You What Prize Money May be due to Me from the Northward—I wish You to get it and Make use of it for the Family

I will write to Neddy by the next oppertunity—Give my Love to the Family and believe me to be Most Affectionatly

Yours Nicholas Biddle

[*Addressed*] To James Biddle Esqr
To the care of the Honble
Robert Morris Esqr

[*Endorsed by James Biddle*]
Lre
Bro^{r} Nicholas
Chas Town Nov. 1777

171 The Continental agents at Charleston were Levinus Clarkson and John Dorsius. Clarkson, however, had taken a leave of absence in April, 1777. Charles Oscar Paullin, ed., *Out Letters of the Continental Marine Committee and Board of Admiralty* (New York, 1914), I, 38, 116.

172 Maj. Pierce Butler, of the South Carolina Militia. Heitman, 137.

173 A Britisher, who sailed from Charleston on Oct. 7, 1777, reported on his arrival at New York that "at Hobcow on the eighth of September, she [the *Randolph*] overset, and, notwithstanding every effort was made use of to weigh her, she lay full of mud the fifth of October, and there was little hopes of her floating again." *Pennsylvania Evening Post*, Nov. 20, 1777.

To Robert Morris[174]

Charles Town November the 23rd 1777

Sir

I enclose to You a letter I have received from the Navy Board and My Answer, for your Perusal.[175]

As the Answer contains the intelligence I should have sent to You, a Repetition I suppose needless.

I have not Received any instructions from the Honble the Marine Committee since My cruise altho the Board of Commerce writes Mr. Dorsius word, that letters have been sent to me.[176]

The Randolph is Rigged, with her Guns and most of Her stores on Board. I have Recruiting Parties out and A Prospect of getting from Here in two or three weeks. I am Sir with the greatest Respect Your very Humble Sert

Nicholas Biddle

[*Addressed*]
To the Honble
Robert Morris Esqr.

Charles Biddle to James Biddle[177]

Newbern June 10th 1778

My dear sir

Thinking that my going to Chas Town might be of some service in Settling Our poor Dr N. affairs, as soon as I was Certain of his fate, I imedeately sett off And return'd a few days ago—the most disagreable journey I ever undertook, the Excessive heat of the Weather, and the Necessity of my being soon back, made me ride it in seven days: it is near three hundred Miles, a deep Sandy road, it has fatigued me much, but I Enjoy a perfect State of health—No Man Ever fell more lamented than our Brother what a figure Would he have made had God permitted him to have Continued a little longer Where was there a More Virtuous Man? a More prudent

174 Autograph Letter Signed (1 p.), Franklin Delano Roosevelt Collection, Hyde Park, N. Y.

175 The whereabouts of these letters, if still in existence, is not known.

176 The Marine Committee wrote to Biddle from York Town, Pa., Oct. 24, 1777, directing him to proceed on a cruise to France. Paullin, I, 161, 162.

177 Autograph Letter (4 pp., incomplete), Nicholas Biddle Papers.

brave and Vigilant Officer? that damn'd Ship: what a Chance that he fell in with her[178]—I fret to think I was not with him in the Randolph, if I could not have prevented I should have shar'd his fate—but he Could not bear me to talk about it. he pursuaded me not to go in the G: M:[179] and told me (what I well knew) that with the Crew she had I could get Neither honour to myself or Country, poor dear fellow; he told me when I left Ch^s Town, as the plan was Altered about attacking the Ships of[f] the barr, he did not beleave he should go Out with the fleet. he told Miss Atcheson[180] After I left C. Town that he thought it too Much for his Mother to risque two sons in the ship.

the Night I got in to C.Town I heard from Mrs Dewees[181] that a Gentleman in a large Company had given a toast that seem'd to reflect upon the Conduct of Our D^r N In the temper I was then in, I felt a gloomy pleasure in thinking I should have an oppertunity of Calling out any Man, that dard to say a Word against him: when she saw I was much affected, She endeavour'd to Conceal the person that told her, but I soon found it was Col: Stockholm.[182] it was then Eleven oClock at Night. I went Imedeately to him. he said he did not think he Could be Answerable to Mention the Gentlemens Name, Without Consulting some of the Company; & knowing wether they took it in the same light that he did: As I knew him to be a warm freind of N. I did not make use of the language I otherwise would have done, but told him I must and Would know who dar'd to give it. After sometime he informed me it was Capt Morgan,[183] as he was an Old Acquaintance I was much Shock'd, however I should have Challenged any Man that would throw Out the most distant reflection upon such a Brother—I slept None all Night. Indeed the thoughts of my being in the bed, that I so Lately us'd to sleep with our Brother

178 H.M.S. *Yarmouth*, 64 guns, Capt. Nicholas Vincent.

179 Ship *General Moultrie*, of 18 guns and 200 men. Charles Biddle had commanded her briefly, from Dec. 27, 1777, to Jan. 6, 1778. *Autobiography*, 104.

180 Miss Atcheson has not been identified.

181 Mrs. Dewees was a Charleston landlady with whom both Nicholas and Charles Biddle roomed while ashore. *Autobiography*, 106 (where the lady is called Mrs. Dennis). This whole incident, as described in the letter, differs materially from the story in the *Autobiography*. As it was written soon after Charles Biddle's return from Charleston, the letter is likely the correct version.

182 Col. Stockholm has not been identified.

183 Capt. Charles Morgan, of the brig *Fair American*.

in, would have prevented me, if nothing Else. I knew Morgan had a diffrence with N. when he came in from Sea, he hoisted his pendant, and not halling it down the Minute he was Ordered, N. fired a Shot into him, some Gentlemen on board, ask'd him, if he was not acquainted with Cap^{n} Morgan, he told them, he knew no person when his duty Call'd upon him to take notice of them, & had his Colours brought on board—Early in the Morning I sent the following note to him—["] Sir—I heard last Night, that you had given a toast in publick Company that was thought by some present to reflect upon the Conduct of my Brother, from you as an officer in the Expedition it was taken more Notice of than it would have been, by One, who had not been in the fleet—send an Imediate Explination by Major Low,[184] who waits upon you for that purpose—["]—In his Answer he Exprest the Greatest Surprize that any one Could take the sentiment in the light it had been mentioned to me; that what he gave was "More Wisdom to those at the head of Our Navy" that he meant to reflect upon the people at C^{e} Town who fitted the Vessells Out, & knew nothing about it: That so far from reflecting upon my Brother, there was no man living he had so high an Esteem for, and he would lose his Existance if he Could bring him back to life; that he was sure a braver, nor better officer never liv'd and he would be one of the first to Call any Man to an Account that said a word against him and was willing to publish anything to that purpose. I had some thoughts as the toast was given in publick Company to have published my letter & his Answer but was afraid it Might be look'd upon as a piece of Vanity, however he will do publick justice to his Character—I found afterwards that from his first Arrival he had been lavish in praise of N. and Never Mentioned him without tears—he din'd aboard him and spent the whole day with N. before the fatal 7th of March there were three hundred and six Men on board, and not a Man sick, but Fanning, the third Lieutenant,[185] who went sick from C^{e} Town—he says they spent the day Merrily and N. Call'd to him after he was in the boat, Now Morgan I wish to be a longside of any thing they got but a two decker—they saw the Damn'd Ship

184 Probably William Lowe, or Love, of the Third South Carolina Regiment. Heitman, 358.

185 Lieut. Joshua Fanning, who had served in the Continental Navy since December, 1775. He was originally sailing master of the ship *Columbus*. Efforts of his descendants to recover wages and prize money due him form an interesting collection of letters in the John Fanning Watson Manuscript Annals, HSP.

upon their Wether Quarter about four o Clock, the Randolph Imedeately Wore, and hove Out a signal to Chase, at dark as she was bearing down upon them, they hove too—for sometime they lost sight of her—about half past Seven she fir'd a Gun, hove too & hail'd Sullivan[186] in the G[l] Moultrie, who Answered the Polly, She Ask'd what Ship that was a head, he told them the George (then the fleet where in the following Situation the Randolph a Little ahead of the G.M. the Fair American off the Randolph's lee bow, the Polly off the G.M. lee Quarter and the Notre Dame a stern of her, then they haild the Ship a head. Sullivan Could not here to distinguish their Cross words, but they haled Imedeately from the Randolph asking what Ship that was, they answered the Yarmouth, with that N. told them, this is the Randolph, Biddle—the officer on board the Y——— Cried out Hoa. Hoa are you there, with that the Engagement began and lasted for upwards of twenty Minutes (a hotter I believe never known) before the Randolph blew up—poor N. had an Acc[t] from the Vessell he took the day before, & before she Sail'd, that there was Nothing larger than a frigate Cruising in that Lattitude and he Could Suppose her Nothing Else, for as she came ranging up [balance of letter missing]

APPENDIX

Glossary of rigging terms from Nicholas Biddle's letter of May, 1772, to his brother Charles.

Bee—a piece of hard wood bolted to the side of the bowsprit; also called the bee block.

Belay—to make a turn or turns with a running rope around a cleat to hold secure.

Bite—to take hold of firmly.

Bobstay—a rope extending from the stem to the end of the bowsprit to hold the latter down.

Block—a grooved pulley incased in a frame which is provided with a hook, eye, or strap by which it may be attached.

Cat harpen (cat harpin)—one of the short ropes used to brace in the shrouds toward the masts so as to give free sweep to the yards.

Collar—an eye in the end of a stay or shroud to go over the masthead.

186 Capt. Philip Sullivan, whose lack of judgment is described by Charles Biddle. *Autobiography*, 393–395.

Dead eye—a rounded, flattish wooden block encircled by a rope, used to set up shrouds and stays.
Gears—the rigging in general, or specifically, the equipment required for any particular sail or spar.
Head—the top of a mast.
Heel—the lower end of a mast.
House—to stow or secure.
In stays—in the act of going about from one tack to another.
Messenger—a rope passed around the capstan and having its two ends lashed together to form an endless rope.
Neck—the part of a mast just below the heel of the topmast.
Pendant—a comparatively short rope depending from a spar, having at its free end a block, or spliced thimble.
Purchase—a pulley or tackle.
Salvager (selvegee)—a skein or hand of rope yarn wound round with yarn or marline for stoppers or straps.
Spring stay—a preventer stay, to assist the regular one.
Sprit sail lift—a rope leading from the masthead to the extremity of the yard to support it.
Stay—a strong rope used to support a mast of a vessel; to support or secure with a stay or stays.
Tie (tye)—a rope passing through the mast and made fast to the center of a yard, the other end being attached to a tackle, for hoisting or lowering.
Thimble—a ring of thin metal formed with a grooved outer edge so as to fit within an eye splice and protect it from chafing.
Viol—a large rope, sometimes used in weighing anchor.

Aggreement to Share Prizes when Separated[187]

[February, 1776][188]

We further agree as an Addition to the above Invitation[189] that all Prize or Prizes that shall be taken in Company or in Case of Separa-

[187] Contemporary Copy (1 p.), Nicholas Biddle Papers.

[188] The date was prior to Feb. 13, 1776, when the *Hornet* and *Wasp*, from Baltimore, joined the fleet at Cape Henlopen. Neither vessels figure in the agreement.

[189] The "above Invitation" comprised the shipping articles Congress had evolved as part of the "Rules and Regulations of the Navy of the United Colonies." Each commander had printed copies of the articles which he and his entire complement had to sign. It covered in detail the distribution of prize shares. *Journals of the Continental Congress*, III, 378–387 (Nov. 28, 1775).

tion by the Ship Alfred D:Saulterson Esqr[190] Commander; Ab^{m} Whipple Esqr of the Columbus, N Biddle Esqr of the Brig^{t} And: Doria—Jno Hopkins Esqr of the Brig^{t} Cabot, Jno Hazard Esqr of the Sloop Providence, & Hoysteed Hacker Esqr of the Sloop Fly, shall be equally Divided according to ye resolutions of the Congress, as if at all Times they were Embodied in one Fleet, In Case any of ye above Ships or Vessells should be taken, Lost or cast away they shall be entitled to as good a Share or Shares thereof as if they had actually been at the Capture of the aforesaid Prise or Prizes during the Term Mentioned in the above Invitation, Provided always that the Officers or Seamen so cast away or taken shall do their best Endeavours to gett on Board some one of the above mentioned Vessells, And the Captains of each ship shoud send as soon as may be to the Commander in Chief a Certificate under his Hand, that his Ships Company had subscribed the above Agreement.

[190] Dudley Saltonstall.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Papers of Thomas Jefferson. Volume I: 1760–1776. Edited by JULIAN P. BOYD. Associate Editors: LYMAN H. BUTTERFIELD and MINA R. BRYAN. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. lviii, 679 p. Illustrations. $10.00.)

By the time this review is printed every subscriber to THE PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY, along with most newspaper readers and radio listeners in the United States, will have become aware of at least some of the fabulous features of the Boyd-Butterfield-Bryan edition of *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson.* Merely to outline the scope of the edition, merely to describe its sponsors, is to reveal why the publication last May of Volume I was reported in the press, in the newsreels, and over the air as a national event.

This first volume of Jefferson's papers begins a series that will include at least fifty additional volumes each averaging 400,000 words. The series, when it is completed in 1963, will reproduce all of the 18,000 letters written by Jefferson as well as the 25,000 letters (sometimes complete, more often in summary) written to him. A dozen of the volumes will be topical: legal papers, *Notes on Virginia,* farm books, the Jefferson "Bible," etc. Each volume is to be printed on a special paper with a special type (based on a type face first cast at Philadelphia in 1796 by Binney & Ronaldson) christened the "Monticello." Total cost of editing and publishing the *Papers* is estimated at a million dollars. Without exaggeration *The New York Times* could say with proprietary enthusiasm, the Boyd edition is "one of the largest book-publishing projects in the nation's history."

The sponsorship of the edition is equally newsworthy; certainly no previous work of scholarship in this country ever elicited such distinguished and varied support. The first move toward publication was initiated in 1943 by the Congress of the United States with the personal blessing of Franklin D. Roosevelt. Responsibility for carrying the work forward was then assumed by Princeton University, while the actual editing was gotten under way by a $200,000 grant from *The New York Times,* given as a memorial to Adolph S. Ochs. The Princeton University Press, with daring equal to its faith, has undertaken, without subsidy, the colossal job of manufacturing and distributing the set. In his editorial capacity Mr. Boyd had the active support of the twenty-two members of a blue-ribbon advisory committee, the aid of hundreds of private individuals, and the co-operation of scores of libraries and learned societies. From the beginning, the Library of Congress was a major partner in the undertaking, and it was at the

Library on May 17 that the unprecedented laying-on-of-hands took place, in which President Truman, General Marshall, and Douglas Freeman ("America's greatest historian," to quote Truman) officially introduced Volume I to the world. This climactic celebration, in the words of one acute observer, seemed less like a release of a work of scholarship than like a ritual dedication of a great public works such as a bridge, a national museum or art gallery.

In a strictly pragmatic sense, any work that can create such a furor "deserves" its fame. To speak bluntly, however, the name Jefferson has taken on such a magical aura in recent years, the Virginian has become the object of such hero worship that we must remember that any "big" Jefferson project would probably be hailed as a masterpiece today if its execution was even reasonably adequate. Thus it behooves one passing judgment on any Jefferson book to be wary of superlatives, to recall that "bigness" is quantity not quality, to remember that the manufacture of publicity about mediocre performances is an established national industry.

With due regard for these facts, candidly recognizing that some of the recent cheers for Jeffersonianism have risen from causes remote from scholarship, there can be only one conclusion about the Boyd-Butterfield-Bryan achievement. As a work of historical scholarship the edition is truly great; the editors earned all the fanfare they were accorded on May 17, and, in fact, deserved more than they got.* Indeed, it can be predicted (with a sober and strict concern for the exact meaning of the word "greatest") that the *Jefferson Papers* when completed will probably stand as the greatest technical triumph of historical scholarship produced in the twentieth century.

This first volume demonstrates that the Boyd-Butterfield-Bryan *Jefferson* is not merely a triumph by earlier standards of historical editing, but, more importantly, creates a new standard of technical excellence never before attained. The special problems of the Jefferson manuscripts—the number of documents involved plus the fact that they were scattered to the four winds—forced Mr. Boyd and his co-editors to experiment with a whole series of new devices made possible by modern technology. With daring, imagination, and intelligence, they have pioneered in the utilization of the microfilm camera and the V-mail duplicator as the basic editorial tool. As a result they were able to assemble in one file a complete corpus in photofacsimile of every document to be edited—a file such as no previous editors of a comparable work had available. And the results shown in this first volume justify their innovations magnificently.

In the first place, the economy resulting from the use of photofacsimiles made possible the decision to publish the letters *to* Jefferson. The gain in historical understanding from this double exchange is overwhelming. Often

* To this observer the one false note in the Library of Congress celebration—it also drew editorial comment from at least one newspaper—was the failure to have Mr. Boyd sit with the other guests of honor on the stage, which was apparently too small to hold all the very important people who wished to praise Jefferson.

the in-letters are as revealing as Jefferson's own (see particularly the hitherto unpublished letters from Page, Pendleton, and R. H. Lee in the summer of 1776), and even the most familiar and dramatic of Jefferson's writings take on freshness and new meaning when read as part of a living dialogue. Mr. Boyd's new technique will make all of us dissatisfied in the future with the old-fashioned edition of letters cast in the form of a monologue in which a great man addresses a disembodied collection of ghosts and waits not for an answer.

In the second place, the novel use of photoduplicates throughout the editorial process has produced a text that is probably as free from errors of transcription as is humanly possible. Precious original documents such as the Declaration of Independence must be handled with extreme care, and cannot be used to check galley and page proof. Even the best transcripts, however, breed errors in arithmetic progression. Photofacsimiles allow proof to be double checked and thus reduce error to a minimum. Here again the Boyd-Butterfield-Bryan pioneering has set a standard that will serve as a bench mark for all future editors.

Finally, as the editors discovered in the process, the very attempt to set up a chronological file of every known Jefferson document—an attempt that could not have been made without the photoduplicates—revealed relationships in whole series of documents and showed stages in the development of Jefferson's ideas not previously recognized. This is probably the most unexpected feature of Volume I, covering as it does a period in Jefferson's life in which his papers are relatively scarce but well known. It is also the period in Jefferson's life that has recently been covered by two biographies written on an extended scale, so there was little reason to suspect that the *Jefferson Papers* would do much more than elaborate what was already familiar. Take, for example, the attempt to date the two bills for dividing Fincastle County, both written in October, 1776. The effort to decide which was drafted earlier, the attempt to disentangle them, could only be accomplished by following their legislative history "step by step." The result is an original and significant revelation of Jefferson's skill as a parliamentarian and of his early championship of the rights of western settlers against tidewater land speculators. The Fincastle documents make it easy to see the superlative technique in action. The same skill is apparent in the linking of preliminary documents to the *Summary View;* the series of four drafts of the *Causes for Taking up Arms;* the six documents under the heading, *The Virginia Constitution;* and the nine documents dealing with the disestablishment of the Virginia Church. Readers of THE PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE who remember Mr. Boyd's analysis of the part John Dickinson and Jefferson played in drafting the *Causes for Taking up Arms*, published in THE MAGAZINE, already know the fruitfulness of the Boyd technique. In effect, the editorial note on each of these linked groups of documents is a compressed equivalent of that essay. Even Mr. Boyd's own study of the evolution of the text of the Declaration of Independence, which seemed in

1945 to be a complete and definitive monograph, is now superseded by the account in the *Jefferson Papers*.

The Boyd-Butterfield-Bryan *Jefferson* does indeed promise to be more like a monumental public works than a mere set of books. The completed series will be like a mighty bridge connecting us in the present with one of the great personalities of the American past. It will be the monument that Jefferson himself requested on his deathbed—that Madison take care of his memory after he was gone. And it is also a monument to the craft of the twentieth-century historian—his industry, his organizing power, his search for truth, his imaginative insight into the past—operating, as these editors have, at the very peak of the profession's potential.

Williamsburg, Va. DOUGLASS ADAIR

Margaret Fell, Mother of Quakerism. By ISABEL ROSS. (London and New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1949. xviii, 421 p. Illustrations, appendices, index. $6.00.)

Margaret Fell was Mrs. George Fox. She first met the Quaker leader when, as a youth of twenty-eight, he came to her hospitable home, Swarthmoor Hall, in Lancashire. She was ten years older than he, the wife of a magistrate of substantial means, and already the mother of seven children. She knew nothing of the Quakers, but the young man soon remedied that: he presented the message of the new sect so persuasively that she and her household capitulated at once. Judge Fell was away at the time. When he came riding back from London three weeks later, he was met on the road by a long-faced delegation led by the local Anglican clergyman, who informed him that his family had been bewitched by an irresponsible young dervish. Judge Fell took his way sadly home. That very evening, at the wife's request, George Fox came again; she wanted her husband to hear and decide for himself. "After supper my husband was sitting in the parlour, and I asked if George Fox might come in; and he said 'Yes.' So George came in . . . and spoke very excellently as ever I heard him. . . . And so my husband came to see clearly the truth of what he spoke, and was very quiet that night, and said no more, and went to bed."

The visit of the young prophet was full of destiny for Margaret Fell. She threw in her lot unreservedly with the new movement, made her home a meeting place for its leaders, spoke for it, wrote for it, and suffered for it; indeed she spent more than four years in the miserable jails of the time because of her allegiance to it. By that time her husband had died, and the government, as part of her penalty, compelled her to forfeit her ownership of her beloved Swarthmoor Hall. Her only son turned against her. But her loyalty to Fox never wavered, and finally, when he was forty-five and she was fifty-five, the father and mother of Quakerism became man and wife. Much of their life continued to be spent apart, for Fox's missionary journeys

took him far afield to America and elsewhere; she was not with him when he died; and she long outlived him. In her combination of devotion with independence of spirit, the author of her biography thinks that she went far toward setting the pattern of later Quaker womanhood.

Margaret Fell was very much of a person. She wrote several books, and at least one of these was translated into Dutch and then, since she was a strong friend of the Jews, into Hebrew. Isabel Ross believes, and apparently with good evidence, that this last translation was done by none other than the great philosopher Spinoza, then a young outcast from his own people in Amsterdam. Although Margaret Fell was uncompromising about Quaker essentials, she had her own views as to what these were, and when it came to costume, she was unorthodox. She disliked "Quaker grey," connived with her daughters in their love of bright colors, and wrote a letter in her old age "beseeching Friends not to think a uniform dress and color bespoke the pure life within." She was capable of writing from her prison cell to the King himself in stern remonstrance and rebuke.

It is fortunate that this biography of a distinguished woman should have been written by a woman, for it is full of the sort of interesting detail about the housekeeping, the marriage customs, the comforts and discomforts of life in the seventeenth century, which a masculine eye would be only too likely to miss. Not that the other kind of incident goes unrecorded; take this choice titbit for example: Leonard Fell "when travelling alone was robbed of his money and his horse. He warned the robber of his evil ways, who then threatened to murder him. 'Though I would not give my life for my money or my horse, I would give it to save thy soul,' answered Leonard. The highwayman thereupon gave back all he had taken." It was through this kind of physical and moral countryside that Margaret Fell had to make her way, and because she took that way with such exemplary courage Isabel Ross thinks that her sturdy soul has gone marching on in many of the mothers and daughters of later Quakerism.

Yale University BRAND BLANSHARD

A Topographical Description of the Dominions of the United States of America. [Being a Revised and Enlarged Edition of] A Topographical Description of Such Parts of North America as are Contained in The (Annexed) Map of the Middle British Colonies, & in North America. By T. POWNALL, M.P. Edited by LOIS MULKEARN. (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1949. xvi, 238 p. Illustrations, map, bibliography, index. $10.00.)

Thomas Pownall, whose long life extended from 1722 to 1805, acquired a grasp of colonial affairs enjoyed by very few Britons who came to America in an official capacity during the colonial period. His own stay in the Western Hemisphere was indeed of only six years' duration. Yet his interests

in American affairs antedated and long survived his sojourn in America. After serving in the Office of the Board of Trade he came to the colonies in 1753 as secretary to Sir Danvers Osborne, and when that unfortunate committed suicide two days after assuming the governorship of New York, Pownall remained in America in an essentially unofficial capacity. Sensing the impending climax of the struggle with France for the control of the North American continent, he became intensely interested in strategic considerations, and although not a delegate, urged upon the Albany Congress of 1754 the importance of establishing effective control over the Great Lakes region. On his return to England in 1756, at the time that Pitt was taking control of the war effort from the ineffectual hands of Newcastle, Pownall, young, vigorous, dynamic, and primed with information, seems to have made a profound impression upon the great minister whose temperament was so much like his own. He was rewarded with the governorship of Massachusetts, and on arriving in Boston sought to throw the resources of the Bay State behind the war effort with an energy which the military commander Lord Loudoun relished, but with an independence which he did not. Indeed, in his efforts to secure Massachusetts' support for the war Pownall seems to have gone further than other colonial executives in like position in making concessions to colonial aspirations at the expense of the royal prerogative. It was principally on this account that he was removed from office in 1759. He was appointed Governor of South Carolina, but returned to England and never assumed administration of the southern colony. For much of the rest of his life he displayed a continued interest in America, partly through his activities in Parliament, but still more through his writings.

Interested as he was in strategy and geography, Pownall came to know Lewis Evans, the Philadelphia cartographer, and assisted him with the preparation of his *General Map of the Middle British Colonies* and the *Analysis* which accompanied it. These were published in 1755. After Evans' death in 1756 Pownall continued investigations in this field, and his *Topographical Description* which appeared in 1776 was essentially a revision of his friend's work. Persisting in this interest, he prepared what he called a third edition, for he was scrupulous in giving generous acknowledgment to Evans' contribution, which he expected to publish in 1784. Perhaps because of declining reader interest in England on the heels of the American Revolution, this edition never materialized. The manuscript is in the Darlington Memorial Library of the University of Pittsburgh, and thanks to the interest of Mrs. Lois Mulkearn, the Librarian, it now appears one hundred and sixty-five years after the originally contemplated date of publication.

The perusal of this work is a very rewarding occupation. Written by one of the versatile, cultured men of whom the eighteenth century seems to have been so prolific, it is more than a mere description of the country, and gives us an insight into the contemporary mind as well as into the physical setting of contemporary life. Interested as he was in strategy, it is perhaps fair

to say that Pownall concentrates on the problem of communication, but he is also concerned with natural resources and with the inhabitants and the works of their hands. As one reads one understands why Pownall should have been as popular as he was with the American colonists, for a sort of affectionate nostalgia diffuses itself through the whole work. His interest in America obviously survived the move for political independence which he deplored, and the prophecies which suggested themselves to his vigorous mind, while not always verified by subsequent events, testify to his lively interest in the region's future.

The present quarto volume affords ample evidence of the assiduousness of Mrs. Mulkearn's labors and of the scrupulousness of her attention to detail. Her editorial notes are especially helpful in identifying persons and in fitting places into their modern geographic setting. The format is excellent, and while not quite as pretentious as that of Evans' work of 1755 which was edited by Professor Lawrence H. Gipson and published by The Historical Society of Pennsylvania in 1939, it makes a not unworthy companion volume to its predecessor.

University of Pennsylvania LEONIDAS DODSON

King of the Delawares: Teedyuscung, 1700–1763. By ANTHONY F. C. WALLACE. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1949. xiv, 305 p. Map, notes, index. $3.50.)

In the dismal days following Braddock's defeat, a Delaware Indian rose to prominence in the eastern branch of that tribe. The folklore fame which has adhered to this self-announced king, Teedyuscung, makes him the best remembered of all Pennsylvania's aboriginal inhabitants. The reader of Pennsylvania history is familiar with Teedyuscung as a raiding frontier villain, and as a principal figure at numerous treaties where he seemed alternately under the influence of Quakers and rum.

Shaking facts from fancy, Mr. Wallace has presented a penetrating study not only of Teedyuscung, but also of the Susquehanna Delawares and of Indians in general. Teedyuscung is certainly a worthy biographical subject, for an understanding of the man reveals much in a highly confused epic of our local history, particularly the handling of the Indian problem during the last French war. Writing in a pleasant, readable style, the author captures the Indian mind in a convincing manner. Many books deal with transactions between white and red men, but few of them present the Indian point of view as does the *King of the Delawares*.

In evaluating Teedyuscung, the Walking Purchase of 1737, and the role of the Friendly Association, Mr. Wallace shows mature and careful judgment. One comes to understand the Delaware chief as a peculiarly pathetic character, "A Bird on a Bough," one who admired the white men and wanted to be like them, while at the same time inwardly hating them. On the matter of the Walking Purchase, Mr. Wallace agrees with Dr. Julian

P. Boyd that it was not the absolute fraud which long-standing propaganda would have it. Of the Quakers, he quietly concludes: "It is unfortunate that the Friendly Association chose the middle of an Indian war for the time to champion the rights of the Indians." Finally, the Susquehanna Company is held responsible for Teedyuscung's murder.

Minor criticisms relate to factual matters which in no way affect the sweep of the story. It is not probable, for instance, that Teedyuscung visited Fort Pitt in August, 1759. The evidence cited for this conclusion is based on the journal of James Kenny, incorrectly identified as Charles Kenny. Unfortunately, this journal was badly transcribed and Teedyuscung's name is given in error. Of less importance is Mr. Wallace's identification of the Governor of Pennsylvania as William instead of James Hamilton, and his mention of the proprietors of Pennsylvania in 1755 as John, Thomas, and Richard Penn. John Penn had died in 1746.

Mention of these relatively picayune matters seems ungrateful when considering a book of such essential excellence as *Teedyuscung*. The story which Mr. Wallace tells with such skill is at once pitiful and exciting. The chief emerges as an understandable figure and many bits of our history come into proper focus. The author is to be congratulated on a charming volume, an excellent biography which will prove of interest to the general reader and of undoubted value to the student.

The end papers bear an attractive map of the region in which Teedyuscung spent his life and are most helpful as a ready reference to the many obscure places named in the text.

Philadelphia NICHOLAS B. WAINWRIGHT

Benjamin Franklin and Catharine Ray Greene: Their Correspondence, 1755–1790. Edited by WILLIAM GREENE ROELKER. (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1949. x, 147 p. Illustrations, index. $3.00.)

In the winter of 1754–1755 the colonial postmaster general, Benjamin Franklin, made a tour of inspection in New England. In Boston he stayed with his brother John and met John's wife's sister, Catharine Ray, who was on a visit from her Block Island home. Caty was twenty-three, unmarried, and entranced by the great man's attentions to her. Franklin was forty-eight, married, and far from insusceptible to the attentions a lively and intelligent country girl could pay him. They traveled together part of their respective ways home. Three days after his arrival in Philadelphia Franklin wrote Caty: "I stood on the shore, and looked after you, till I could no longer distinguish you, even with my glass; then returned to your sister's, praying for your safe passage." Some months later he acknowledged the gift of a cheese, the finest "ever tasted" in Philadelphia:

> Mrs. Franklin was very proud, that a lively young Lady sho^d^ have so much Regard for her old Husband, as to send him such a Present. We talk of you every

time it comes to Table; She is sure you are a sensible Girl, and a notable Housewife; and talks of bequeathing me to you as a Legacy; But I ought to wish you a better, and hope she will live these 100 Years; for we are grown old together, and if she has any faults, I am so us'd to 'em that I don't perceive 'em. . . . Indeed I begin to think she has none, as I think of you. And since she is willing I should love you as much as you are willing to be lov'd by me, let us join in wishing the old Lady a long Life and a happy.

No one has ever played the dual role of gallant and grandfather with more devastating success than Franklin, but Caty Ray was indeed "a sensible Girl" and took her friend's advice by marrying William Greene, who later became governor of Rhode Island and to whom she bore six children. The friendship so auspiciously begun lasted until Franklin's death; the correspondence that documents it, printed here from largely unpublished sources in the American Philosophical Society, ends with a letter from Franklin in 1789 containing his avowal that "Among the Felicities of my Life I reckon your Friendship, which I shall remember as long as that Life lasts."

In Caty's life, though she saw Franklin only four times after their first meeting and was ceaselessly busy and happy in her own multifarious concerns, this friendship was a major felicity. She emerges from this correspondence as a bright, tender, and capable woman, an excellent representative of the women behind the men who won the Revolution and formed the republic.

The editorial work on the documents has been performed with devoted care. Mr. Roelker's plan of embedding the letters in a running commentary is a good one, though it results in occasional repetition. His plan of introducing supporting letters written by other members of the Franklin-Bache-Mecom and Greene-Ward circles is also a good one, but some of these letters are so commonplace as perhaps to merit space only in a genealogical journal. I found myself a good deal puzzled as to why the editor did not place his numbered notes at the foot of the page (where they belong) instead of at the end of successive chapters (where they have to be hunted for). If he had, he would have saved a little space and spared the reader no little irritation, for many of the notes merely repeat the captions of the documents presented in the text.

Princeton University L. H. BUTTERFIELD

The Great Rehearsal. The Story of the Making and Ratifying of the Constitution of the United States. By CARL VAN DOREN. (New York: The Viking Press, 1948. xii, 336 p. Illustrations, appendix, index. $3.75.)

This spirited volume, culmination of Mr. Van Doren's work in the Revolutionary period, is entertaining, provocative, an artistic performance of skill and conviction. It is the best existing account of the making of our federal constitution, and altogether a distinguished work in the literature of American history.

The settings are vivid, the scenes stirring; the theme is how men, distinctly individualistic and representing diverse interests in conflict, meet in a body and learn to think together on the hardest problems they share—how they fumble and quarrel, how leadership emerges, how areas of agreement are gradually mapped out, areas of disagreement defined and laid aside. There is drama in it. Drama requires the backdrop, of course; but drama gathers its force from the observed action, the vivid conflicts seen on the stage. It is ideas in conflict that Mr. Van Doren gives us: "arguments in action," as he says, "not in a philosophic vacuum. The arguments are the story." And he adds what should be observed as a fixed rule by all historical writers: "Arguments must always be seen as actions if they are to reach through the minds of men to their hearts and habits."

The Convention met in Philadelphia, a city full of bustle and activity, surrounding the delegates with a lively metropolitan environment. We are made constantly aware of this environment, as after the day's work was done the official visitors joined in the homes, the institutions, the taverns of the capital. The conviviality of the city strained the delegates' resolution to keep their proceedings secret, but they did pretty well on the whole. Mr. Van Doren demolishes the "grotesque legend" that Dr. Franklin was indiscreet. He was as careful as everyone else, and surprisingly, the city learned little of what went on in the State House, guarded as it was inside and out by alert sentries.

First we are introduced to the delegates: General Washington calls on President Franklin, other members arrive, private caucuses and conversations transpire, meetings begin. Each delegate emerges from Van Doren's distillate as a separate personality, and each represents also part of the pattern of conflict—conflict between the aloof statesman and the vigorous partisan, between the rigid fundamentalist and the experimenter, between landholder and merchant, conflict between large state and small, between big-government men and defenders of the loose confederation. The poles of political disagreement in the Convention are classic, well known, well understood. What gives this book vitality is the permeating humanity in it, the very personal story that is told, the story of men changing as they work together, the story of men at thought.

The deliberations of the Convention itself require only 152 pages, arranged in seven chapters corresponding to the major decisions as they were made. Every difficulty is brought to life by some telling illustration or clear example. Mr. Van Doren so well understands the world of 1787 that its issues leap from his pages. The reader instinctively takes sides. Van Doren also conveys the togetherness, the unity, the wholeness of the conventicle body, shows how the corporate group operated to modify and qualify the thinking of individuals in it. No member began with a clear notion of what he wished ultimately to emerge, nor was there among many members a general agreement as to ends. "Some had local patriotisms, some had personal ambitions. Uncertain of themselves, they were uncertain of

one another." It was no one man or group of leaders who fashioned their product. "Their problem could not be merely reasoned out; it had to be felt through, by some process of growth in the corporate body of this assemblage." Fifty-five wills were not coalesced as the delegates proceeded, but enough of many wills was joined to make a constitution most could agree to. Some never could. Martin, Gerry, Randolph, Mason, these were the intransigents, the fundamentalists who could not become part of the corporate body as it advanced with "the great & awful subject of their labours." There is an inevitable human factor in any joint endeavor.

Four chapters, the last third of the whole book, deal with the ratification controversy. Here Mr. Van Doren must leave his tight little scene and his theme of men at thought together, and range over the country as a whole, describing its "war of words and ideas." This is material less familiar to Americans, who still tend to regard their constitution as ineffable from the beginning. Some of Mr. Van Doren's pages contain fresh facts and views. The history of the ratification struggle has never been told with such picturesque detail. The pamphlets pro and con, the debates, the legislative devices and political maneuverings are all here, in fast moving narrative sprinkled with generous illustrations from the sources. Those sources, incidentally, are curiously random. Delaware and New Hampshire recorded almost nothing of what they said or thought as they ratified, and South Carolina's debates remained puzzling because of the suspicion that the elegant Lowndes was engaged by opponents as an advocate to represent their cause. But South Carolina like the rest of the Union made its great celebration. The Federal Processions in every large city on July Fourth following ratification were spectacular demonstrations of the hope the new constitution brought, the faith people had in the future of the country. They furnish Mr. Van Doren with a colorful conclusion.

I choose to pass over the title of this book, and the issue it raises of a parallel with present international issues. The author himself makes no parallel, nor does he even suggest it anywhere. I think the title was ill-chosen. It is the only criticism to be made of this book, however, which is a model of historical writing, the perfect example of what we are all seeking: a thoughtful, reflective volume on our past, unimpeachable in judgment, superbly written from a deep faith and mature wisdom.

Philadelphia J. H. POWELL

Æsculapius Comes to the Colonies. The Story of the Early Days of Medicine in the Thirteen Original Colonies. By MAURICE BEAR GORDON. (Ventnor, N. J.: Ventnor Publishers, Inc., 1949. xvi, 560 p. Illustrations, bibliographical note, index. $10.00.)

The dust jacket describes this volume as "a comprehensive survey of medicine in the thirteen original colonies"; the author in the introduction declares his purpose was "to construct a representative evaluation of colo-

nial medicine." Unfortunately, the book is neither a comprehensive survey nor an evaluation of any sort. And this is the more regrettable not only because American history needs a comprehensive, interpretative history of medicine in the United States, but also because the author spent so much time with his book and manifestly obtained many satisfactions from compiling it.

The text consists of thirteen separate chapters, with a concluding chapter of bibliographical suggestions. Each chapter begins with some miscellaneous historical annals, mostly irrelevant to the subject of the book. These are followed by biographical notes on each of a dozen or two of the better-known physicians of the colony, which were taken from Kelly and Burrage, *Dictionary of American Medical Biography*, and the standard histories of medicine in the several states, like those of Walsh for New York, Wicke for New Jersey, and Blanton for Virginia. There are occasional digressions into the history of institutions, as when the author turns from Dr. Thomas Bond to give two pages on the Pennsylvania Hospital and from Dr. John Morgan to give two lines on the foundation of the first medical school in the colonies. In addition, some of the chapters contain lengthy quotations of original materials—fee bills, letters, acts of assembly, and newspaper accounts—taken, like the biographical data, from older secondary accounts. There are in every chapter careless or ignorant inaccuracies (p. 167), schoolboy judgments (pp. 49–50), uncritical acceptance of the printed word (p. 451), and irritating omissions. And all of this is put together without system or meaning in an exasperating book which adds nothing to our knowledge or understanding of medicine in colonial America.

Of a comprehensive history of medicine in colonial America one may fairly expect more than some biographical data on certain famous practitioners in the chief cities. What of practice in the rural areas? What of the majority of undistinguished physicians, the irregulars, and the quacks? What of domestic medicine and of the popular reaction to medical science and the medical profession? And, though it be admitted that physicians practice in particular places, ought a history of medicine in America preserve political boundaries? Was there, for example, a Connecticut medicine which differed from that of North Carolina? From a book entitled *Æsculapius Comes to the Colonies* a reader may expect an account of Æsculapius' European sojourn. What medical knowledge did the first physicians bring into the colonies? What did they learn when, in the eighteenth century, they returned to study at Leyden and Edinburgh, Paris and London? What European publications did they import for their libraries? What, in short, were the standards of European medical science and practice by which the American achievement must be judged? Most accounts of the Pennsylvania Hospital, for example, make no reference to the English provincial hospitals founded after 1720, which provided a pattern the Philadelphians gladly followed.

From the time of Benjamin Rush, who wrote a valuable essay on the changes in medical practice which occurred during his own lifetime,

through that of Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes to our own days, when Dr. Cecil K. Drinker has written on actual practice in eighteenth-century Philadelphia, materials for a general history of medicine in colonial America have been accumulating. More recently Professor Richard H. Shryock, now of the Institute of the History of Medicine of Johns Hopkins University, has been pointing to the social background and implications of medicine, suggesting what the frontier and democracy both may have meant to that science. Let the next history of medicine in colonial America, then, be comprehensive, based on all the good work that has been done; or interpretative, related to the larger movements of American life; or both. But let us have no more books like this.

Dickinson College WHITFIELD J. BELL, JR.

Bring Out Your Dead. The Great Plague of Yellow Fever in Philadelphia in 1793. By J. H. POWELL. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1949. xvi, 304 p. Illustrations, notes, index. $3.75.)

Wide reading, sound scholarship, and a vivid historical imagination, happily combined in the author of this volume, have produced a tale of mounting horror more exciting and at the same time more convincing than most best-selling thrillers, because this is the reporting of reality. Benjamin Rush is the hero of this story and the villain is *ædes aegypti*, deadly female of its species, unsuspected during the main course of the narrative. With a technique comparable to that of the eighteenth-century artist Benjamin West, in his historical paintings, a huge canvas and many characters are used to depict the scene for us. We see the entire population of the Philadelphia of 1793 in the grip of an invisible malignant force. The plague fells thousands of victims and defies understanding by the medical profession. The past is here recreated for us with such skill that, as we turn the pages of this swiftly moving narrative, we suffer with the afflicted and live through days of anxiety and dread while yellow fever is raging in its severest onset, long before bacteriological discovery brought solution to its puzzles in another century.

To summarize this story in a paragraph or two is a hopeless task, since its proper telling by Dr. Powell has required almost three hundred pages. He has spared us the distraction of footnotes; all relevant information has been incorporated into the text and additional facts for the curious are supplied in brief, well-chosen notes at the back of the book. Only a hint of the richness of this volume can be given here.

Overtaken by yellow fever in 1793, Philadelphia, then the national capital, was quickly deserted by all who could get away. Washington, Adams, Jefferson and Hamilton undoubtedly felt it was their duty to flee from the local disaster, since in their keeping rested high governmental

affairs of the nation at large. Governor Mifflin followed suit and the Pennsylvania legislature was disbanded. Some prominent clergymen in the city found reasons to desert their flocks; even some of the doctors became fugitives. Newspapers went unprinted, mail delivery stopped, banks would not discount loans. Life was entirely disrupted. The sick died like flies and the doctors disagreed.

This emergency was the chance of a lifetime for Benjamin Rush. It brought all the force of his training and his character into direct focus upon a serious problem worthy of his powers. The fever was his to fight. He became the chief actor in this tragedy which had befallen his city. It is no slander to say that he enjoyed his role, just as many people in this century have enjoyed their opportunity for service to a high cause in World Wars I and II. The part Dr. Rush played demanded self-surrender. Day and night he gave himself to the care of his patients, never counting the cost. Of such stuff martyrs are made, and he would have been equal to martyrdom's extreme demand. The program of bleeding and purging which he misguidedly recommended and practiced for the cure of disease was unfortunately "wrong, disastrously, frightfully wrong . . . nor shall we ever know how many lives his errors cost." Twice Rush himself fell miserably ill to recover (after milder bleeding than his patients)—by the Lord's mercy, he felt. But through it all, Rush's fortitude and courage gave the community psychological help beyond measure to carry them through their ordeals. Rush's heroism was real.

In the city's government Mayor Matthew Clarkson was at his post as sole official, administering affairs singlehanded until by appointment of a committee of twenty-six volunteers he could "organize Philadelphia's resistance to the silent terror of the plague." It was the day for obscure people to show their latent abilities. The help given in this emergency by all classes, creeds, and nationalities is notable in the annals of co-operative endeavor. Absalom Jones and Richard Allen, Negro religious leaders who had been slaves, became minor heroes. To the efforts of Stephen Girard, the French merchant prince, and Peter Helm, a German cooper, the city owed the cleansing of the "Augean stables" of the pesthouse at Bush Hill and its organization into a clean, properly staffed and equipped hospital for the desperately sick. During the siege the French doctors in the city, many of them hitherto rather unnoticed refugees—Dr. Jean Devèze, in particular—were especially devoted.

Yellow fever was actually self-limited. The plague played itself out as the season advanced and frosts came. Citizens began returning to their homes in November, government and business began re-establishment. Life returned gradually to a state of normal equilibrium in Philadelphia, although, as Dr. Powell says, nobody who had lived through the shock and terror of 1793 would ever be quite the same.

Baltimore, Md. BETSY COPPING CORNER

John Wesley Jarvis: American Painter, 1780–1840. With a Checklist of his Works. By HAROLD E. DICKSON. (New York: The New-York Historical Society, 1949. xx, 476 p. Illustrations, chronology, bibliography, index. $8.00.)

The biographer of one of those individuals who, with a cheerful preconception of his own importance to posterity has preserved an ample documentation of his life, has a very easy task in comparison to that undertaken by Dr. Dickson. Jarvis lived wholly in the present, and cared even less for future generations than for his reputation among contemporaries. More than a century has gone by since his genius and gaiety burned themselves out. The records that remain today are scant and often undependable—a few Jarvis letters, Dunlap's gossipy *History of the Arts of Design*, the recollections of Audubon and a few others, a few newspaper and directory notices—but little else.

Dr. Dickson solves this problem adroitly and as only an outstanding scholar could. He sifts the full value from each shred of evidence, and, following the wanderings of his subject from place to place, at each reconstructs the entire background so vividly and completely that the painter is perforce brought to life within it. Each scene comes out in full and colorful detail, its artists, its social life, its inns and alehouses, the brighter and darker sides where the inimitable Jarvis was to be found. New York is, of course, the center of these backgrounds, and it is painted in with a worthy brightness and skill. Jarvis was a New Yorker; not a born-and-bred New Yorker, if there be such a creature, but one who found success there and made his talents and frailties a part of the pattern of the city.

His biographer writes a little wistfully of what might be done in fiction with this subject, as he struggles vainly to bring back the full flavor of Jarvis' merriment. Only on the stage could that be done. Eyes, voice, hands, dress, the whole manner of the man entered into it and no one could or can put all these into print. But when Broadway wants a play about a painter, it must look to Jarvis and this book.

Dr. Dickson's admirable selection of plates as well as his text gives us a thorough showing of Jarvis the artist. The key to a portrait painter is in his relation to his subjects, perception, and sympathy. Jarvis' greatness, like Stuart's, is in his faces, though he could do more with hands than Stuart. He reacted best, as Dr. Dickson points out, to "virility with a spark of humor." His attitude toward women was objective. Jarvis was not a domestic animal. He painted women charmingly and appealingly, but his men are more real and direct. In the intimate art of the miniature he could not, as Malbone and C. W. Peale did, paint a man's face with any softening, any tenderness that would make it appeal more strongly to the woman who was to wear and cherish the piece as a symbol and reinforcement of her love. It undoubtedly never occurred to him to do so.

Jarvis the painter cannot be understood without an understanding of the

exuberant Jarvis himself, careless, contradictory, and intense. This volume not only gives us the best view of the man but of his times, through an artist's eyes, that has yet been published.

Dickinson College CHARLES COLEMAN SELLERS

American History as Interpreted by German Historians from 1770 to 1815. By EUGENE EDGAR DOLL. [Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, New Series, Vol. 38, Part 5.] (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1949. 114 p. Bibliography, index. $1.75.)

This initial report of studies on "*Amerikakunde*" should remain the standard English monograph on geographical and historical writings about the United States published in Germany before 1815. In a chronological survey Mr. Doll sketches the motivations of German writers, their historiographical methods, and their interpretations of United States history, examining most carefully works which appeared between 1770 and 1815. Half the book concerns "eight major writers outstanding by virtue of their accomplishments or their influence" whose names, as that of J. J. Moser, are less unknown in Germany than in the United States. The resulting historiographical study complements H. S. King's *Echoes of the American Revolution in German Literature* (1929–1930).

According to Mr. Doll's balanced and critical analyses, most works surveyed were compendia of data, exceedingly dull in style and content, lacking integration, inspiration, or lasting importance. Mr. Doll's delight in minute detail and thorough workmanship would presumably keep him from agreeing with the judgment which Friedrich Kapp expressed in 1874, that he wished most German works on United States history had never been written.

Although Mr. Doll seems to subscribe to the nationalist hypothesis—that by virtue of national background Americans and Germans will write the history of the United States differently—he discusses interpretations familiar in American historiography. Perhaps German writers stressed economic facts and interpretations earlier; Mr. Doll emphasizes here their academic training, especially in statistics and notably at Göttingen. But the German writers differed vehemently. While a Mauvillon presented "a classic justification of the American cause" in the Revolution, a Schlözer was notable for the "virulence and superficiality of his attack." Ebeling devoted years of scholarship to his geographical history of a little-known country in order to display the growth of human freedom in America. Bülow, after travel and business failure there, strove to correct false European ideas of American freedom by emphasizing the selfishness and materialism of Americans. No uniquely "German" view of United States history appears. One might suggest as a theme the effort to distinguish the American and French Revolutions to the advantage of "orderly develop-

ment" and possibly of Americans. But this effort, too, was not simply German.

Studies of the United States were a minor or temporary concern for most of these writers; their claim to recollection derives from other works. One might consequently wish to know much more about the connections between their interests in the United States and their major activities. Had Mauvillon's justifications of the American Revolution, for instance, any relation to his criticisms of Prussian military monarchy? In spite of some references to *Statistik* and the Enlightenment, these German writings on American history are scarcely related to the main currents of German historiography or thought, even through investigation of the writers themselves. "*Amerikakunde*" appears as a virtually self-sufficient island of knowledge.

Originally Mr. Doll intended to consider German writings about the United States in terms of the relations between the two lands. Disappointingly, he has neither persisted in this intention nor raised the challenging questions which it poses. Thus, presumably, it would require investigating the impact of historical writing; such inquiry marks out a stony but fruitful field too little cultivated yet by scholars of historiography. Although Mr. Doll mentions various ties which some German writers developed with the United States, he suggests that they had few readers here and little impact on the course of historical writing. Ironically, it seems that the one writer devoted primarily to American studies, Ebeling, affected American historiography chiefly because a Boston merchant bought his library for Harvard. Similarly, most of these writings on the United States seem to have had little influence in Germany. But, as Mr. Doll declares in the case of Ebeling, an evaluation of the influence of these works upon Germans' views of the United States must await further research.

The summaries, especially in the last chapter, are most useful and thoughtful. A table on page 510 epitomizes the study. There is a convenient index, and the bibliography lists German works published down to 1866.

University of Washington D. E. EMERSON

The House of Baring in American Trade and Finance. English Merchant Bankers at Work, 1763–1861. By RALPH W. HIDY. [Harvard Studies in Business History, XIV.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1949. xxvi, 631 p. Illustrations, bibliographical notes, index. $7.50.)

The historian of a large business firm such as the House of Baring confronts a major problem of organization and emphasis. If he concentrates upon the individual transactions which are the life, purpose, and function of the enterprise, he is in danger of bogging down in a mass of meaningless details; but if he ignores such matters, his book degenerates into an amusing collection of anecdotes about personalities and colorful happenings. Mr.

Hidy has met this problem with courage and intelligence. He has selected from the voluminous records of the firm the details which illustrate its mode of operation and recorded them as they happened.

He has assumed—rightly, I think—that the House of Baring has importance only as merchants and bankers engaged in trade and finance, and that anyone who wants to gain knowledge concerning these activities must be willing to work at it. Most pages are filled with the names of individuals and firms, dates, prices of commodities, details of transactions, and such figures as 4,868,666.66 francs and $7,814,536. The book consequently will make its greatest contribution to future students of economic history, rather than directly to the mythical general reader or to those political and social historians who shy away from such tough morsels.

The study is arranged chronologically, with three chapters on the growth of the firm from 1763 to 1828 and the remaining thirteen on the period from 1828 to 1861 when the Barings were the most important British house in the American trade. The author has almost literally laid bare the ligaments and sinews which united the British and American economies during the first half of the nineteenth century. The Barings entered into every aspect of this trade and commerce. They were, in the broadest sense of the term, merchant bankers, buying and selling cotton, tobacco, coffee, wheat, dry goods, iron products, securities, etc., on their own account, while financing the trade of other men in the same commodities. They operated in good times and in bad, and at no time during this difficult period were they seriously embarrassed or straitened. Their rectitude was so formidable that the very phrases, worthy or unworthy, of the House of Baring could almost act as the guiding rule for the individual partners and their agents overseas.

Mr. Hidy's contribution to the knowledge of this important period of economic history is so great that it is almost caviling to demand more. But it does seem that two or three additional chapters summarizing and interpreting the factual material and describing in more general terms the economic difficulties and problems of the period would have strengthened the book. This reviewer would also have liked to see greater attention paid to the unique attempt by the second Bank of the United States to achieve American economic independence from Great Britain in the 1820's and 1830's, but this unsuccessful effort was in opposition to the interests of the Barings and not immediately germane to the author's purpose in his study.

University of the South THOMAS P. GOVAN

Mennonite Piety through the Centuries. Its Genius and Its Literature. By ROBERT FRIEDMANN. (Goshen, Ind.: Mennonite Historical Society, 1949. xvi, 287 p. Illustrations, bibliography, index. $3.50.)

This monograph traces the ever-changing pattern of Mennonitism from its Anabaptist roots in the sixteenth century to the contemporary sect.

Robert Friedmann appeals to the present-day Mennonite to carry on his faith in the prophetic tradition of his forebears and to crack through the protective shell of Pietism that encompasses the sect.

The book is divided into two parts. First, a general historical analysis is presented in which the author points out that Mennonitism was synonymous with Anabaptism at one time. During this period of Mennonite history the prophetic trend was dominant: This was the religion of discipleship; the cross and the crown of thorns were its symbols. However, even as early as 1580, individual Mennonites were starting to turn away from their discipleship. The catastrophe of the Thirty Years' War dealt the doctrine of justification by faith a stinging blow. The Mennonites and other more radical Protestant sects turned to the sweet Saviour and sanctification; they turned to Pietism, which meant an undogmatic inwardness in religion. Mr. Friedmann seems to use the Thirty Years' War as the immediate cause for the dominant pietistic tenor of Mennonitism in Holland and northern Germany after 1650. He also believes that toleration, bourgeoisie prosperity, and urban life were added factors in leading the burgher down this easier road. Successive evolutionary changes in this new pattern of Pietism are noted in Mennonite centers throughout Europe from 1650 to the present.

In the second part of his book, after this historical analysis, Mr. Friedmann shows how Mennonite devotional literature mirrored the changing character of the sect.

Robert Friedmann approaches his subject in a scientific manner; yet he seems biased. He conceives that Mennonitism should once again move in the channel of prophetic religion or Anabaptism. He therefore seems to look down his nose at the quieter, pietistic way without realizing it. This is a common failing among religious historians. They are so well versed in their own religious beliefs and conclusions that they are unknowingly prejudiced.

There are a few errors of fact. Mr. Friedmann certainly has a masterly grasp of Mennonite history, but when he starts delving into other sects he is not quite so sure of his ground. He conceives of Quakerism, for example, as an intuitive, mystical sect—the "inner light" guides the Quaker through life. This is not exactly accurate, because no sect can exist for very long on a mystical basis alone. There must be the prophetic force to energize the faith. The Society of Friends is and has always been a mystical and at the same time a prophetic sect. True, there have been pietistic or mystical periods, but the prophetic strain was always present, although relatively dormant. At other times, however, from the rise of the Society of Friends until 1691, it was basically a sect in the prophetic tradition. Mary Dyer's martyrdom in Massachusetts in 1660 and John Perrot's attempted conversion of the Pope about the same time, can hardly be called acts of spiritualists or mystics. Quakerism is not based on the "inner light" alone; the Bible is considered an equal source of heavenly guidance.

For the Mennonite historian this is a worth-while book to read. It certainly proves the connection between Anabaptism and Pietism, and it is a signpost to the future. However, the general reader would be wrong to assume that this study will hold his interest. The author's thoroughly scientific research is to be commended, but it is offset by a labored, ponderous style.

Admiral Farragut Academy WALTER LEE LUKENS, JR.

Pennsylvania Songs and Legends. Edited by GEORGE KORSON. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1949. 474 p. Illustrations, index. $5.00.)

"Happy is a people which has no history," wrote Thomas Jefferson. The sage of Monticello was a pacifist at heart; the kind of history which he deplored was the sanguinary accounts of battles and of man's inhumanity. But happy indeed is a people which has preserved its lore. Folk songs and legends indigenous to an area constitute two of the largest categories in the compendium of a people's folklore.

The term "folklore" is comparatively recent in common usage. As late as 1880 those who engaged in such studies were called "antiquarians." Even today there are some students of history who accord scant recognition to folklorists as allies in a common quest. Is such knowledge functional in our workaday world? they ask. The volume entitled *Pennsylvania Songs and Legends* is an argument in the affirmative. In the few short months that this volume has been available, it has served to identify great numbers of persons with their fine heritage as Pennsylvanians, and has enabled visitors to the Commonwealth to understand and appreciate more of its peculiar culture patterns.

Thirteen collaborators joined forces to blend the story into a unified account. Samuel P. Bayard, a native of western Pennsylvania, contributed tales which had their origin in English speech. Here we find the transplants of Scotch, Welsh, Irish and English songs and legends. William S. Troxell and Thomas R. Brendle, both deeply immersed in the lore of the Pennsylvania Germans, have supplied a selection of dialect folk songs extracted from their extensive library of recordings.

A sympathetic and lucid account of the hymns sung by the Amish folk of Lancaster and other counties is supplied by Dr. J. William Frey of Franklin and Marshall College. This is excellently written and constitutes one of the finest interpretations of the hymns ever written by a non-Amishman.

One of the most informative accounts in the volume deals with the Cornplanter Indians whose reservation extends into Pennsylvania from New York. Historians will be grateful to Merle H. Deardorff for the revelations contained in this unit of the volume, many facts finding their way into print for the first time.

The name of Colonel Henry W. Shoemaker is known to all readers of matters pertaining to Pennsylvania history and lore. From his vast fund of "mountain" stories he gives us several which are now recorded for the first time. Tall tales are teasers, and Robert J. Wheeler, who tells them in this volume, tests the patience of his readers by the protracted suspense which he establishes before the impact of the story forces a smile. It is super-hyperbole.

The Conestoga Wagon built along the banks of the Conestoga Creek, in Lancaster County, has become a symbol of the American pioneering spirit. Howard C. Frey, an established authority on the craftsmanship which went into the construction of these "prairie schooners," used his topic as a symbol to bring the days of the wagoners back to life as he records the songs and legends which grew out of the experiences of these robust men. Another hearty crew of bygone days was the fraternity of canal boatmen. There were lusty songs and lively contests during the days when commerce used inland waterways. Lewis Edward Theiss records these deftly and with a full sense of the romantic quality that is inherent in canal lore. There is something vibrantly American about the lore of the early days of the railroads. Freeman H. Hubbard has captured this spirit and the reader feels something of the present tense in this account.

Perhaps the story which most readers will find least familiar, and therefore enlightening, is the rousing one of the lumberjacks and raftsmen. "In the Pennsylvania woods there were three kinds of whiskey—squirrel, fighting, and sleeping," states J. Herbert Walker, the author of this sketch. What the cowboys were to the "wooly west," the lumbermen were to interior Pennsylvania.

All readers who remember George Korson's *Minstrels of the Mine Patch* are prepared for the new pleasures which await them in Korson's account of "Coal Miners." The song *Union Man* is a gem:

Union Man! Union Man!
He must have full dinner can;
A.F.L. — C.I.O.
Callin' strike, out she go!

Harry Botsford, born in the oil fields of Pennsylvania, recounts the Titusville story and expands upon Coal Oil Johnny and other colorful characters who bathed in the magic mineral. Jacob A. Evanson has captured some of the "Songs of an Industrial City." Here we meet *Pittsburgh is a Grand Old Town; Song of Steel; Monongahela Sal* and many other songs, some in Greek, others in Slavic tongues.

In addition to editing the volume Mr. Korson wrote the introduction, itself a powerful argument for the functional values of preserved lore. A valuable appendix lists all songs and ballads which appear in the volume.

The legends are related simply and there is no attempt to separate fact from fiction in the telling of most of them. In some cases there are pre-

liminary accounts of established history, placed in the volume to provide background and stage-setting, but the book is honestly what it claims to be—an anthology of Pennsylvania songs and legends.

Philadelphia ARTHUR D. GRAEFF

Valley Views of Northeastern Pennsylvania. Reproductions of Early Prints and Paintings of the Wyoming and Other Valleys of the Susquehanna, Lehigh, Delaware and Lackawanna Rivers together with a Descriptive List of Plates. By GILBERT S. MCCLINTOCK. (Wilkes-Barré, Pa.: The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, 1948. viii, 45 p. 106 plates, map, index. $10.00.)

One of the most attractive manifestations of the romantic cult of nature that developed in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was landscape as an art form, and the travel book consisting of a compilation of views in engraving or lithography. *Valley Views of Northeastern Pennsylvania* is a study of such views, along with some oil paintings, made of scenes in Wyoming and other valleys of the area included in the major portions of Berks and Northampton Counties.

A brief notice of the highlights in the history of the region is followed by discussion of the principal sources of the original illustrations (sketches, water colors, and oils) and of the engraved or lithographed versions which found their way into countless publications of quite varied character, not always with due acknowledgment of the sources. It is not surprising to learn that the preponderance of river and valley scenes was in consequence of the most convenient means of travel during the century or so which is the chronological span of the book. The greater part of the text is devoted to the description of the plates in which the sources of the prints may be found, the artists of original works and their reproductions, data concerning size, and similar details. Oil paintings are identified by artist, and the locations given when known. Curiously enough, this last is not found for the oil of "Wilkes-Barre and the Wyoming Valley" of about 1845, by an unknown artist, which is well reproduced in the single color plate in the book. A list of artists and paintings by them exhibited at the National Academy of Design from 1826 to 1860, of which there are no present records of location or ownership, is a reminder that much of historical value has escaped notice and that a great deal of further research in this and related fields has yet to be done.

The volume is in a format as handsome as would be expected from the Princeton University Press which printed it, and the plates are of the accustomed high quality of the Meriden Gravure Company. Taken in all, the book will be of use to the historian interested in matters of topography and town development, and as a modest footnote to the history of landscape art in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

University of Pennsylvania DAVID M. ROBB

The Voice of the Old Frontier. By R. W. G. VAIL. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1949. xii, 492 p. Index to bibliography. $15.00.)

When Christopher Columbus sighted San Salvador on October 12, 1492, one of the most tremendous undertakings in man's history began. Between that event and the admission, in 1912, of Arizona to full membership in these United States there lies a story of human achievement never before paralleled. Where before lay a continent populated by a few thousand native Indians, there now stands one of the powerful nations of the world. It was not until 1893 that students of American history began a truly organized study of this mighty movement westward. In that year Frederick Jackson Turner presented to a Chicago audience his paper, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History." It was inevitable, as the sources of this story were used, that there should grow an appreciation of the great body of literature that played such an important part in this movement. Until the publication of the present volume, Henry R. Wagner and Charles L. Camp's *The Plains and the Rockies* (San Francisco, 1937) was the most important bibliography of the westward movement. It, however, embraced only the sixty-five-year period from 1801 to 1865. R. W. G. Vail, Director of the New-York Historical Society, has now given us a work that sweeps over the 260 years preceding *Camp-Wagner*.

The Voice of the Old Frontier is the tenth publication of the A. S. W. Rosenbach Fellowship in Bibliography. It is, incidentally, the first of these publications to qualify as a bibliography. The concept and execution of this book have a breadth of vision that makes it more than a mere list of books: it is a bibliography in the most important sense of the word. Mr. Vail starts with Alvar Nunez Cabeza de Vaca's *La relacion . . . de lo acaesido eneae Indias* . . . of 1542, and ends with William Cooper's *A Guide in the Wilderness; or the History of the First Settlements in the Western Counties of New York*, published in 1810 (no. 1300). Between these two titles is embraced that vast body of writings created by the frontier. Every conceivable literary form is represented: narratives of voyages and travels, Indian captivities, missionary tracts, land-promotion schemes, colonial charters, political writings, emigrant guides, contemporary histories and even belles lettres. The eighty-one pages of introductory text, discussing in more detail some of the important items, creates a setting into which the 376 pages of titles can be placed. Here is no jumble of unrelated books, but rather a reflection of the developing impact of the Idea of America on the European mind. This is perhaps Mr. Vail's most important contribution, for he has brought together the titles of those books which helped open to the Europeans the wonders of the New World.

A selective bibliography is perhaps the hardest kind of historical or literary scholarship to evaluate. It is the framework of scholarship and, as in any such skeletal structure, the flaws are readily apparent and easily seized upon. There are, however, no glaring omissions in the author's selections. Specialists in various fields may regret certain omissions and in-

clusions, but Mr. Vail has prepared for this by saying, ". . . this is a pioneer work in more sense than one, for no other bibliography has attempted to record the more important or more elusive works relative to the early American frontier. So perhaps a few students will be grateful for what he has included rather than censorious for what he has not."

All bibliographies must submit themselves to an examination of their technique and it is here that this otherwise splendid book is open to adverse criticism. The user gets the impression that no over-all bibliographical form has been adopted. Each title seems to be handled independently of the others. Some descriptions go into great detail, giving line endings, type ornaments and variants, while others are little more than reproductions of the information found on Library of Congress catalogue cards. The sound chronological arrangement is marred by including with the date of first publication all editions appearing after 1800, and this is further complicated by the absence of any date in the running title of the page. The use of bibliographical references is also confusing. In some cases the user is given a full description and in others he is referred to other works. One also misses a key to the references. Such names as *Sabin* and *Evans* should give the initiated no trouble, although it is shocking to discover the number of students of American history who do not know of their existence. However, such names as *Thomson* and *Porter* will undoubtedly puzzle many. The location of copies, although useful, should not be regarded as definitive, for Mr. Vail has evidently had to rely heavily on the Library of Congress Union Catalogue, whose entries always bear further investigation. It is unfortunately apparent that one of the cardinal rules of bibliography has been violated, namely, that descriptions have not always been made from the books.

Let it not be understood that the descriptions are not useful. On the contrary, this book is filled with immensely useful information, both bibliographical and literary, and it will stand as an important reference work for years to come. It is regrettable, however, that the fine standards that bibliographers have developed in recent years have not been put to full use. This weakness has made an otherwise fine piece of work an awkward, although none the less essential, tool.

University of Pennsylvania Library THOMAS R. ADAMS

Principles of Bibliographical Description. By FREDSON BOWERS. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1949. xviii, 505 p. Appendices, index. $10.00.)

Standards of Bibliographical Description. By CURT F. BÜHLER, JAMES G. MCMANAWAY, and LAWRENCE C. WROTH. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1949. viii, 120 p. Notes. $2.50.)

In Baedeker's *Tyrol and the Dolomites* certain mountain ascents are described as being suitable "for experts only, with steady heads." This caveat most emphatically applies to Mr. Bowers' book, for it is a highly

technical and hair splittingly exhaustive manual, addressed solely to the professional bibliographer. For the expert who seeks after perfection, however painstakingly and encyclopaedically, and for the specialist who loves to make more and more of less and less, this volume cannot be too highly recommended, but for the *amateur de livres*, and in fact for the average research librarian, it is too advanced. Indeed, it is a book "for experts only, with steady heads." On the other hand, Mr. Bowers deserves the greatest credit for writing a definitive and truly monumental work, and thereby for promoting bibliography to the rank of an exact science. It is difficult to see how such a book could ever be supplemented or improved upon, although it might be made a trifle more human. Surprisingly enough for a book of this character, it contains no bibliography, while its high price may place it beyond the range of those for whom it is intended.

Far more to the purpose of readers of THE MAGAZINE is the *Standards of Bibliographical Description*, an extremely useful and readable little volume based on the Rosenbach Lectures of 1946–1947. It consists of three essays: the first, on incunabula, by Curt Bühler of the Pierpont Morgan Library; the second, on early English literature, by Dr. James G. McManaway of the Folger Library; and the third, on early Americana, by Dr. Lawrence Wroth of The John Carter Brown Library. While these three phases of bibliography are fairly distinct (with some overlap, of course), all three contributors hammer away at a theme which runs through the volume, and which has been all too often forgotten by many calling themselves bibliographers. The theme is simply this: that the most important thing about a book is the book itself, which should be viewed not only as to its physical make-up, but also as to its text. As Mr. Bühler puts it, "bibliography is not so much an end in itself as it is an ancillary investigation to the study of the text (be it literary, historical, or scientific); consequently, it seems to me that a complete account of the textual contents of any volume (what Klebs called the literary collation) is absolutely required." Dr. Wroth is even more emphatic:

> In my creed, one has done only half his job when he has completed his description of the *form* in which the text has been presented to the world. From this point onward he is to be, or should be, concerned with the text, with the treasure which the earthen vessel contains; concerned, that is, with the circumstances which brought the text into being; the relationship between circumstances, author, and composition; the publication progress of the book; subsequent editions and issues; or its passage into oblivion. This is the reality of bibliographical purpose. Henry Stevens of Vermont used to represent Bibliography pictorially as a well from which sprang, green and dripping, the live tree of knowledge. Unless bibliography is practiced in the spirit of that conception, it becomes a species of research which closely approaches sterility.

It is this deficiency in many formal bibliographies that has often made the lavish catalogues of antiquarian booksellers far more useful to students. But it need not be so; Dibdin brought life to bibliography a century and a

half ago, and such men as Professor Jackson of Harvard (and for that matter Messrs. Bühler, McManaway, and Wroth) have done it in our own day. Let no bibliographer—nor any book lover of any sort—lose sight of their warning.

Although all three essays are essentially readable and worth while, it is perhaps Dr. Wroth's contribution on early Americana which should be emphasized in this review. He begins with an excellent summary of what may be called the apostolic succession of American bibliography: Leon Pinelo (1629), White Kennett (1713), Harrisse (1866), Sabin (1868), Cole's *Church Catalogue*, and Evans, mentioning also the fine subject bibliographies of H. R. Wagner and T. J. Holmes. By means of this historical survey Dr. Wroth provides the background for the Americanist's task. From this point the writer presses on to the problems of function and method: the immediate function of bibliography is to enable the reader to identify texts, to discriminate between editions and other variants, to fix the position of a given text with relation to other versions, and to study both the event or movement which brought the text into being and its influence. Emphasizing that a good bibliography should be simple, compact, and comprehensive, he proposes two standards of description—the first, a short, intermediate form of entry; the second, a "full dress" listing. For the former he suggests (1) short title, (2) compressed imprint, (3) short collation, and (4) essential bibliographical notes. The latter is much more complete: (1) author's name, (2) photograph of title page, (3) collation with signatures, etc., (4) collation of contents, (5) measurements, (6) historical and literary notes, (7) references, and (8) location of copies.

Perhaps the salient point of Dr. Wroth's bibliographical method is his insistence on a chronological arrangement. This seems particularly suitable in the case of Americana; at least he makes out a good brief for its use. How far it might be used in other fields can be debated. For incunabula the Proctor system of countries and printing towns may possibly be the most satisfactory; certainly the dyed-in-the-wool incunabulist can have the most fun with it. In the case of early English books, most publications fall broadly into the general class of Elizabethan literature, where chronology is compressed into a brief century or so, with the result that the traditional alphabetical arrangement of the *Short Title Catalogue* still carries on, although Professor Taylor in her *Tudor Geography* has shown what can be done by applying the chronological method even in that field. For Americana there can be no doubt. The alphabetical order from John Adams to Augustine Zarate hides away whole streams of human endeavor, whereas under the chronological system we find the Virginia tracts bunched in the early seventeenth century, and the literature of the American Revolution under the 1770's and 1780's. Not only the progress of political history, but the development and course of movements, of ways of thought, and, in fact, of the whole American scene can be thus surveyed, and in no other way. This insistence of Dr. Wroth's is wholly in line with his thesis that, after

all, a book is a human document, and that its physical construction can never be considered apart from its contents and its relation to other books.

Devon, Pa. BOIES PENROSE

The Southern Colonies in the Seventeenth Century, 1607–1689. By WESLEY FRANK CRAVEN. [*History of the South*, Vol. I.] (Baton Rouge, La.: Louisiana State University Press, 1949. xx, 451 p. $6.00.)

This is volume one of a projected ten-volume History of the South. Two others have already appeared, and the nature of the series is beginning to be clear. The indications are that it is going to rank high among collaborative ventures in American history.

The work under review deals with the beginnings of colonial enterprise in America and is largely the story of English activity. As only the southern colonies are examined, it is possible to secure a unique and uninterrupted view of the oldest and probably the most fundamental of the English patterns of operation in America, namely, the nationalistic-economic.

The sixteenth was a great century in English experience. Tremendous energy which had been long in accumulating was released in the reign of Elizabeth. A nationalism which manifested itself in ambitious determination to best rivals came to the fore. This nationalism was not only the stimulant of the government, but more important, it seemed to be widely held by such a large number of men of enterprise. When the urge to contest the possession of America with Spain developed, the lead was taken not by the Crown, but by private individuals. This fact the author uses as a major theme—namely, how little the government contributed to the task of planting Virginia, Maryland, and the Carolinas, and by how much the work was the work of enterprising Englishmen.

These men, such as the Hakluyts and their business associates, were faced with the idea of promoting England's power and fortune, and, incidentally, their own. They studied the Spanish experience, they drafted proposals and blueprints, published information and propaganda, and enlisted financial support. The Crown granted charters and gave land; at first, also, the government seemed inclined to attempt control. But except in Virginia, and there not consistently, the job was in most part left to individual or corporate energy and ingenuity during the seventeenth century.

The author makes excellent use of his own previous significant work in the early history of Virginia and Bermuda to present a picture of the beginnings of the permanent settlement which is clearer and more revealing than previous writing. He proceeds to study the situations in Maryland and the Carolinas with less detail but with equal clarity. Under his skillful treatment we see these colonies grow; we gain a new understanding of the almost insurmountable difficulties which they had to face; we see communities emerge and colonies come to corporate consciousness. Here are the begin-

nings of economic activity, of the process of social expansion, and of the growth of the democratic idea.

The author has had a difficult problem of compressing into one volume a meaningful selection from the welter of events which made up the history of the southern colonies in their first century. The whole complex history of each colony could not be included; selection had to be arbitrary, and no two people would ever agree on the proper choice. Mr. Craven's has been, on the whole, successful. He has used fragmentary sources with intelligence and insight, and he has made his analysis realistic and convincing. The History of the South is ably introduced.

University of Pennsylvania ROY F. NICHOLS

A History of the Old South. By CLEMENT EATON. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1949. x, 636 p. Illustrations, bibliography, index. $7.00.)

Remember the story of the prize that was offered for the best "Impartial History of the War Between the States, Told from the Southern Point of View"? It is difficult to name a historian who could write *A History of the Old South* that would be satisfactory to all parties, but surely Clement Eaton has done as well as anyone could. Southernborn, so that he approaches the region with the understanding possible only to the native, he is also a "liberal" southerner, who clearly admires the Jeffersonian tradition and firmly champions civil liberties, and is, therefore, no apologist for the ante-bellum slavocracy. Furthermore, he studied both in North Carolina and in Massachusetts, taught for several years in Pennsylvania, and finally found in the border state of Kentucky an appropriate vantage point for writing a balanced account of the pre-Civil War period.

The first five chapters of this book give an admirable summary of the South during the colonial period, including the settlement of the Old West. A longer section then discusses the political events of that period from the American Revolution through the Mexican War in which the South played so conspicuous a role. The treatment here is conventional, because within the space requirements the author could do little more than condense a great deal of familiar material. Moreover, the discussion of important national affairs almost entirely in terms of their southern aspects often produces a curiously truncated narrative.

But in the last half of the book, Mr. Eaton really hits his stride with a detailed and authoritative survey of the economic, social, and intellectual history of the ante-bellum South, which draws much more heavily upon his own researches and for the first time gets beneath the surface. Especially interesting are the descriptions of the South's varied economic activities (how refreshing to learn about the hemp industry as well as the cotton kingdom!), the chapter on Creole culture, and the indications of the persistence of antislavery sentiment in the South even after 1830.

Mr. Eaton is particularly adept at summing up the differing viewpoints on disputed issues, not only balancing traditional versions against more recent interpretations, but in some cases even presenting revisions of the revisionists. Too often, however, he then drops the question without resolving the conflict. He does take a stand on the ultimate fate of slavery, arguing that the institution was becoming economically unprofitable and, therefore, eventually would have disappeared without the Civil War. This verdict is all the more striking because elsewhere Mr. Eaton shows considerable skepticism about economic determinism in general, and indicates that slavery in particular was as much a social and racial matter as an economic one.

The style is clear and readable, punctuated as it is by personality sketches of prominent southern figures, several comparisons with the New Deal and United Nations, a number of "spicy" allusions and the use of bizarre Indian names wherever possible. At the end of six hundred pages we may still feel we have had an excellent account of *what* happened rather than of *why* it happened. But such a complaint is wishing for the historical moon. Mr. Eaton has digested a formidable amount of material so well and presented it so coherently and dispassionately that the volume remains a triumph of the skillful handling of a complex task.

University of Pennsylvania WALLACE E. DAVIES

Lincoln Finds a General. A Military Study of the Civil War. By KENNETH P. WILLIAMS. Volumes I and II. (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1949. xx, xii, 902 p. Illustrations, maps, appendix, notes, bibliography, index. $12.50.)

In *Lincoln Finds a General*, Kenneth P. Williams, a professor of mathematics, subjects Lincoln's problems of command and leadership to the searching and discriminating analysis of a mathematician with military experience. The scope of the work is large, these first two volumes of a projected four being confined to an analysis of Lincoln's problems in Virginia from the beginning of the war until the end of the year 1863. To justify the subtitle, *A Military Study of the Civil War*, it will be necessary to consider the *entire* western area, including New Orleans and the operations in Louisiana, as well as the Virginia area, to which this present study is almost entirely confined.

Only incidental mention is made of the leadership and the conduct of operations outside of Virginia, although these other areas were just as much Lincoln's responsibility as were those in Virginia. If the Northern leadership elsewhere had not been effective and generally successful, the failure of the leadership in Virginia would have been much more tragic than it was. Lincoln and his generals and perhaps the structure of the American republic were saved by Northern successes in the West, as well as by the greater

strength in men and materials that permitted errors of judgment and performance to be made without resulting complete defeat. The aggressive Northern military leaders, who, in the end, won the war for the North—Grant, Sherman, McPherson, Sheridan—were all from Ohio. They learned the business of war by engaging in it, usually on more or less even terms and not, in the beginning at least, with a superiority that made them careless.

Professor Williams has presented a critical as well as a narrative account of Lincoln's problems and leadership that in the end was more rational and constructive than that of any of his generals. Lincoln applied common sense to any problem he was called upon to solve, but not always successfully, because he did not always follow his own best judgment. His choice of McClellan was made as much because no one else seemed available and capable of high command as for any other reason. McClellan, overcome by the choice, assumed an attitude toward Lincoln that, eventually, was his own undoing. If he had consulted with Lincoln and listened to his analysis and solution of problems facing them jointly, Grant might never have come east. McClellan's organizing ability and personal leadership operating in co-operation with Lincoln's rationalizing ability and drive would have been irresistible.

McClellan's successor, John Pope, comes off better under Professor Williams' analysis than has usually been his lot. Pope's braggadocio and failure to command the co-operation from subordinates that he was entitled to canceled his own genuine ability as a field leader. Pope's successor, Burnside, never should have been appointed and accepted the command only under protest. Hooker's appointment, likewise, never should have been made. At least two capable men were available—John F. Reynolds and W. S. Hancock. Of the two, Reynolds was the more competent, and had he been appointed, the results at Gettysburg might have been conclusive. His possible assignment is dismissed with the statement that Reynolds "probably would have declined," but with no indication as to why he would have done so. Furthermore, there is no discussion of the political aspects of Lincoln's appointments to command—Dennison's support of McClellan, Sprague's of Burnside, and Chase's of Hooker. Too little consideration is given to the relations between Lincoln and the Congressional Committee on the Conduct of the War. Halleck is constantly "in the picture" and was so until after Appomattox. A considered appraisal of his functions, relations, and value to Lincoln would help in an understanding of Lincoln's problems in finding a general.

McClellan is characterized as "an attractive, but vain and unstable man"; Halleck was "bookish"; Hooker, arrogant and insubordinate; and Meade was vacillating and frequently confused. Grant, mentioned in the beginning of the first volume and at the end of the second, is, however, a resolute, honest, kind and selfless man.

Lee and Jackson are appraised objectively, without diminishing their true greatness. Both of them made mistakes, because they were men of

action who were constantly probing and experimenting, endeavoring to set up situations that automatically would react in their favor. They made mistakes, but usually discovered and corrected them before their opponents could benefit. It is true that Gettysburg "was probably the worst battle that Lee fought." But probably no one realized this better than he did himself.

Professor Williams has here presented an objective account of the logistics of military command and operation that is a contribution to the military history of the period. He is particularly concerned with the importance and use of railroads and with the effective direction of the services of supply. In the concluding two volumes Grant bids fair to be the hero; the stage is set for his entry. It is hoped that the same meticulous attention will be given to the western operations, both Union and Confederate, that has here been given to President Lincoln and the Army of the Potomac. The account here presented is based on a careful study of the *Official Records*, a mine of information that is seldom used effectively. There are footnotes, several appendices, and a good bibliography. A number of useful maps are included, and there are several illustrations and an index.

Locust Valley, N. Y. THOMAS ROBSON HAY

Connecticut's Years of Controversy, 1750–1776. By OSCAR ZEICHNER. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1949. xiv, 404 p. Illustrations, bibliographical essay, index. $6.00.)

Mr. Zeichner, after commenting on the steady habits of Connecticut and its relative isolation because of its small trade, leads the reader through gradual stages to the overthrow of the old conservative governing clique as a result of the reaction to the Stamp Act. One is made aware of the cleavage between eastern and western Connecticut. The eastern section of the colony was a growing hotbed of radicalism. Here the New Light revival was strongest and the interest of the Susquehanna Company most ardently promoted. In the western part, the conservatives, influenced by a growing Anglican minority, attempted to hold fast to steady habits.

As the story is told the evolution of the revolutionary concept is made clear. One is taken through the various unsuccessful efforts of the Tories, after 1766, to regain the government, and is finally left at that point when to be a Tory was to be an enemy of the state.

It is a commendable book, clearly written, well annotated, and supported by a worth-while bibliographical essay.

N. B. W.

Margaret Morris. Her Journal with Biographical Sketch and Notes. By JOHN W. JACKSON. (Philadelphia: George S. MacManus Company, 1949. 132 p. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. $5.00.)

This most recent publication of the "journal" of Margaret Morris is a well-annotated, attractive little volume, containing valuable biographical information on Mrs. Morris and her family. The journal itself has been as literally transcribed as is possible in print, even to the rather questionable use of word underlinings in place of the italics generally found in manuscript transcription.

The journal is familiar to many readers in the Revolutionary period. It is a lively account of Burlington, N. J., from December, 1776, to late spring, 1777. Margaret Morris, quite naturally, emerges as the most clearly defined of all the characters in the narrative, her humor, fortitude, faith and compassion being ever present. Her political sympathies are perhaps less obvious, although her Tory inclination would seem to be strongest. For all her stanch Quaker beliefs, Mrs. Morris at times seems quite un-Friendly in some of her comments. The names and activities of many Friends are mentioned, and the misfortunes of the Anglican clergyman, Jonathan Odell, are prominent in the journal.

Although this fragmentary journal tells primarily the plight of a Quaker town in war, one finds here all the confusion of successive occupations, the turning fortunes of battle, and the uncertainty and unreliability of report and rumor. This little journal is interesting and human, and rightly takes its place in the great documentation of the Revolution.

L. V. G.

John Hepburn and His Book Against Slavery, 1715. By HENRY J. CADBURY. (Worcester, Mass.: American Antiquarian Society, 1949. 71 p.)

This reprint from the *Proceedings* of the American Antiquarian Society, April, 1949, is a welcome addition to the early movement against slavery in this country. Mr. Cadbury has pieced together scattered information on the life of John Hepburn, an East Jersey Quaker, to give us a picture of the man, and has supplied us with a critical description of the book. John Hepburn's book, *The American Defence of the Christian Golden Rule, or An Essay to prove the Unlawfulness of making Slaves of Men*, is reproduced by offset.

Bank Note Reporters and Counterfeit Detectors, 1826–1866. With a Discourse on Wildcat Banks and Wildcat Bank Notes. By WILLIAM H. DILLISTIN. [Numismatic Notes and Monographs, No. 114.] (New York: The American Numismatic Society, 1949. viii, 175 p. Illustrations, appendix, bibliography, index. Paper $3.50.)

From 1782, when the first bank was established, to 1866, when the National Bank Act provision for a tax on state bank currency became effective,

certain periodicals were circulated to report to purchasers the rate of discount on notes issued by local banks. These periodicals were called bank note reporters and counterfeit detectors. Mr. Dillistin describes the circumstances which necessitated the issuance of bank note lists and counterfeit detectors, and includes a chapter on wildcat banking and bank notes. The longest single section is devoted to the reporters and their publishers; additional information is provided in a chapter on related contemporary publications. The volume includes nineteen plates, mostly of bank notes, genuine and otherwise.

Guide to the Published Archives of Pennsylvania, Covering the 138 Volumes of Colonial Records and Pennsylvania Archives, Series I–IX. By HENRY HOWARD EDDY. (Harrisburg: Division of Public Records, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1949. vi, 101 p. Bibliography. Cloth $1.50. Paper $1.00.)

This much-needed guide to the *Pennsylvania Archives*, one of the best collections of printed source material, is a welcome one to researchers. It is divided under three main headings: (1) finding aids, including an alphabetical finding list for the *Colonial Records* and the *Archives*, Series I–IX; an index to maps, portraits, and other illustrations in the ten series; an index to diaries and journals in the ten series; (2) a history of the publication of the *Colonial Records* and the *Archives*; and (3) an appendix supplying the names omitted in printing the index to the Sixth Series.

The guide can be purchased only from the State Bureau of Publications, Harrisburg, and the order must be accompanied by a check or money order.

Guide to the Burlington Archives in the Newberry Library, 1851–1901. Compiled by ELIZABETH COLEMAN JACKSON and CAROLYN CURTIS. (Chicago: The Newberry Library, 1949. xxiv, 374 p. Index.)

This guide is a catalogue of the extensive correspondence and records of the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad Company, deposited in The Newberry Library in 1943. The growing significance of business records in history makes this volume a valuable one, for the Burlington railroad was the first major corporation to deposit its nineteenth-century records in a library for historical use. These records include not only those of the C. B. & Q., but those of many smaller roads which became part of the Burlington system.

Old Wye Church, Talbot County, Maryland, 1694–1949. By ELIZABETH MERRITT. (Baltimore: The Maryland Historical Society, 1949. 42 p. Bibliography.)

This booklet presents the history of the Old Wye Church (St. Luke's at Wye Mills), a chapel of ease in St. Paul's Parish, Talbot County, Maryland.

Mr. William Graves Perry, who was the architect in charge, has included his notes on the architecture of Wye Church, and on its restoration (1947–1949), made possible through the generosity of Mr. Arthur Amory Houghton, Jr.

The Territorial Papers of the United States. Vol. XIV, *The Territory of Louisiana-Missouri, 1806–1814.* Compiled by CLARENCE EDWIN CARTER. (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1949. vi, 915 p. Index. $2.75.)

This volume is the second in the series of three to be published on the Louisiana-Missouri Territory. The broad source of documentation used in the other volumes of the *Territorial Papers* is followed here, and covers the wide span of problems involved in territorial settlement and administration. The documents cover the administrations of Acting Governor Browne, 1806–1807; Acting Governor Bates, 1807–1808, 1809–1810; Governor Lewis, 1808–1809; Governor Howard, 1810–1813; and Governor Clark, 1813–1814.

Announcement

The Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Va., announces the publication about July 25th of the *Virginia Gazette Index*, edited by Lester J. Cappon and Stella F. Duff. The *Index* covers the three papers printed as the *Virginia Gazette* between 1736 and 1780 (about 1,700 issues) and will be accompanied by a microfilm file of these papers. The extensive coverage of Pennsylvania news—as well as other non-Virginia material—has been thoroughly indexed. Prepublication price for the two volumes of about 600 pages each is $75.00 for the *Index* and microfilm; $50.00 for the *Index or* microfilm. Orders received after July 25th will be billed at $85.00 for *Index* and microfilm; $60.00 for *Index* alone and $50.00 for microfilm alone.

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L. H. BUTTERFIELD, formerly on the faculty of Franklin and Marshall College and now associate editor of *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson* at Princeton, has prepared a two-volume edition of the *Letters of Benjamin Rush* which will be published early in 1951 by Princeton University Press for the American Philosophical Society.

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OPHIA D. SMITH, although trained in music, has been actively interested in history for some time, taking special work in the field at Miami University. Most of her writing, both books and articles, has been in Ohio history, and her interest in the Swedenborgian Church has been keen.

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THE
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Dr. Benjamin Rush's Journal of a Trip to Carlisle in 1784

"You know I love to be in the way of adding to my stock of ideas upon all subjects," Benjamin Rush observed to his wife in a letter of 1787. An insatiable gatherer and recorder of facts and observations, Rush kept journals throughout his life—some continuously over many years, like his Commonplace Books recently edited by Dr. George W. Corner as part of Rush's *Autobiography;* others for brief periods or for special purposes, like his "Quack Recipe Book" in the Library Company of Philadelphia, his Scottish journal in the Indiana University Library, and the present little diary of a journey from Philadelphia to Carlisle and return in April, 1784.

This diary consists of twenty-three duodecimo pages stitched at one edge, and is written entirely in Rush's hand. Owned by a succession of Rush's descendants, it at length came to light in the sale of the Alexander Biddle Papers at the Parke-Bernet Galleries in New York in 1943. (It will be found listed in the Biddle Sale Catalogue, Part I, lot 219.) It was then purchased by the late Josiah C. Trent, M.D., of Durham, North Carolina, who, when he learned that the present writer was investigating Rush's part in the founding of Dickinson College at Carlisle, very kindly furnished a photostatic

copy of the 1784 journal, together with permission to use it in whatever way seemed best. This was a characteristic action on his part, for Josiah Trent was not only a physician, collector, and scholar, but a magnanimous patron of scholarship.

Rush's trip to Carlisle in the spring of 1784 was occasioned by the first meeting of the board of trustees of Dickinson College, which had been chartered largely through his own efforts in the previous fall, on the site of its future operations. As early as November, 1783, Rush was laying plans for "the great and solemn 6th of April next," when the college on which rested so many of his hopes was to be launched. The first institution of its kind beyond the Susquehanna, Dickinson College was to be more than a mere academic seminary. It was to spread light and learning along the Scotch-Irish frontier. but it was also to serve as a political outpost in the enemy's country, Rush was engaged at this time in a do-or-die campaign against the Pennsylvania Constitution of 1776 and the radical party that created and supported it, among whom the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians formed the dominant group. The impulses behind the establishment of Dickinson College were varied and complex, some of them lofty and some calculating. This, however, is a subject that cannot be entered into here; the reader desiring more background may be referred to the early chapters of James H. Morgan's excellent history of the college, to Robert L. Brunhouse's *Counter-Revolution in Pennsylvania* for a skillful unraveling of the political history of the period, and to my own essay on "Benjamin Rush and the Beginnings of John and Mary's College over Susquehanna," all of which are cited below in the notes on the diary.

One reason, undoubtedly, why Rush recorded the events and impressions of his jaunt to Carlisle was so that he could read his narrative to Mrs. Rush after his return. His diary, therefore, like all other really readable diaries, blends the commonplace and the significant. A rattling window frame keeps him awake at night, and he summons the landlord to fasten it. The contrast between the shabbiness of the Scotch-Irish settlers' farms and the neatness of the Germans' suggests reflections on national character that were to be more fully developed in Rush's essays on the ethnic groups of Pennsylvania. The little journal contains nothing new that is of great moment, but some of its details relative to the first meeting

of the Dickinson trustees at Carlisle have not been known hitherto, and the picture it presents of life in Pennsylvania after the Revolution, like most of Rush's writing, is lively and engaging.*

Princeton University L. H. BUTTERFIELD

Left Philada: April 2nd: 178[4][1] at 10 o'Clock—fed my horses at the Buck tavern[2] 11 miles from town—and took a cold Snack myself—was attended while eating by a neat hansome Quaker Girl who had all that cleverness about her that ensures her making a good Wife.—Fed a 2nd time at the Sign of Adl: Warren[3] 21 miles from town—the tavern keeper was a lively talking little Quaker.—The first thing that struck me in his house was the Address of the Minority of the Censors[4] pasted on his bar.—The little fellow seemed hurt at my

* The text as printed follows Rush's spelling, capitalization, and punctuation, but superscript letters have been brought down to the line. The annotation has profited from information and suggestions furnished by several authorities on Pennsylvania local history, namely, Dr. Milton E. Flower of Dickinson College, Miss Elizabeth Kieffer of the Franklin and Marshall College Library, Mr. Nicholas B. Wainwright of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and Mr. Henry J. Young of the Historical Society of York County. I am happy to acknowledge their generous help and also that of the American Philosophical Society, which supplied the grants that have made possible my research on Benjamin Rush.

1 Manuscript torn; the year is established from Rush's correspondence. A number of letters in my edition of Rush's *Letters*, now in the press, touch on the preparations for the Carlisle meeting and its consequences. See also James Henry Morgan, *Dickinson College: The History of One Hundred and Fifty Years, 1783–1933* (Carlisle, 1933), 16–27.

2 Presumably the Buck Tavern, "a stage stand of the first order," in Haverford Township, Delaware Co., though this was only eight miles from the Schuylkill crossing. Julius F. Sachse, "The Wayside Inns on the Lancaster Roadside between Philadelphia and Lancaster," Pennsylvania-German Society *Proceedings*, XXI (1912), 17–18; John T. Faris, *Old Roads Out of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia and London, 1917), 130. There are photographs of the Buck in both Sachse and Faris.

3 The Admiral Warren, at the foot of South Valley Hill, Whiteland Township, Chester Co.; originally (1745) called the Admiral Vernon and, from soon after Rush's stop, called the General Warren. It was supposed to have been a gathering place for Tories during the Revolution, and in 1784 was conducted by a reputed Tory, Peter Mather. Sachse, 44–77, with photographs.

4 One of the numerous manifestoes and counter-manifestoes published as a result of the deadlock in the Council of Censors (which had met for the first time during the winter of 1783–1784) on the question whether a state constitutional convention should be called to alter the Constitution of 1776. The Republicans (conservatives), who desired a revision of the Constitution, had a majority of members in the Council, but they could not muster the two-thirds vote necessary to recommend a new convention. See Robert L. Brunhouse, *The Counter-Revolution in Pennsylvania, 1776–1790* (Harrisburg, 1942), Chap. VI. Though numerous broadsides and pamphlets relating to this controversy are listed in the standard bibliographies, no copy of this particular handbill is recorded, and none has been found.

looking at it, and apologized for it by saying it [*sic*] that it was sent to him by one of the County magistrates and that he was afraid to tear it down least he should loose his licence. Upon my giving him an opening he broke forth, and cursed the minority—the Constitution & the Presbyterians all in a breath.—"But I ask pardon Sir (said he)—I hope—no offence—Perhaps Sir you are a Presbytn:—I 'dont mean to be rude." Say on my friend—said I—you can't offend me by any thing you can say of any Sect."—He then went on to describe & abuse the Presbyterians in Chester County, particularly Parson Carmichael.[5]—This fellow said he once prayed to God "to shake the tories over hell, but not to let them drop in." He commended his German Neighbours, who were chiefly non Jurors.[6] I drank part of a Quart of Beer at his house of an excellent Quality, & received from him when I left him his best wishes for my good Journey. He addressed me as if he discovered that I had a perfect sympathy with him in every thing he said.—

7 oClock arrived at the Ship 34 miles from town where I was kindly received by Mr. Valentine a wealthy—full fed—fat—Quaker tory.[7] He came into my room & complained loudly & justly of the errors & oppressions of our Goverment with respect to paper money—tender and test laws & the like. He blamed Jos Reed[8] for most of

[5] John Carmichael (1728–1785), a graduate of the College of New Jersey (Princeton), 1759; Presbyterian minister at the Forks of Brandywine, Chester Co., from 1761 until his death; an ardent patriot in the Revolution. William B. Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit* (New York, 1859–1869), III, 228–232.

[6] Those who refused to take the oath of loyalty to the state (and thereby to the Constitution of 1776) required by the several test laws passed during the Revolution. The "tests" were aimed at Loyalists, but were continued in force by the radical party in order to keep the Quakers and other conservatives disfranchised. A vigorous effort was made this year to repeal the test laws, Rush contributing an anonymous pamphlet entitled *Considerations upon the Present Test-Law of Pennsylvania*, but they were not wholly abolished until 1789. Their history is summarized in Charles J. Stillé, *Major-General Anthony Wayne and the Pennsylvania Line in the Continental Army* (Philadelphia, 1893), 304–308.

[7] One mile west of Downingtown, near the thirty-second milestone. The proprietor at this time was Robert Valentine, of whom Elizabeth Drinker speaks with respect in her *Journal* and with whom she and other Quaker ladies stayed when on their mission in 1778 to obtain the release of their husbands exiled to Virginia. Sachse, 23; Henry D. Biddle, ed., *Extracts from the Journal of Elizabeth Drinker* (Philadelphia, 1889), 94, 101.

[8] Joseph Reed (1741–1785), lawyer, soldier, and, from 1778 to 1781, president of the state. *Dictionary of American Biography* (*DAB*). Rush had a special grievance against Reed because the College of Philadelphia was deprived of its charter during Reed's administration, and the

the evils under which We had suffered—Ah—Ah—said he—I shall never forget the time that I heard him say when he was Governor "that he would *bend*—or *break* the Quakers."

I spent from ½ after 7 till 10 o'Clock alone—drank an agreeable dish of tea for my Supper—Alternately walked—read—& wrote—felt now & then an inclination for a pinch of Snuff—but was restrained from taking it by recollecting how many pathetic—animated—and affectionate remonstrances I had received Against it from my dear Mrs. Rush.—[9]

Went to bed at 10 oClock, but could not sleep owing to the noise of the windows in my room—Upon hearing my Landlord's Voice (for it was a peculiar one—*loud*, and *squeaking*) I rose at 12 oClock, and requested that he would give me another room or secure his windows from making a noise.—He chose the latter—and by means of wooden pegs, fixed them in such a manner that I soon dropped a sleep after getting into bed a second time. Col: Porter & his two twin sons slept in the same room with me[10]—The Colonel was moving his family from Philada. to settle on a farm 43 miles from the town on the Lancaster Road.—Rose at 7 oClock—breakfasted at 8—paid (without *disputing*) my bill—which I might have done—for it was very high 17/6- for myself & Servant—two Suppers—two breakfasts—no drinks—and 16 quarts of oats wth. hay for my horses.—Set out after breakfast in a shower of rain. Stopped at a dirty tavern[11] 9 miles from the Ship.—Fed my horses & took a Snack.—While I was setting by the fire a poor man and his wife came in & sat down

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conservatives generally regarded Reed as a renegade because of his compromise with the "leather-apron" majority party in Pennsylvania.

9 A liking for snuff appears to have been one of the few weaknesses in Rush's moral armor. He afterwards wrote a lively tract against tobacco, entitled "Observations upon the Influence of the Habitual Use of Tobacco upon Health, Morals, and Property," printed in his *Essays, Literary, Moral & Philosophical* (Philadelphia, 1798), 263–274.

10 Andrew Porter (1743–1813), schoolteacher, surveyor, and soldier, of Norristown and Philadelphia, had served as an officer in the Continental artillery, rising to the rank of lieutenant colonel; he was later a major general of militia and surveyor general of the state, 1809–1813. His twin sons were Andrew (1773–1805) and William (1773–1835). William A. Porter, "A Sketch of the Life of General Andrew Porter," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* (*PMHB*), IV (1880), 261–301; *Pennsylvania Archives, Second Series* (Harrisburg, 1874–1890), XI, 201, 206.

11 Not identified.

by the door. *He* was barelegged & carried a large bundle on his head. *She* carried a child of 18 months Old in her Arm. They were both wet as well as cold. I ordered them a mug of Cyder & then entered into conversation wth. them. He told me that he was on his way to Shippenstown[12] from Baskenridge in the Jersey—that he was by trade a weaver—that his wife was the grand daughter of the Revd. Mr. Lamb formerly minister of Baskenridge Church[13]—and that they were married by the Revd. Dr: Kennedy.[14] I gave thier Child a qr: of a dollar—which overcame them both with gratitude. Stopped abt: 46 miles from town at *Col: Atlee's*[15] who rode with me 4 miles—fed my horses at the Sign of the hat[16] & drank half of a pint of excellent madeira Wine with an agreeable young German Storekeeper who overtook me on the road—and arrived at Lancaster about 6 oClock where I found the President of the State[17] at the Sign of the Bear.[18]—We passed the Evening agreeably—Col: Lowry[19]—Mr.

12 Shippensburg, Cumberland Co., southwest of Carlisle.

13 Probably Rev. Joseph Lamb, who died in 1749, aged sixty, and is buried in the Presbyterian churchyard in the village of Basking Ridge, Somerset Co., N. J. "Basking Ridge Churchyard Inscriptions," *Somerset County Historical Quarterly*, I (1912), 215.

14 Samuel Kennedy (1720–1787), born in Scotland, was Presbyterian minister at Basking Ridge from 1751 until his death. Sprague, III, 175–178. Rush, who had visited the Boudinots in Basking Ridge during the Revolution, was acquainted with Kennedy.

15 Col. Samuel John Atlee (1739–1786), a lawyer, soldier, Indian commissioner, and formerly member of the Continental Congress, was at this time a member of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania. His home was in the Pequea Valley. Edwin A. Barber, *Genealogical Record of the Atlee Family* (Philadelphia, 1884), 82–86; Lancaster County Historical Society *Papers*, II (1897–1898), 142.

16 About twelve miles from Lancaster, as indicated on a road surveyor's map of 1767, reproduced in Lancaster County Historical Society *Papers*, XX (1916), facing page 212.

17 John Dickinson (1732–1808), who had succeeded Joseph Reed as president of Pennsylvania in 1781. Rush had caused the college at Carlisle to be named for Dickinson, who was his friend of many years' standing. (Rush first proposed "John and Mary's College," honoring Mrs. Dickinson as well.) Dickinson took a mild interest in the institution and donated lands and books to it, but he considered Rush's plans too ambitious, and a coolness between them developed over this matter later this year. See Morgan, *passim*, and a number of letters written by Rush in the fall of 1784 that will be printed in the *Letters of Benjamin Rush*.

18 A Bear Tavern on King Street east of the Courthouse was kept by Philip Messenkop in 1799. Franklin Ellis and Samuel Evans, *History of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1883), 399.

19 Alexander Lowery (1723–1805), of Marietta, Lancaster Co., Irish immigrant, fur trader, and colonel of militia, had served in the Pennsylvania constitutional convention of 1776 and later in the Assembly. Alex. Harris, *A Biographical History of Lancaster County* (Lancaster, 1872), 375–381.

Jacks[20]—Mr. Hubly & his Br:[21] The Revd: Messrs. Muhlenburgh[22] & Handell[23]—& Dr. Slough[24] came in to pay thier respects to the President.—The former talked chiefly of the Constitution & against the evils of paper money—The Clergymen talked with great zeal & attachment of Dickinson College of wch: they were both trustees.—

April 4th: Set off wth. Mr. Jacks, & Mr. Scott[25] (one of the Assembly) at 9 oClock—dined at the Bear in Elizth: town at Mr. Bogs's[26] 18 miles from Lancaster—parted wth: Mr. Scott—and rode on to Middletown 8 miles further where we lodged—the Presidt: at Geo: Fry's a private house,[27] & Mr. Jacks & myself at

[20] James Jacks, who lived in Manor Township, Lancaster Co., held many local offices, was a member of the Assembly, 1780–1782, and a charter trustee of Dickinson College, 1783–1802. *Ibid.*, 324; George L. Reed, comp., *Dickinson College Alumni Record* (Carlisle, 1905), 11; information from Miss Elizabeth Kieffer, Lancaster.

[21] "Mr. Hubly" is undoubtedly John Hubley (1747–1821), a Lancaster lawyer who had served in the constitutional convention of 1776 and as commissary of state and Continental stores at Lancaster from 1777; he was later a member of the convention to ratify the federal Constitution, 1787. For many years he acted as financial manager of Franklin (now Franklin and Marshall) College, of which he and Rush were both charter trustees. Harris, 322–323; Joseph H. Dubbs, *History of Franklin and Marshall College* (Lancaster, 1903), *passim*.

John Hubley's "B[rothe]r" was Adam Hubley (*c.* 1744–1793), a soldier who served throughout the Revolution, rising to the rank of lieutenant colonel commandant, 11th Pennsylvania Line; he was afterwards a member of the Assembly, 1783–1787, and of the state Senate, 1790. John W. Jordan, notice of Hubley preceding the printing of Hubley's remarkable "Journal" kept on the Sullivan Expedition of 1779, *PMHB*, XXXIII (1909), 129–131.

[22] Gotthilf Henry Ernst Muhlenberg (1755–1815), youngest son of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, was pastor of Trinity Lutheran Church at Lancaster from 1780 until his death, first president of Franklin College, 1787, and a pioneer American botanist. *DAB*.

[23] John William Hendel (1740–1798), born in the Palatinate, was pastor of the German Reformed Church in Lancaster, 1764–1769, 1782–1794; vice-president of Franklin College from 1787. Henry Harbaugh, *The Fathers of the Reformed Church in Europe and America* (Lancaster, 1872), II, 120–130.

[24] No Dr. Slough can be identified in Lancaster at this time. Rush probably meant Mathias Slough, who was not a physician but an innkeeper, one-time coroner, frequently a member of the Assembly, and a well-known and active citizen usually called "Col. Slough." Harris, 539–540.

[25] Abraham Scott, member of the Assembly for Lancaster Co., 1781–1785, but otherwise obscure. Ellis and Evans, 214.

[26] An Alexander Boggs bought a large tract of land in Elizabethtown in 1790 and may have kept the Bear Tavern at an earlier date. *Ibid.*, 613.

[27] Actually George Everhardt (1732–1806). Born in Germany, he is said to have acquired the name Frey from the circumstance of his having been taken up, when an orphan, as a runaway redemptioner and crying out, "Ich bin frei! Ich bin frei!" He was a storekeeper and this year bought a mill on the Swatara which eventually became the largest mill in Pennsylvania. John Penn described Frey's mill and "extraordinary mill-stream" in 1788. By his will Frey

Mr. Crab's tavern.[28]—This town is only 20 years old—has 70 houses in it some of which are of Stone—It lies on the Susquehannah, & near the mouth of Swetara [Swatara], & is very sickly every fall. Crab the tavern keeper told me he had lived there 13 years, without knowing a day's Sickness.—April 5th: we proceeded along the river to Chamber's ferry,[29]—and were struck with the effects of the late inundation of the river.[30] For two miles along the river we rode thr'o banks of ice—rails—and the ruins of houses which had been thrown up by the river above 300 yards in some places from its banks. We saw one bank of ice on a high bank of earth 20 feet high. We were told of stone houses—barns—&c being carried away in an instant by the fresh. We heard of one instance of a barn being carried 30 miles down the river in its entire state. Fowls were seen on its roof.—we crossed the river without difficulty—visited my old friend Dr. Kennady's family[31] on the shore—rode thr'o deep—and difficult roads to White's[32] 10 miles from Carlisle where we dined—The farms on the river are owned chiefly by Germans, & bear all the marks of

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bequeathed a fund to found an orphanage. C. H. Hutchinson, *The Chronicles of Middletown* (n. p., 1906), 63–66, 113, and photograph of Frey's house, facing page 32; "John Penn's Journal of a Visit to Reading, Harrisburg, Carlisle, and Lancaster, in 1788," *PMHB*, III (1879), 293–294.

28 The Sign of General Washington, on the Square in Middletown, was kept by William Crabb and later, apparently, by George Crabb. Hutchinson, 43, 78, 80.

29 This ferry was about six miles above Middletown and two or three below Harrisburg. Licensed in 1750, it was probably by this time in the hands of Michael Simpson. John Penn crossed here from the west on his trip in 1788, remarking on the "enchanting prospects" from the river. Contemporary maps designate the crossing as "Simpson's" or "Carlisle ferry," but as late as 1807 Fortescue Cuming still called it "Chambers's" and said it was "much frequented by the western waggoners, as the road that way is shorter by two miles, than that by Harrisburgh." Thus Rush did not get as far as the better-known Harris' ferry, where a town was being laid out this year that was to become the state capital. "John Penn's Journal," 293 and note; F. Cuming, *Sketches of a Tour to the Western Country* [R. G. Thwaites, ed. *Early Western Travels* (Cleveland, 1904), IV], 38.

30 Rush, who was nothing if not thrifty with the memoranda he constantly gathered, compiled and published an account of this flood in *The Columbian Magazine*, I, 123–124 (November 1786), under the title "An Account of the Effects of the General THAW, in March, 1784, upon the River Susquehannah, and the adjacent Country." The lesson to be drawn from it, he sagely concluded, is that farmers ought to remove everything movable from the river banks when a heavy thaw is coming on.

31 Not certainly identifiable.

32 Mentioned as a midway tavern in local records, but not further identified. Information from Dr. Milton E. Flower, Carlisle.

the industry of those people.[33] A few miles from the river we traced the marks of the Irish Settlers—Houses without windows—Water wasting itself in public roads instead of being drawn over fields so as to make meadow—dead timber standing in forests in fields of grain—low or broken fences, & lean Cattle. Arrived at Carlisle in the evening, & put up at Jas. Pollock a large & excellent tavern.[34] Jno. Montgomery[35] waited upon us & invited us to lodge at his house—but we excused ourselves by promising to breakfast & dine with him next day. April 6th: at 12 oClock the trustees assembled in the Episcopal Church[36] where an excellent Sermon on the Utility of Seminaries of learning was delivered by the Revd. Mr. Jno. Black[37]

33 Rush's observations here and toward the close of his journal contrasting the German and Irish (*i.e.*, Scotch-Irish) settlements recur frequently in his letters and were elaborated in two essays that are pioneer examples of sociological analysis and that still make good reading. The earlier of the two is "An account of the Progress of Population, Agriculture, Manners, and Government in Pennsylvania," published in *The Columbian Magazine*, I, 117–122 (November, 1786), and reprinted in Rush's *Essays* (1798), 213–225. This essay is chiefly devoted to the Scotch-Irish frontier and anticipates essential parts of Frederick Jackson Turner's interpretation of the westward movement in American history. The other is "An Account of the Manners of the German Inhabitants of Pennsylvania," published in *The Columbian Magazine*, III, 22–30 (January, 1789), reprinted in Rush's *Essays*, 226–248, and frequently reprinted since. Nothing remotely comparable to it in informativeness and sympathetic understanding was written about the Pennsylvania Germans during the eighteenth century.

34 James Pollock (*d.* 1800), brother of that Oliver Pollock who is well known to history as the American commercial agent at New Orleans during the Revolution, emigrated from Ireland and settled at Silver Springs near Carlisle about 1760. He bought property in Carlisle, held various local offices, and kept a tavern on High (or Main) Street. John Penn, probably writing of James Pollock in 1788, says: "I found my landlord, tho' an Irishman, possessed of the free and easy style to a great degree. It was difficult indeed to persuade him, for any length of time, that I was able to forego the pleasure of his society." Horace E. Hayden, *Pollock Genealogy* (Harrisburg, 1883), 3–4; article on Oliver Pollock in *DAB*; "John Penn's Journal," 291.

35 John Montgomery (1722–1808) emigrated from Ireland to Carlisle about 1740, served in the Indian wars and as colonel of militia in the Revolution, was a member of the Assembly, 1781–1782, and of Congress, 1782–1784; he was afterwards an associate judge of Cumberland Co. Montgomery was Rush's principal collaborator and supporter in founding Dickinson College and nursing it through its difficult early years. He lived at Happy Retreat, a stone house still standing on the western outskirts of Carlisle. *Centennial Memorial of the Presbytery of Carlisle* (Harrisburg, 1889), II, 316–317; Montgomery-Rush correspondence, Rush Manuscripts, XLI–XLIII, Library Company of Philadelphia.

36 St. John's Episcopal Church has occupied the northeast corner of the Square in Carlisle since 1757, though the original building was replaced in 1825–1826. Milton E. Flower and Lenore E. Flower, *This Is Carlisle* (Carlisle, 1944), 35, 60.

37 Rev. John Black (*d.* 1802), a graduate of the College of New Jersey, 1771, was pastor of the Upper Marsh Creek (Gettysburg) Presbyterian Church, 1775–1794, and a charter trustee of Dickinson College. *Centennial Memorial of the Presbytery of Carlisle*, II, 66–69.

from these words Cor: I viii & 1—"For knowledge puffeth up, but charity edifieth."— We dined at Jno. Montgomery['s] in a large Company of trustees & some others. Our dinner was plentiful—elegant, & as well attended as any dinner I ever was at in a Gentleman's house in Philadelphia. Mr. Montgy.'s wife & daughter are sensible well bred women.[38] After dinner we proceeded to the Court house[39] where after taking & Subscribing the Oaths &c the trustees proceeded to business.—At 7 oClock adjourned. We drank tea, & I supped at John Montgomerys.—

April 7th: Proceeded to business After a sensible prayer by the Revd: Mr. Cooper[40] a pious & learned member of the board of trustees. At 1 oClock we viewed the Works near the town which were judged proper for the Accommodation of the pupils & professors.[41] We dined at our lodgings at Jas. Pollocks, and spend [*sic*] the Evening at Jno. Montgomery's. April 8th Met at 8 oClock, and elected unanimously our Principal Dr. Nesbit[42] & Mr. Jas. Ross Professor of languages.[43] Finished our business wth: an excellent prayer by

38 Sarah (Diemer) Montgomery was John Montgomery's second wife. By his two marriages he had six daughters; the eldest, Sidney, never married and may have been the one referred to by Rush. Information furnished by Dr. Milton E. Flower and Mrs. Lenore E. Flower.

39 Erected in 1765–1766 and burned in 1845, its site is now occupied by the present Cumberland County Courthouse. J. A. Murray, *First Public Buildings in Carlisle. Court Houses* (pamphlet issued by the Hamilton Library Association, Carlisle, 1902?).

40 Rev. Robert Cooper (*c.* 1732–1805), a graduate of the College of New Jersey, 1763, was pastor of the Middle Spring Presbyterian Church near Shippensburg, 1765–1797. *Centennial Memorial of the Presbytery of Carlisle*, II, 46–47.

41 The military buildings at "Washingtonburgh" on the eastern edge of Carlisle, erected during the colonial and Revolutionary period, and used as shops, storehouses, and barracks; afterwards, greatly augmented, they housed a famous Indian school, a government hospital, an army medical training school, and currently an army chaplains' school. Despite long negotiations by the trustees, the "public works" were never acquired by Dickinson College. Morgan, 27 (note), 75–78; Thomas G. Tousey, *Military History of Carlisle and Carlisle Barracks* (Richmond, 1939).

42 Charles Nisbet (1734–1804), D.D., of Montrose, Scotland, whom Rush by sheer persistence eventually persuaded to accept the post Rush had designated him for. Nisbet came to Carlisle in 1785 and served as principal of the frontier college until his death. Though a man of great learning and weight of character, he liked neither the place nor the people, and his relations with Rush—a man of equally positive but quite opposite views—were peculiarly unhappy. Morgan, *passim;* L. H. Butterfield, "Benjamin Rush and the Beginning of John and Mary's College over Susquehanna," *Journal of the History of Medicine*, III (1948), 427–442, reprinted in *Bulwark of Liberty: Early Years at Dickinson* (New York, 1950), 29–54.

43 James Ross (1743–1827), whose educational background is obscure, was at this time master of the grammar school to which Dickinson College traces its origin and in which the

Mr. Cooper. Went to Pollock's where an elegant dinner was provided by the Citizens of Carlisle for His Excellency the President & the trustees of the College. We spent an agreeable Afternoon with them. Drank tea at Col Magaw's[44] & sat 'till 10 oClock at my friend Jno. Montgomery's. April 9th: Sat out for Philada. by the way of York town[45]—were accompanied 10 miles by the principal inhabitants of the town of Carlisle, & were met by about a dozen of Gentlemen of the same description about 7 miles from Yorktown. Arrived at 7 oClock—was kindly received & lodged by my good friend & kinsman Mr. McClene.[46] I forgot to mention before that the town of Carlisle consists of About 300 houses most of which are of Stone & some of them very large & elegant. It is only 30 thirty years old. My Landlord James Pollock who lives in a good brick house told me that he assisted in cutting down the trees that built the first log house in Carlisle, & that the trees grew on the Spot where his house now stood.—Our ride *this* day was extremely disagreeable owing to the coldness of the weather. The lanes & roads in many places were covered w[ith][47] Snow above a foot deep. No marks were to be seen any where of Vegetation, & complaints were to be heard every where of the Scarcity of fodder for Cattle. April 10th: Spent this day in walking about & viewing York, & visiting the principal inhabitants of the place. Was much pleased with the conversation of One Jno.

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college classes were to be held for some years. Both before and after his term of service at Carlisle, Ross taught the classics in many parts of the state and is remembered as the author of a celebrated *Latin Grammar* (1802) and other textbooks. Morgan, 98–104.

44 Robert Magaw (1738–1790), a lawyer of Carlisle, served as colonel of the 5th Pennsylvania Battalion, 1776, and was captured at Fort Washington; member of the Assembly, 1781–1782; charter trustee of Dickinson College. He lived on the southeast corner of the Square. Charles F. Himes, *Col. Robert Magaw, the Defender of Fort Washington* ([Carlisle], 1915).

45 York, Pa.

46 Archibald McClean (variously spelled), who had married Polly Leech, cousin of Rush's on his mother's side. He was at this time prothonotary of York Co. and lived on the northeast corner of Centre Square. Rush had visited the McCleans in nearby Hanover during his last trip to York, in January, 1778, when he resigned his commission as physician general. J. Hall Pleasants, "Hall Family of Tacony, Philadelphia County, Pennsylvania," *William and Mary Quarterly, First Series*, XXII (1913–1914), 135; J. W. Jordan, "York, Penna., in the Revolution," *PMHB*, XXXII (1908), 495; Rush to Mrs. Rush. Jan. 15, 1778, Rush's *Letters*.

47 Lost in the margin.

Fisher a German Artist whom we employed to cut the College Seal[48] —a man without education who has taught himself a great many curious mechanical Arts. We dined at Col: Hartley's[49] with a large company of Gentlemen.—Drank tea at James Smith's the lawyers.[50] His wife is a most agreeable woman, and his two daughters are very genteel sensible young ladies. They entertained us after tea with Singing & playing on the harpsicord. April 11th: went to Church which was held in the Court house[51] where we saw an assembly composed equally of Episcopalians & Presbyterians & heard a Sermon from the Revd. Mr. McFarquer a Presbyn: minister.[52] These people live in great harmony with each other, & Alternately hear each Other's minister's preach.—Dined at Col: Hartley's and rode After

[48] The seal of Dickinson College was adopted in April, 1784, upon recommendation of a committee of two members of the board of trustees, President Dickinson and Dr. Rush, and is still in use in a modified form. Rush conceived the symbolic design: a liberty cap above a telescope, which is in turn above an open Bible; and Dickinson provided the motto: "Pietate et doctrine tuta libertas." Rush to Charles Nisbet, May 15, 1784, in Samuel Miller, *Memoir of the Rev. Charles Nisbet, D. D.* (New York, 1840), 113–114. The seal was executed by John Fisher, or Johannes Fischer (1736–1808), who was born near Tübingen, Germany, and came to America in 1749. He moved to York about 1756 and engaged in clock making; he was also an organ-maker, woodcarver, and painter. James A. Kell, manuscript genealogy of the Fisher family, York County Historical Society. A painted wood-and-metal figure of Justice holding her scales, which is attributed to Fisher and which long stood behind the judges' bench in the York Courthouse, is reproduced in Frances Lichten, *Folk Art of Rural Pennsylvania* (New York and London, 1946), 113.

[49] Thomas Hartley (1748–1800), a lawyer of York, served as colonel, 11th Pennsylvania Line, 1777–1779; member of the ratifying convention of 1787, and of Congress, 1789–1800. An old friend of Rush's, he was also a charter trustee of Dickinson College. *DAB*; Reed, 11.

[50] James Smith (*c.* 1719–1806), born in Ireland, had met Rush when they were members of the Provincial Conference of June, 1776, and they were soon afterwards cosigners for Pennsylvania of the Declaration of Independence. In Smith's house on South George Street, no longer standing, the Board of War met while Congress sat in York. He married, about 1760, Eleanor Armor (*d.* 1818), and they had five children, including three daughters, all of whom were apparently unmarried at this time. *DAB;* information from local records furnished by Henry J. Young, York County Historical Society.

[51] This was the building in Centre Square, built in 1756 and torn down in 1841, where Congress had sat (Sept. 30, 1777–June 27, 1778) during the British occupation of Philadelphia. *Pennsylvania: A Guide to the Keystone State* [American Guide Series] (New York, 1940), 348–349. A crude but interesting view of the old Courthouse is used as a frontispiece in W. C. Carter and A. J. Glossbrenner, *History of York County* (York, 1834).

[52] Rev. Colin McFarquhar (*c.* 1729–1822), born and educated in Scotland, served as minister at Old Donegal Presbyterian Church, west of Mt. Joy in Lancaster Co., 1777–1806. An Episcopal church had been built at York during the Revolution, but was immediately taken over for military purposes and in 1784 was probably not yet ready for use as a church. Ellis and Evans, 773–775; Carter and Glossbrenner, 43–44.

dinner to Wrights ferry.[53] Mr. Dickinson introduced me to Mr. Wright's family where I saw the famous SUZEY WRIGHT a lady who has been celebrated Above half a Century for her wit—good Sense & valuable improvements of mind.[54] She has been for many years the friend & correspondent of Dr. Franklin. She is now in her 88th year, & has declined a good deal both in Strength & in her mental faculties. She told me that She had lived 62 years at this place, & that when She first came to live here there were no inhabitants in York County, & none on this Side Lancaster 10 miles from the ferry.—She told me further that her appetite was good—that she still retained her relish for books—"that She could not live without them"—& that to use her own words "the pleasure of reading was to her a most tremendous blessing"—She said that She remembered the events of Childhood now better that [than] She did in the middle of her life.—April 12 Left the ferry and After stopping Once, and feeding our horses 6 miles on this Side Lancaster, we dined at Hopkins's tavern[55] where we met with Col Atlee, & lodged at Whitaker's tavern 41 miles from the city.[56] The Country over which we rode this day was equal in point of cultivation to any perhaps in the World. Stone house & barns—large orchards—watered meadows—extensive fields of grain seperated from each other with high fences many of which were of posts & rails every where presented themselves to our View. The contrast between these Settlements & the Irish Settlements in Cumberland & York Counties was very great. I have described the

53 Wright's Ferry was patented in 1730 by John Wright, an English Quaker settler. His grandson, Samuel, laid out a town here, 1787–1788, naming it Columbia. In 1789 an effort was made by Congressman Hartley and others to have Columbia designated the seat of the national government. Ellis and Evans, 539–541; William H. Egle, *An Illustrated History of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania* (Harrisburg, 1876), 832–833.

54 Susannah Wright (1692?–1785), daughter of John Wright, the pioneer settler. She lived in a house erected by her brother James that still stands, little altered, on Second Street in Columbia. Susannah wrote poetry, painted landscapes, treated the sick, spun silk from which was made a court dress for the Queen of England, and corresponded with James Logan and Benjamin Franklin. It was characteristic of Rush to inquire into her health and habits, for longevity was a subject on which he wrote frequently. Lancaster County Historical Society *Papers*, XLII (1938), 125–139, with photographs of the Wright homestead; Egle, 832; A. H. Smyth, ed., *Writings of Benjamin Franklin* (New York and London, 1905–1907), III, 57–58; *PMHB*, XVI (1892), 305.

55 This must have been the tavern at Mill Creek, noted on the 1767 road surveyor's map as conducted by a tavernkeeper named James Gibbons. See reference in Note 16.

56 Not clearly identifiable.

latter formerly. One thing I omitted, & that is, near many of the houses in the Irish Settlements we saw *Still houses.*[57] The Quantity of Rye destroyed & of Whisky drank in these places is immense, & its effects upon thier industry—health & morals are terrible. I was sorry to hear that the Germans in some places were beginning to be corrupted with it.—This is a poor reward to them for communicating thier industry & Arts in farming to the Irish which is the case in Donegal[58] where many of them are as good & clean farmers as the Germans, & where they have acquired wealth, and influence. Mr. Whitaker who keeps a brewery as well as a tavern told me that beer is becoming every Year more fashionable in the Country, & that last year he sold 1000 barrels. Perhaps this excellent liquor may root out whisky from our country.

[57] Rush was an inveterate foe of distilled spirits and was at this time about to launch a crusade against them that eventually resulted in the organized temperance movement of the nineteenth century. It is likely that his very widely circulated tract called *An Enquiry into the Effects of Spirituous Liquors upon the Human Body, and Their Influence upon the Happiness of Society* (probably composed and first published in 1784) was inspired by his observations during his trip to Carlisle. On the other hand, Rush's approval of beer and wine dismayed his teetotalling followers in the next century. See John A. Krout, *The Origins of Prohibition* (New York, 1925), Chap. IV. A good deal of new information on Rush's temperance activities will appear in his *Letters.*

[58] A township in western Lancaster Co., lying on the Susquehanna. It was later divided into East and West Donegal. Thomas F. Gordon, *A Gazetteer of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1933), 143.

Governor John Blackwell

On leaving his colony in 1684 William Penn did not appoint a governor to take his place, but vested executive power instead in the Provincial Council. Unfortunately, the results of this experiment proved far from satisfactory, and it was deemed best to try another arrangement. In 1687 a commission of five was appointed to exercise the governing powers in lieu of the Council. Foremost in this commission was Thomas Lloyd. No discernible improvement came out of the new arrangement, however, as the conduct of the colony's affairs continued to border on the chaotic. As if all this were not bad enough from Penn's point of view, no efficient method had yet been hit upon to collect his revenues.

Pondering his unhappy situation during the summer of 1688, a solution seemed to present itself to Penn in a visit by Mrs. John Blackwell, whose husband, Captain Blackwell, was then in New England. Penn knew Blackwell as a man of ability and character, one who might make a suitable governor for his troubled province. A man of authoritative personality was needed who could quell the petty bickering of the Pennsylvania leaders and put the proprietary revenue on a profitable basis. Blackwell's experience seemed to suit him for the dual task.

A devout Puritan, Blackwell had commanded the "famous" Maiden Troop in the early days of the English Civil War, and had later risen to some prominence as Treasurer at War and as one of the Receivers General for Assessments. Meanwhile, he had developed large land holdings in Ireland. After the Restoration, Blackwell appears to have lived in Dublin for some years, returning to England about 1671, as a widower with seven children "and no great estate," to marry a daughter of General John Lambert, once one of Cromwell's chief officers.[1]

Late in 1684, "a gentleman of much piety and worth," Captain Blackwell in the company of his wife and daughter sailed for Boston,

[1] *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Second Series* (Boston, 1900), XIII, 21.

where it is believed he had relatives. The leaders of the Bible Commonwealth received him cordially, and Blackwell decided to remain in the colony, although his wife soon returned to England. Before long he was involved in a number of the principal enterprises of the day.

On behalf of himself and several others, he petitioned the General Court of Massachusetts for a grant of land, and received a tract eight miles square to be erected into a township. In the approved manner Blackwell thus established himself as a landed proprietor and speculator, subject to his "setling in the sajd place at least thirty familys and an able orthodox minister within three years next coming."[2]

When he was appointed a justice of the peace in the following year, 1686, Edward Randolph, who represented the interests of the Crown, was dismayed: "The Independent faction still prevails. . . . They have put Capt. Blackwell, Oliver [Cromwell's] Treasur^r in London, son in law to Lambert, excepted in ye act of Indemnity, & a violent commonwealth's man to be of ye Commission of ye peace & a man consulted with in all public affairs."[3]

However, politics and land development did not consume his entire energies—the economic condition of the country claimed his attention. Blackwell noted with what difficulty trade and commerce were carried on for lack of a circulating medium, since there was very little coin to be had. To relieve the situation he proposed the establishment of a "Bank of Credit" which would issue paper money on sound security. The idea was approved by the General Court in September, 1686, as it considered "the sayd proposall as a publique and usefull invention for this Country." Unfortunately, the bank came to nothing and the scheme was dropped two years later.[4]

It was immediately following this disappointment that Blackwell received from Penn a commission appointing him Governor of Pennsylvania. As inducements to persuade the old Puritan to accept the office, Penn offered a salary of £200 to be collected from the Proprietor's rents, and further promised to use his influence in per-

[2] *Ibid*,. 22–23.

[3] *Ibid.*, 24.

[4] See sketch of Blackwell in Joseph Dorfman, *The Economic Mind in American Civilization* (New York, 1946), I, 96–111.

suading the inhabitants to grant an additional £100. He was also to have the use of Penn's house in Philadelphia.[5]

Penn described the characters of the leading men in the province, and recommended particularly that Blackwell take the advice of Thomas Lloyd, then President of the Council. He was "to inspect the animosities, to use some expedient; and if no way else, authoritatively to end them, at least suppress them," and he was to collect the Proprietor's revenue. As the role played by the Assembly seemed to be increasing in importance over its intended functions, Penn instructed Blackwell that its sole purpose was to approve or disapprove laws submitted to it by the Council. Its only power, in brief, was to say "aye" or "nay."[6]

Penn also wrote his Commissioners in Philadelphia, notifying them of the appointment of one who was "not a Friend, but a grave, sober, wise man to be Gover in my absence . . . . let him see wh[at] he can doe a while." The new Governor, an expert in regulating financial matters, so Penn informed the old executive body, had his orders to "bear down with a visible authority vice & faction," but, Penn went on to add, "if he do not please you, he shall be layd aside."[7]

These instructions offer an interesting side light on the Proprietor's character. While exhorting Blackwell to be a disciplinarian, he temporized by practically placing the power of his removal in the hands of those soon to be affected by the new policies. Sternly committing him to unpopular measures—the collection of revenue, suppression of quarrels, and limitation of the Assembly's powers—he naïvely cut the ground from under him at the very start.

Meanwhile, what of Captain Blackwell to whom the governorship of Pennsylvania had come as a complete surprise? After seeking guidance in prayer and in the advice of his friends, he decided to accept the position. To Thomas Lloyd he addressed a friendly, gracious letter, notifying him that he would soon leave for New York where he requested some person be sent to guide him across the Jersies. After borrowing money to fit out his entourage in a seemly fashion and having paid his final respects to Sir Edmund

[5] Blackwell to Penn, May 15, 1690. All manuscripts quoted are from the collections of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

[6] Blackwell to Penn, Jan. 11, 1690.

[7] Penn to [the Commissioners], Sept. 11, 1688.

Andros, royal governor of the Dominion of New England, Blackwell departed for New York.[8]

There he met with the first of his many disappointments—Lloyd had not sent him a guide. After waiting hopefully but in vain for several days, Blackwell set off on his own and managed successfully to cross the Jersies and arrived at Pennsbury, Penn's Delaware River manor house, on December 15, 1688. Courteously entertained by the Proprietor's gardener, he remained at Pennsbury over the week end.

On Sunday morning he had a conversation with Charles Pickering who was on his way to Philadelphia. Pickering, whose exploits form an engaging chapter in Pennsylvania's early history, promised to notify the authorities of Blackwell's arrival, and to meet him on the road with some friends the following day to escort him into town.

Accompanied by Arthur Cook and Joseph Growdon, two prominent colonists whom he met on the way, Blackwell began the final leg of his journey on Monday, December 17. When his party had come within a few miles of Philadelphia, Pickering passed by, unaccompanied by any friends and without a word to account for the absence of a reception committee. Not unnaturally, Blackwell suspected that something was amiss, for he had fully expected the officers of the government would come out to welcome him. Humiliated by their neglect, he made his way to William Penn's house, where the Provincial Council normally held its meetings, but there he met with another check. Its occupant, William Markham, Penn's kinsman and Secretary of the Council, was not at home, nor could it be learned where he was. In this uncertainty, with his horses and servants standing in the road, the Governor's plight was made all the more annoying by a large number of laughing boys who soon gathered, seemingly to enjoy his discomfiture.

Blackwell's demands for the key to the Council Room were at length successful, and he sought refuge there even though it was in a state of extreme disorder, full of dust, with papers scattered about,

[8] Blackwell to Thomas Lloyd, Boston, Nov. 11, 1688, *Pennsylvania Archives, First Series* (Philadelphia, 1852), I, 106–107. Blackwell to Penn, Nov. 20, 1688, No. 272 in Puttick and Simpson's Catalogue of Sale of Feb. 29, 1872. See volume of transcripts marked "Blackwell Papers," collected by Brinton Coxe.

some on the table and others on the floor. While ruefully considering his perplexities, he was somewhat relieved by Arthur Cook who kindly volunteered to seek out the President, Secretary, and Councilors and to bring them to him.

Blackwell, resolved to publish his commission and take office that day, wearily sat down to await their coming. After some delay Markham appeared, apparently embarrassed and readily admitting that he had received the Governor's note regarding his arrival. He attempted to excuse his behavior by saying that he was a servant to many and could act only at their direction, but that he would go and find Lloyd and the others. At long last he returned with the President and some members of the Council.

From the outset it was obvious that Lloyd bitterly resented Blackwell, his successor in power. He made no pretense at welcoming the newcomer, but stood silently by. Disregarding Penn's injunction that the Governor be kindly received, Lloyd struck a note of defiance and disregard which was to characterize all of his relations with Blackwell and to wreck the Puritan's administration. It was in this inauspicious and strained atmosphere that Blackwell acquainted the Councilors with his commission and expressed his disappointment that they had not been ready to receive him.

Lloyd's quibbling reply to the reproach was typical of his pettifogging attitude. The officers of the government should have been more formally summoned, he complained. Blackwell's arrival was a surprise, and until they examined his commission they did not think themselves obliged to meet with him, nor was he Governor until they had laid down their own commission.

At this, Blackwell handed his commission to Lloyd and asked him to read it, but Lloyd had no will to co-operate, remarking that it was not valid until it bore the Great Seal, of which he was the custodian. An exasperated argument ensued between the two, which ended with Lloyd's request for time to consult with the Council. Blackwell obligingly withdrew from the room to permit a private conference which, after due deliberation, decided to publish the Governor's commission the following day. Lloyd then made some effort to soothe Blackwell's feelings, but the latter remained dissatisfied and was later to discover that it had been Lloyd himself who had prevented the others from meeting him on his arrival.

The next day in the Council Room Blackwell was formally accepted as Governor, a ceremony which was followed by a dinner in his honor given by Thomas Lloyd. This marks the only gesture of amenity offered by Lloyd during Blackwell's administration. Perhaps it was true, as some said, that Lloyd was offended at being displaced and was jealous of his successor. Others felt that he little expected to be eclipsed by an imported governor. At all events, his policy from this point forward was to be one of harassment, delay, and enmity. It is not unlikely that Blackwell after the bizarre events of his first day in Philadelphia already saw the handwriting on the wall as he took up lodgings with Griffith Jones. He was disappointed in the expectation of living in William Penn's house, for not only was William Markham in residence there, but the house was crowded with a large quantity of goods from Pennsbury.

In taking up his duties, it was essential that Blackwell should first secure copies of the instructions sent by Penn from time to time to his Commissioners and by which the Governor also was to be guided. Upon request, but after much delay, some of these were turned over to him by Lloyd, but others were withheld. Lloyd simply stated that these others were tied up with private matters and the Governor could not see them.

In this impasse Blackwell deemed it necessary to seek the advice of his Council, but here he ran into more trouble, for he was unable to procure their attendance until nearly a month after his arrival. Difficulties in securing a quorum he blamed on Lloyd, whom he suspected of encouraging the Councilors to stay away.

One of the Governor's first official acts was the appointment of new justices of the peace for Philadelphia County. In agreement with his Council, he selected their names and drafted their commissions which he sent to Lloyd, the Keeper of the Great Seal, to pass under that instrument. But nothing happened. When Blackwell called on Lloyd to find out the reason, he was entertained by the Keeper "with an harangue of severall things, out of some law book, touching the formes of Commissions." Lloyd objected to Blackwell's provision which empowered justices to collect fines and escheats. In refusing to set the Great Seal to the commissions, Lloyd maintained that the Governor did not have power to direct the use of the Seal, that it was in his sole authority as Keeper, a post which he held directly from

Penn. His obstructionist tactics were thus based on an assumed power which gave him a practical veto over every important action taken by the chief executive of the province.

Stung by Lloyd's actions as Keeper of the Seal and Master of the Rolls, Blackwell complained that there was no necessity for such offices and that there was too much deference paid to the importance of the forms of government rather than to the necessities of the situation: "tis an old saying in London, that the city is not so much governd by the wisdome of the Mayor, as the capparisons of his horse."

Another situation which worried Blackwell at this time was the nonenforcement of the Navigation Acts which he believed required that all Pennsylvania exports be shipped to England, a procedure not followed by Philadelphia merchants. The chief of these, Samuel Carpenter, a member of the Council, attempted to justify the common practice, but Blackwell was not convinced, and it was finally decided to refer the matter to the Proprietor.[9]

Actually, Blackwell was not in sympathy with the Pennsylvania traders, for he felt they oppressed the poorer people by selling imported commodities at excessive rates and by allowing English coin to pass at one fourth advance in value in order to keep it in the province. He estimated that goods which were worth £100 in England retailed at over £400 in Pennsylvania. Trenchantly, Blackwell observed of his Quaker charges that "each prays for his neighbor on First Days and then preys upon him the other six."[10]

Whatever the Governor did seemed ultimately to bring him into conflict with Thomas Lloyd. Lloyd, it appeared, had planned a trip to New York. When word of this reached the Council, it was unanimously resolved, on February 1, 1689, that he should deposit the Great Seal with them during his absence. The effect of this action was to bring Lloyd to their next meeting, at which time he read his answer. In a wordy and aggrieved statement which stirred up as much dust as possible, he refused to make any specific reply until the resolves of the Council were struck out of the Council book. His paper bristled with secret meaning: "I wish for the ffuture, that no

[9] Blackwell to Penn, Jan. 25, 1689.

[10] As quoted by Arthur Pound, *The Penns of Pennsylvania and England* (New York, 1932), 217. See also *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, LXIX (1945), 233–237.

Sinister designe, passion, or male conduct may so Influence or hurry any of the Sincere minded of you as to act unbecoming ye wisdom and dignity of the place. You have dealt unkindly by me . . . to lay a foundation whereby to ground a misdemeanour against me upon a Conjectured non complyance with your Resolves. . . . Let such methods be covered with Silence or buryed in Oblivion."[11] Undoubtedly, Lloyd felt the weakness of the position he had assumed with respect to the Great Seal and was not anxious to let the Seal out of his possession. His reply, however, was considered by Blackwell as a severe reflection on the Council and one couched in libelous terms.

Two parties soon evolved, one which supported the Governor and included William Markham, Griffith Jones, and Patrick Robinson, and a far larger party which looked to Lloyd for leadership. In this latter party was Samuel Richardson, whose conduct toward Blackwell in meetings of the Council became more and more offensive. Richardson maintained with great heat that Blackwell was not Governor because Penn had no authority to appoint a governor. In despair Blackwell appealed to the Council which declared itself offended by Richardson who then withdrew, "declaring he Cared not whether ever he sat there more againe, etc."[12]

After Richardson's withdrawal the Governor and his Councilors found it necessary to examine certain records in the custody of the Clerk of the Provincial Court, David Lloyd, who also served as clerk for the Master of the Rolls, Thomas Lloyd. David Lloyd appeared before the Governor, but refused to submit the required records, declaring, "you may command the Judges, and ye Judges might Order him, & other slight and Scornfull Expressions he used."[13]

The Clerk was ordered to withdraw, as the Council considered his conduct a high contempt, declaring him unfit for his office. Blackwell had by this time been but two months Governor, but already the paralyzing effect of Thomas Lloyd's enmity had seriously disturbed the government of Pennsylvania. On February 28, 1689, Lloyd refused to put the Great Seal to the commissions for five provincial judges, apprehending that the commission itself "seems to be more moulded by ffancy, then fformed by law."[14] This despite the fact

[11] Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania, *Colonial Records* (Harrisburg, 1838), I, 235–237; hereafter cited as *Colonial Records*.

[12] *Ibid.*, 244.

[13] *Ibid.*, 245.

[14] *Ibid.*, 250.

that the Council had approved the instrument. By this time some of that body had come to feel that the Keeper's refusal to do his duty was a misbehavior in his office. Griffith Jones averred that the Keeper had made himself the ruler and had usurped the power of the Governor and Council. Opinions such as these led the Council to vote that Lloyd had highly misdemeaned himself. It is not difficult to imagine the reaction of its members when they soon after received word that David Lloyd had refused to surrender the records of the court to the new clerk because Thomas Lloyd had ordered him not to. As Robert Turner, an influential Councilman, truly said, "we have two Goverrs & two Councils: One within and another Without."[15]

In view of Lloyd's contempt as Keeper, Blackwell refused to admit him to the Council when he presented himself as a newly elected member representing Bucks County. Instead he decided to charge him with high misdemeanors and appointed a committee to prepare the prosecution. Another new Councilor, John Eckley of Philadelphia County, was also refused a seat by the Governor and a majority of the Council, because a large number of Welshmen from Chester County had irregularly voted in Eckley's election.[16] The exclusion of Lloyd, Richardson, and Eckley brought on many debates, for they had strong supporters. On one occasion the Secretary recorded, "Many intemperate Speeches and passages happend, ffitt to be had in oblivion."[17]

On April 5 the Council meeting was disturbed by Thomas Lloyd's arrival. Lloyd insisted on his right to attend the meeting and refused to depart. To get rid of him Blackwell was forced to adjourn the session to his own lodgings. Lloyd remained in the Council Room arguing with the other members for some time, using "sharpe & unsavoury Expressions" and alarming the Secretary by the violence of the quarreling which he produced.[18] The Governor had to return to quell the disturbance and to bring the Councilors to his own house, where they began preparing bills to be acted on by the Assembly in the coming month.

15 *Ibid.*, 255.

16 Sixty Welshmen from Haverford and Radnor Townships, recently separated from Philadelphia Co. and placed in Chester Co., insisted upon voting with the inhabitants of Philadelphia. Blackwell had been instrumental in breaking up the Welsh Barony.

17 *Colonial Records*, I, 271.

18 *Ibid.*, 273.

For its legislative sessions the Council required a quorum of twelve out of its eighteen members, instead of six which sufficed for its ordinary meetings. The larger number of Councilors, however, only made its gatherings more confused. Instead of drafting laws, they fell to ceaseless bickering, largely on the issue of the exclusion of Lloyd, Richardson, and Eckley. Before long all realized that matters had reached such a state of ill will that no business could be accomplished, and the Governor adjourned the legislative sesssions.

One episode which occurred prior to adjournment and which added to the bitter feelings was the printing of the Frame of Government. This was effected by Joseph Growdon, apparently through the connivance of Thomas Lloyd who, as Master of the Rolls, was the custodian of the original document. Although Growdon churlishly told the Governor that he did not know who had printed it, everyone knew it was the work of William Bradford, the only printer in Pennsylvania.

Blackwell was outraged at the publication for he considered it dangerous to print such matters at a time when the country was in a distracted state. Moreover, the Proprietor had declared himself against the use of the press. In the previous year Penn had cautioned his Commissioners, "Have a care of printing there, for it may cost me & ye Province Deare."[19]

Attended by several members of his Council the Governor interrogated Bradford, who refused to admit that he had printed the Charter, though defending his right to do so. Blackwell's threat to bind the printer in a large bond for security so that he would in the future print only what the Governor allowed may have played some part in the eventual departure of Bradford from the province.[20]

On the day that Blackwell adjourned the Council, April 9, six of its members—there being fifteen in good standing—wrote a complaining letter to William Penn: "We know not," they said, "that we have given any just occasion of offense, but having been the more cautious & circumspect ffinding that he hath rather watched us for evill and takes downe every word wee say in short hand whereby to insnare or over awe . . . us wch wee looke upon very hard." Accord-

19 Penn to the Commissioners, Mar. 28, 1688.

20 John William Wallace, *An Address Delivered at the Celebration by the New-York Historical Society, May 20, 1863, of the Two Hundredth Birth Day of Mr. William Bradford* (Albany, 1863), 49–52.

ing to them, Blackwell had insulted them by referring to them in the "most odious terms as factious, mutinous, seditious, turbulent and the like." They dwelt on the exclusion from the Council of Lloyd, Richardson, and Eckley, lamenting particularly Blackwell's treatment of Lloyd: "Thou can hardly believe how thy truest & surest ffriends are struck at."[21]

While the Councilors were writing the above, Blackwell was similarly employed in his own defense, informing the Proprietor of "the influence of an ambitious discontented person without doores." Blackwell found that "No person though ever so respectfull, if not under the dialect of a Friend, can have civill treatment." The action aimed at, he maintained, was to have Lloyd succeed him.[22]

The next event in the story of his administration was the convening on May 10 of the Assembly. This body lost no time in revealing the animosity with which it viewed the Governor. In his message to the Assembly, Blackwell commented on the fact that no bills had been prepared for it to pass into laws and noted that the Proprietor had given orders to let all the laws of Pennsylvania lapse, except the "Fundamentals," and that the Assembly should repass such of the acts thus canceled as it saw fit. None of the laws previously passed, Blackwell observed, had been properly attested by the Great Seal. However, he urged the expediency of permitting all laws enacted in Penn's time to remain on the books, provided they did not violate the laws of England.

In considering the Governor's message the Assembly disagreed with him concerning Penn's directive to cancel the laws. In their opinion this decision had been altered, and the Proprietor now desired that all the laws should stand and be considered in full force.

It is interesting to note that the Assembly was embarrassed by the lack of a quorum just at the moment when it was known by the absent members "that this House were going about to call the Violators of the Liberties of the Freemen of this Government to Account."[23] The willful absention of certain members at such a time suggests that the Governor was not without friends in that group.

21 Samuel Carpenter and others to Penn, Apr. 9, 1689.

22 Blackwell to Penn, Apr. 9, 1689.

23 *Votes and Proceedings of the House of Representatives of the Province of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1752), 55. The Assembly was disturbed by the imprisonment of one of its members, John White.

That the Assembly failed to concur in William Penn's view that it was not a debating society was soon made clear. It bitterly censured three members of the Council for causing the arrest of one of their number and futilely ordered that a warrant be made out to bring them and the Sheriff of Philadelphia County "before this House to answer their contempt and Breach of Privilege aforesaid." They also resolved that the printing of the Charter of Liberties was beneficial to the public and warrantable by law. Further, they addressed a petition of grievances to Blackwell complaining about the exclusion of the three Councilmen. This petition struck at Blackwell's friends as "chief Authors of the present Arbitrariness in Government, and who are men unworthy, as we conceive, to be much consulted with, and unfit to be chief Magistrates."[24]

On this note the Assembly disbanded, having done little except quarrel. No action was taken on confirming the laws then in use, which, according to the charter, were due to lapse twenty days after the Assembly broke up. It was to save these acts that Blackwell and his Council gathered once more in discussion.

Their meetings were held at the Governor's lodgings despite the desire of several members to use the Council Room which Blackwell thought "to strayte & close for him this hott weather." The temper of his advisors may be seen when even this decision was made the cause of dissatisfaction, "Some intemperate Speeches past from some about it."[25]

Before they could make much progress with the laws, the Council was disturbed by the arrival of Lloyd, Richardson, and Eckley. Their insistence upon sitting with that body created such a scene that Blackwell adjourned the meeting and left the room. Most of the Councilors remained with Lloyd, however, and the confused noise and clamor which soon began to issue from the Governor's room caused people in the street to stop and listen. Blackwell was constrained to return, and "desired ye sayd Tho. Lloyd would forbeare such Lowd talking."[26]

At the next meeting several of Lloyd's friends remained away and there was no quorum. Nevertheless, business was conducted, and through great effort all present, except Samuel Carpenter, signed the

[24] *Ibid.*, 56.
[25] *Colonial Records*, I, 289.
[26] *Ibid.*, 294.

Governor's declaration that all the laws passed prior to Penn's departure for England should remain in force and that the Governor could issue commissions for judges under the lesser seal.

Lloyd lost little time in attacking this action, publishing on June 4 *A Seasonable Advertisement to the Freemen of this Prov; etc.* According to this exposition, when laws expired no declaration of the Governor could revive them, even though it be issued under the Great Seal and supported by a legislative quorum of the Council; much less could any declaration be considered valid when passed only under the lesser seal and signed by only nine instead of twelve Councilors.[27] Actually, however, Lloyd was just as anxious as Blackwell that the laws should remain in effect, but this must not be accomplished through any instrumentality of the Governor. He argued that the laws remained in force because the Assembly had not yet been dismissed, but continued in session although adjourned. This was a pretty nice point and typical of Lloyd.

On June 24 Blackwell wrote Penn, "I now only wayt for the hower of my deliverance: for I see tis impossible to serve you in this place." He complained of Lloyd "who thrusts his oare in every boat; and will condescend to be a solicitor in any faction rather than give out . . . a serpent of yr owne cherishing." Not only had Blackwell been unable to raise any of his pay, but he found Philadelphia twice as expensive a place to live in as London and the climate too hot for him; moreover, "the hosts of musquietos are worse than armed men; yet the men without arms worse than they."[28]

Council meetings were held but rarely during the latter half of 1689. Late in June Blackwell was alarmed by rumors of French and Indian invasions. The Councilors soothed his fears, however, and he accepted their advice. But military worries came to a head once more in October, when he received a letter from Whitehall, dated April 13, 1689, ordering preparations to be made for war with France. The views of the Council on this message were diverse. Luke Watson felt it to be the Governor's duty to establish a militia. Others urged delay; some, preparedness. John Simcock saw no danger except from bears and wolves. The Quaker view was stated by Samuel Carpenter: "I am not against those that will put themselves into defence, but it

[27] Document signed by Lloyd; dated June 4, 1689.

[28] Blackwell to Penn, June 24, 1689.

being contrary to the judgmt of a great part of the people, & my owne to, I cannot advise to the thing, nor Express my liking it." Opposition from Carpenter and Simcock prevented the Council from coming to any agreement as to what should be done.[29]

In December Blackwell received a long-awaited packet of letters from Penn. Their contents were not pleasing, however, as Penn reproached him for having fallen into the very pit of which he had been warned. "Do you meane," replied the harassed Governor, "that, if a man contemne or deny the king's authority given to you & derived unto me, and do it with great impudence, three several time & days one after another, that I should comend him." Using a simile which may have expressed his personal view of the difference between Puritan and Quaker philosophies, Blackwell continued, "I have read of a good old puritan's [saying] when a fire is kindled in a city, we do not say, coldly, Yondr is a great fire. Pray God it do us no harm."[30]

Somewhat untactfully Penn had commanded Blackwell to drop his prosecution of Lloyd and not to indulge in quarreling. Stung by this feeble word, Blackwell retorted, "Is impeaching a Grand Delinquent, & firebrand called Quarreling in a Governor?"[31] The only part of Penn's letters which really pleased the Governor was that which permitted him to give up his office. He did, however, agree to serve as Receiver General while the winter season made his departure from Philadelphia impossible.

On January 1, 1690, the Council convened for the last time at his request. Sitting with it were the Governor's old adversaries, Lloyd, Richardson, and Eckley. This time their presence went unchallenged. To a quorum of twelve members Blackwell made his farewell address and surrendered his commission. To them he gave a new instrument from Penn authorizing the Council to serve as the executive branch of the government and to choose a president to preside over it. The new commission was promptly accepted and Thomas Lloyd was elected to the place of honor.[32]

During the period of his administration Blackwell had made several unsuccessful efforts to collect the Proprietor's revenue in

[29] *Colonial Records*, I, 306.

[30] Blackwell to Penn, Jan. 13, 1690.

[31] *Ibid.*

[32] *Colonial Records*, I, 317.

response to Penn's complaint that he had not received a penny since his departure from Pennsylvania. Although a number of sources were supposed to contribute to this purpose, the great fount of income lay in the quit rents, that form of feudal dues which encumbered most of the land sold by Penn. Now that he had been relieved of his executive functions, Blackwell energetically turned to the revenue problem in prosecution of his position as Receiver General. His enthusiasm for this pursuit was doubtless enhanced by the desire to raise enough money at least to make up the salary he had been promised.

As a first step in this direction he convened Penn's four Commissioners of Propriety, any three of whom were empowered to constitute themselves a court of exchequer for the collection of arrears in rent. If he had had any hopes in the assistance of this legal body they were soon dashed, as two of its members refused to serve, thereby dooming the powers of the court. Of the two who remained, Robert Turner proved fairly helpful, but William Markham, though promising much, accomplished little, and seems to have lost interest in Blackwell now that he was no longer Governor.

In order to systematize the collection of the quit rents it was necessary to prepare a rent roll, a task beset with difficulties. It required much drudgery to determine when purchases had been made and what rent had been agreed to. No one seemed anxious to help him obtain such information, but at last reasonably correct lists were arrived at. In general, all old purchasers owed quit rents from 1684, while the more recent ones were in arrears from their date of purchase. Unfortunately, no general account has been kept of such rents as had been paid during the past five years.

With his rent roll nearing completion, Blackwell prepared a form of summons and had six hundred copies printed by Bradford. This form, when filled in, showed how much the property owner was indebted to Penn and directed him to make his payment to the Receiver General on certain specified days. John McComb was employed to deliver them, and began his work on January 24 by calling on the householders in Front Street.

Complaints came thick and fast. Blackwell's commission, many insisted, should have been published, passed under the Great Seal, and enrolled. Although Thomas Lloyd subsequently refused to affix

the Seal to the document, he did consent to enroll it, and Blackwell had a copy of it published by posting it at the usual place, the bell tower in the market. But such formalities did little to alleviate popular anger, and McComb soon resigned his position. The reproaches of his friends had become too unpleasant, to say nothing of the vilification heaped on him by Thomas Lloyd.

A few persons did pay their quit rents, but most either ignored the summons or presented excuses. A few claimed Penn owed them money, others that they had paid Markham, several that they had never received their patents. Blackwell's demand that payment be made in hard coin prevented action by those willing to pay in grain or other country produce.

The lack of co-operation on the part of the government, and the resistive spirit of the people, combined with his inability to use the courts to back up his demands, soon convinced Blackwell that he could accomplish nothing for the Proprietor, and that it would be useless to remain any longer in Philadelphia. Deputizing Robert Turner as Receiver General on March 10, he departed for Boston, from where he was soon appealing to Penn for his salary.[33]

Blackwell's trials in Pennsylvania had been severe, and his administration may be considered a total failure. Under the circumstances, however, it is doubtful that any outsider could have done much better. Yet it may be suspected that the Governor, while unquestionably honest and able, tended to add fuel to the flames because of his somewhat uncompromising and militant personality. The qualities needed for his position were those of a master politician, and the aging Puritan soldier was scarcely that.

Many a successor to Governor John Blackwell was in his own time to experience kindred difficulties. Many a later Governor may well have echoed Blackwell's complaint: "I have to do with a people whom neither God nor man can prevayle with [for they] despise all Dominion & dignity that is not in themselves . . . . Alas! Alas! Poore Governor of Pennsilvania!"[34]

Philadelphia NICHOLAS B. WAINWRIGHT

33 Blackwell's rent roll is in the Logan Collection; his account of his services as Receiver General may be found in the Penn Papers. Blackwell arrived in Boston, Mar. 27, 1690. *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, First Series*, Boston, 1879, XVI, 107.

34 Blackwell to Penn, Jan. 11, 1690.

The Burning of the Whorekill, 1673

It is one of the strange enigmas of history that the town of Lewes, Delaware, with its Harbor of Refuge and its citizens who are ever ready to help those wrecked at sea, should itself have struggled so hard for its very existence during the colonial period and the early days of this Republic. The first settlement at this site was made in the spring of 1631 by Captain Pieter Heyes and twenty-eight colonists who sailed from Texel, Holland, under a patroonship granted by the Dutch West India Company to Samuel Godyn, Samuel Bloemmaert, David Pieterssen de Vries and others. Along the Hoorn Kill (Whorekill), now called Lewes Creek, they established their settlement of Zwaanendael, or Valley of Swans, building a brick house surrounded by a palisade. In December, 1632, Captain de Vries visited the colony only to find that it had been burned and the settlers murdered by the Indians.

Not until 1658 did the Dutch attempt to reoccupy this place when they established there a small trading post. It was augmented in July, 1663, by Pieter Cornelis Plockhoy and his forty-one Mennonite followers who established their settlement at Zwaanendael. During the ensuing war between the Dutch and the English, the expedition of the Duke of York captured all of New Netherland, and Sir Robert Carr in making his report stated that his forces had "destroyed the quaking society of Plockhoy to a naile."[1] This was the beginning of a long series of depredations upon Lewes by the privateers of France and Spain, with whom England was at war on the Continent. In July, 1672, the magistrates at the Hoorn Kill requested that a tax be levied on liquor to pay for the damages of the previous winter by privateers.[2] It was in this same year that Lord Baltimore sent Captain

[1] Leland Harder, "Plockhoy and His Settlement At Zwaanendael 1663," *Delaware History*, III (1949), 150.

[2] Victor Hugo Paltsits, ed., *Minutes of the Executive Council of the Province of New York* (Albany, 1910), I, 141.

Thomas Jones to plunder the Whorekill.[3] During King William's War, in 1698, the Town of Lewes was plundered by the crew of a French sloop,[4] and frequent appearances of French privateers and two attempted landings in August, 1703, and August, 1709, during Queen Anne's War, greatly alarmed the people of the town.[5] Upon the advent of the intercolonial struggle known as the War of Jenkins's Ear, 1739–1742, the apprehension of the townspeople of Lewes can readily be understood when they formed a militia and other defenses against the Spanish privateers and pleaded their defenseless condition to the Pennsylvania Proprietary Council.[6] Since British war vessels were frequently sighted off Lewes during the Revolutionary War, the town was kept in a defensive condition throughout the conflict lest a landing be attempted. The pilots of Lewes were forbidden to guide enemy vessels up the Delaware River and Bay, and a constant watch was maintained at nearby Cape Henlopen to alert post riders destined for Philadelphia to warn Congress of the approach of enemy sea forces. Many raids were made by the crews of British ships for fresh water and other supplies in the vicinity of Lewes, and it was on one of these forays that the lantern in old Cape Henlopen lighthouse was reputed to have been destroyed by the raiders.[7] The War of 1812 witnessed the same defensive precautions and attempted raids by privateers as well as by English warships. These culminated in the unsuccessful attack and bombardment of Lewes by the naval forces of Commodore Beresford in April, 1813.[8] With each succeeding war in which the United States has been engaged, including World War II, Lewes, in its exposed position, has been apprehensive of armed frigates, blockade runners, men-of-war and even hostile submarines.

[3] *Ibid.*, II, 678, 679; William H. Browne, ed., *Archives of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1887), V, 106, 107, 110, 111, 114.

[4] Leon deValinger, Jr., *Colonial Military Organization in Delaware, 1638–1776* (Wilmington, 1938), 27.

[5] *Ibid.*, 28–30.

[6] *Ibid.*, 31–35.

[7] J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Delaware, 1609–1888* (Philadelphia, 1888), II, 1225, 1228, 1236.

[8] C. H. B. Turner, comp., *Rodney's Diary and Other Delaware Records* (Philadelphia, 1911), 4–7 *passim*.

Of all these destructive attacks the cruelest and least expected was the raid made by Captain Thomas Howell in December, 1673, on orders from Lord Baltimore. The published historical documents for the colonial period of Maryland, Delaware, Pennsylvania and New York all contain disconnected or fragmentary allusions to this incident. Within recent years, there has been discovered in the Cadwalader Collection of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania five heretofore unknown and unpublished depositions relating to the episode. These documents recount so fully the details given by the survivors of the raid that it has been deemed advisable to publish them in their entirety.

Whereas William Penn Proprietary & Governor of the Provence of Pensilvania; and the Countys of New Castle Kent & Sussex formerly called the W[h]oore Kills there unto Annexed; Hath told us sume of the Ancient Inhabitents of the County of Sussex That the Lord Baltimore hath Told him that he did take the Whoore Kill; And enquiring of us how and in what manner he took it; In Answer thereunto wee doe solmonly [*sic*] declare in the presence of Allmighty God upon our Corproall oaths the manner of the Lord Baltimore taking this place as followeth;

Imprimisse, this place belonged to the Government of New York in the year 1672; Governor Loveliss [Francis Lovelace] being then the Duke of Yorks Governor at New York; And before that time the Lord Baltimore had never no Government; nor was he ever possessed of this place; but sumetime that year the Lord Baltimore sent one Capt Thomas Jones with a party of about thirty horsemen under his Command to this place, then Called the Whoore Kills upon Dellaware Bay; And plundered severall of the Inhabitents and Carried away there goods. And at that time Administred the oath of fidility to the Inhabitents and Caused them to take it to the Lord Baltimore and Left sume Comisoners of their owne party to Govern soon After the Dutch took New York and sent to the Inhabitents of this place and other parts of this River and Bay that belonged to New York to demand the Inhabitents to yield obedience to the Dutch Government; upon which one of the Lord Baltimore['s] Commissioners namly Francis Jenkinson took a coppie of the Dutch demands And

sent it to the Lord Baltimore but no Answer was returned to the Inhabitents of this place but Francis Jenkinson did tell them that he had no orders what to doe in it; but he and the rest of the Lord Baltimore['s] men went a way and left the place. And about Two Months After the Dutch Governor sent againe to hear what Answer the Lord Baltimore had sent; And there being none that the Dutch possessed them selves of this place and swore the Inhabitents to be true to that Government.

In the Moneth of December in the year 1673 the Lord Baltimore sent a Company of horsemen in number about fortye under the Command of Capt Thomas Howell whoe came into the Whoore Kill Towne with swords drawn; And threatened & Terrified the Inhabitents whoe being frighted thereby submitted to them. After that they kild many of the Inhabitents Cattle; and when they had bene here about forteene days Capt Howell went to the Lord Baltimore as he pretended to Aquaint him that the Inhabitents of this place was poor and not able to maintaine soe many souldgers; And when he came back again he Caused all the Inhabitents of the County or provents [province] to be warned to Come to the Whoore Kill Towne to Muster with order to bring all their Arms and Amunison; And when the Inhabitents ware Come together the said Capt Howell Told them that he must tell them with Greife that his orders from the Lord Baltimore was that he must burne all their houses and that he must not Leave one stick standing; and that he Could not be Excused from soe doeing; And that he was to give but one quarter of an hour warning before he did it. Soe Immediatly the houses ware by them sett on fire and Burnt downe to the Ground; but before the houses ware all sett on fir[e] sume women very big with Child and others made their Addrasse to Capt Howell and Intreated him to spare one hous for their Releife in distrasse; the said Capt Howell Answered that he must obsarve his orders and that he could spare non; But said that if God would save them one they should have it and not Else. And the good providence of God was that day sene in that peticoler; for A Thatch Barne standing in the Middle or betweene A Boorded Barne of Alexander Moulston that had about Two hundred Bushell of wheate unthrashe[d] in it. A dwelling house and severall other out houses standing betwene the said Thatch

Barne ware sett on fir[e]; And the said Capt Howell said that if the Thatch Barne would not Burne it should be saft; the flame of the other barne and houses flying over the Thatch Barne sett it on fir[e] three times and it went out Again. Upon that Capt Howell said that God had saft the Thatch Barne; And that he did not dare to meddle anymore with it. After this the Lord Baltimores party went away Left the place and Carried away with them all the boats that ware in the Creeke and also the Arms belonging to the Inhabitents; soe that they ware left without Arms to defend themselves from the Indians being about sixty miles from any Inhabitents to goe to for Releife. Sume of the disstrassed Inhabitents Traviling sume Toward New York and sume to Another place. Two ware Muthered namly John Roades Senr and Thomas Tilley by the Indians that did not know them as was subposed. Sence that time the Lord Baltimore never by himselfe or others by his order or Authority never did settle any Government here or had any possession of this place; but it did Continoue in the possession of the Dutch untill it was surrendered by the Dutch to the King of England upon Articles of peace and after that it hath bene Governed by his Royall Highness James Duke of York and Allbany Governor, untill the Arrivall of Governor Penn sence which it hath bene upon the pet[it]ion of the Ancent and present Inhabitents of this River and Bay by An Act of Generall Assembly Annexed unto the provience of Pensilvania. Whilst the house[s] ware Burning sume of the Inhabitents ware by the Lord Baltimore['s] party kept prissoner not being Admitted to goe to presarve any part of there goods; and Many were Barbours Cruelityes the Lord Baltimore party used to the Inhabitents of these parts; in soe much as the Indians that Lived here about wept when they saw the spile [spoil] that the Inhabitents had suffered by there owne native Country men. And this was the Manner of the Lord Baltimore['s] taking the Whoor Kill now Called the County of Sussex. But now the Government and proprietary of this place is through the Greate marcy and good providence of God And the great goodness of his Royall Highness James Duke of York Invested in soe Honnorable A person wee doubt not but that wee shall not onely Live peaceably and Hapily under your honnors Government, But wee also Humbly pray that your Honnor being thus made senseable of our Greate

Loses and damidges that wee have suffered and sustayned by [t]he Lord Baltimore [t]hat he may make us satisfacon for the same And wee shall all wayes pray for your Honnors prospriety.

The substance of what is above Exprassed was sworn unto by the said Halmainas Wiltbanck John Kiphaven Alexander Moulston Harmon Cornelison Anthony Inlose & Attested by Elizabeth Roades to be the truth; Before us William Clark and John Roades Two of the Kings Justices of the peace for the County of Sussex formerly Called the Whoore Kill the sixteenth day of May 1683.

Wm: Clark
John Roades

[*Endorsed*]
Affidavit how ye Ld Baltimore took ye Whorekills.

Helm[anu]s Wiltbanck

John K Kiphaven
his mark

his mark
Alexander M Moulston

his mark
Harmon H Cornelison

his mark
Anthony h Inlose

her mark
Elizabeth E Roades the widdow of John Roades Senr that was Murthered:

In the Year of Our Lord 1671 in the Month of June Capt. Thomas Jones did come up in this place called Whoorekill wth 7 or 8 horsemen with force of Arms, and came to the House of Helmanius Wiltbank and tyed him, and rid to the rest of his Neighbours and tyed them and kept a Guard over them, and Plundered the Housing & carryed the Goods away and left us.

In the Month of September following came up the said Capt. Jones with a Troop of Horse with force of Armes and made forcible Entry in this Place, and called a Court of their own Men, and made us come to their Court and Demanded the Oath of Allegiance wherein we were not willing, whereupon the Court did commit us to Prison and kept us untill the next Day without meat or Drink, and threatened to carry us for Maryland and confiscate our Estate, so that we were forced to take the Oath of Allegiance to be true to my Lord Baltemore, and so we remained untill the next Year. 1672 in the Month of August the Dutch recovering New York did send Boat &

men for to surrender this Place, whereupon our Commissioner Francis Jenkins did take [to] them Papers that were sent by the Dutch Governour and went to my Lord into MerryLand and promised to bring speedy Answer again which . . . [torn] again for surrendring, if not w[e] should nothing expect but fire and sword: so that the Inhabitants for fear did surrender being the Commissioner was fled away, and my Lord in all this time never sent word nor Answer nor protection.

In the Month of December next following Capt. Howell did come with a troop of Souldiers and demanded this Place and we Replyed we had been my Lords Tenants before, we will not or can Defend the Place. Capt. Howell answered we are come now to Defend you, and if it cost the Province of Merry-Land a million in Tobacco we will protect you and marched in the Place, and did eat and Drinke with us eighteen Dayes, and then set our Housing on fire upon Christmas Eave. What was not spended they Burned & marched away and left us in [an] unberable Condition, so that all ye Inhabitants (except a few) were forced to leave the Place for want of provisions and them that were left in [the] Place could not goe because their Wives were bigg with Child, and some men were famished at ye Murder Creek in this Bay.

Helm[anu]s Wiltbanck

Sworen Before us Three of
the Justices of the peace of
Sussex County formerly Called the
Whoore Kills the 5th day of May
1683: by the said Halmanis Wiltbaink,
John Roades Wm: Clark Edward Southrin

[*Endorsed by Thomas Lloyd*]
Deposition of
Helmannus Wiltbank
about ye Ld. B^s takes
the Whoorekill,
in 71. 72.
W P.
[initialed by Penn]
dat. 5 May 83.
Penn & Baltimore

Harmon Cornelison Aged fortye Two years or there Abouts Came this day before us And deposed upon his Corproall oath that on or about the Moneth of December 1673 Captain Thomas Howell Came to the Whoorekill with a party of horse and possessed himselfe of this place by Command of the Lord Baltamore as he said and after he had bene here about forteene days the said Capt. Howell Caused a burning match to be held to this deponants fingers and there kept it untill he this deponant did confess whare his peltrey Beaver & ferr [fur] was; and after he this deponant had Confessed whare it was they took it all a way and brook [*sic*] open this deponants Chest and took out of it what they pleased; and much more Cruelety they the sd Capt Howell and his party did use to the Inhabitents of this place and to the utter Ruin of this deponant whoe was at that time a Marchant of a Considerable Estate & Trade and never Could recover himselfe againe sence

his marke
Harmon H Cornelison[9]

Sworen Before us Two of the
Justices of the peace of Sussex
County formerly Called the WhooreKill
the 5th day of May 1683; by the sd
Harmon Cornelison;
Wm: Clark
John Roades

[*Endorsed by William Clark*]
N° 14
Harmon Cornelison
deposion; as to his lose
by the Lord Baltamore
party plundering the
Whoore Kill; in 1673.
5. May 83.
W P.
[initialed by Penn]

[9] On December 16, 1672, Harman Cornellinson, merchant, received a commission from Lord Baltimore to trade with any of the Indian or Christian inhabitants of Somerset, Dorchester, and Worcester Counties. *Archives of Maryland*, V, 116.

This day came before us Richard Patte an English Man Aged fourty Eight years or there abouts & deposed upon his Corporall oath that on or about the Month of December 1673 Capt Thomas Howell came to the Whorekills, now called the Town of Lewis in ye Territories of ye Province of Pensilvania upon Delaware Bay in America, with a Party of Horse by the Comand of ye Lord Baltimore & after there being here about three Weeks & in that time killed many of the inhabitants stocks of Cattell the sd Capt Howell caused the inhabitants of the Town & County to be summoned to meet all-togather at the sd Town to traine, & when the Inhabitants were come together the said Capt Howell tould us that he was commanded by the Lord Baltimore to burn down all our houses & that he did not dare to doe otherwaies, & immediately he caused near all the Houses both in the Town & Whole County to be Burnt to Ashes, not giveing us time to take our goods out of the Houses, but his party tooke what they pleased themselves & left the rest to be consumed by the fire. This Deponant had three houses Burnt by them & did desire the favour of Capt Howell that he might have leave to build a small Thatch shed or Cabbin to shelter himself Wife & small Children from the extream bad & Could Weather; to which Capt Howell answered that it was death for any to build anything their upon which answer this deponant desired him to knock them on the Head & end there days but Howell answered that his Commission did not reach so far; after that Capt Howell & his party went away and left all the inhabitants naked to the marcy of the Heathen & this deponent doth further depose that two of his houses that were burnt ware full of Tobaco & Corn & that his dwelling house & housell [household] goods were allso burnt, before which he was in a very good way to live happyly but being thus destroyed by plunder & fire through the Barbarous Cruelty of ye Lord Baltimore have been kept under & could never since recover himself to the like condition again & further this deponant sayeth y^{t} all the Cruelties afore mentioned was acted & done where & when no opposition was or ever had been

made by any of this County against the Lord Baltimore nor his Agents officers or Men.

his
Richard ⊓ Patte
marke

This was Sworne unto by
the said Richard Patte the
31th day of Aug: 1683:
Before us William Markham
& William Clark two of the
Kings Justices of the peace
for the said County
Wm Markham
Wm: Clark

[*Endorsed*]
No 16
Richd Patty Affidavit about
burning Hoare Kills (of 73.)
W P.
[initialed by Penn]

John Roads Junr. Aged 30 years or their abouts an English man deposeth upon his Corporall oath that the night before Capt. Thomas Howell & the party und[e]r his Command fired the Whorekill Town & precincts by the Command of ye Lord Baltimore; one of Capt. Howell['s] Souldgers gave private notice of their intention of Fiering the Houses to him but Caused this deponant to Swear that he would not make it known for fear that he should be hanged for discovering their dissigne, the said John Roads liveing at that time about Eight Miles from ye Town called the Whorekills. The next morning a party of the souldgers came to the said John Roads house & within one quarter of an Houer after they fired his Tobaco house which was seaventy Foot long & Twenty Foote wide full of Tobaco & consumed it all; & then they sett the dwelling house on fire; & whilst this deponent was beating down the Gaball [gable] end of the dwelling house to throw out his Corn, the Souldgers cutt the Meat with their swords as it was roasting to the great Terror of the family; & that they might destroy the house ye sooner they took Wheat sheaves & carryed [them] up [to] the Chambers & sett them on Fier & by that Means

quickly burnt the dwelling house, as allso one Milk house of fifteen foot long & another out house of the said John Roads, this deponant by the Lord Baltimores party did loose to the Vallue of two Hundred Pounds Sterl[ing] besides the Death of his Father that was allso a very great sufferer and afterwards Murthered.

John Roades

The above was Sworn unto by the
said John Roades before us William Clark
& Luke Wattson Two of the Kings Justices
of the peace for the County of Sussex
formerly called the Whoorekill this first
day of September 1683:
Wm: Clark
Luke Wattson

[*Endorsed*]
Jo^{n} Roades his aphydavit
about burning the
Whorekills 73
1 Sept. 83
W P.
[initialed by Penn]

Captain Howell's action in destroying the Whorekill is somewhat surprising, but ostensibly it was done on the orders of the Governor of Maryland, Charles Calvert, who, on October 1, 1673, had commissioned Howell to raise forty men to retake the settlement from the Dutch. Having reacquired it, he was "to keepe and Defend the said place by force or otherwise, against all psons untill I shall signify my will & pleasure therein."[10]

Baltimore's interest in Delaware had been actively expressed some years earlier. On June 19, 1662, Lord Baltimore had issued a warrant for the erection of Worcester County to comprise ". . . the Sea Board side on the Eastern Shore the Whore Kill and Delaware Bay to the fortieth degree of Northerly Latitude." This action was apparently taken because he had been informed that several persons

10 *Archives of Maryland*, XV, 27–29. Thomas Howell, who had served as a burgess from Baltimore County in 1665, 1666, and in 1671, received in 1674 two thousand pounds of tobacco for his march to the Whorekill and additional allowances for his lieutenant, ensign, and sergeant, as well as provisions for the expedition and six pounds of tobacco "for his attendance upon a prisoner at warr." *Ibid.*, II, 9, 10, 239, 416.

were settled there without his permission.[11] On October 22, 1669, Lord Baltimore prepared *Instructions* for his son, Charles Calvert, the third item of which enjoined him to use all means possible to seat settlers on the Eastern Shore, on the Delaware Bay, and particularly at the Whorekill.[12] The Council on the same day took action to erect the territory from the Whorekill to the fortieth degree of north latitude into the County of Durham. The sheriffs of Somerset, Dorchester, Talbot and Baltimore Counties were to urge persons to settle in this new county and, as an encouragement, such settlers were to pay only one shilling sterling annual rent for each fifty acres of land taken up or seated.[13] In the next month on November 26, 1669, Jerome White, the Surveyor General of Maryland, wrote to Governor Francis Lovelace of New York making a claim to the Town of New Castle on the basis of an observation of latitude made on board a ship in the Delaware River, which indicated that New Castle came within the bounds of Lord Baltimore's province that extended north to the fortieth parallel.[14] As further evidence of the carrying out of Lord Baltimore's *Instructions* and at a time prior to the reoccupation by the Dutch, we find that on December 23, 1670, William Talbot, the Provincial Secretary, wrote to William Stevens and James Weedon of Somerset County appointing them deputies to prove rights to land and to issue warrants.[15] Weedon at the same time was appointed a deputy surveyor. Further steps in the fulfillment of the *Instructions* were the commission issued by Governor Charles Calvert on June 20, 1672, to Thomas Jones of Worcester County to be captain of all military forces in that county,[16] and an order to Captain Paul Marsh of Somerset County to muster military forces to join those of Captain Jones to subdue ". . . all Enemies that shall be shewed you by the said Captain Jones to encounter fight with Overcome and destroy or take Prisoners. . . ."[17]

Apparently little notice was being taken of these aggressive actions by the Duke of York's officials in the Delaware counties. The magis-

11 *Archives of Maryland*, V, 108–109.
12 *Ibid.*, 55, 63.
13 *Ibid.*, 57.
14 *Ibid.*, 58.
15 *Ibid.*, 80, 81.
16 *Ibid.*, 110.
17 *Ibid.*, 111.

trates at New Castle sent a certificate under date of April 27, 1672, to Governor Lovelace stating that Harman Cornelison and John Kiphaven[18] reported that Francis Jenkins from Maryland came to the Whorekill, surveyed land under a commission from Lord Baltimore, and threatened the inhabitants.[19] On May 17 the magistrates were thanked for sending this certificate,[20] and on the same day instructions were sent from Governor Lovelace and the Council that the officers on the Delaware were to take care that the interests of his Majesty and the Duke of York were not to be infringed upon, and that they were not to acknowledge any other government unless ordered to do so.[21] Richard Perrot, who later suffered in Captain Howell's raid, wrote to Governor Lovelace on June 21, 1672, that he had led a group of settlers from Virginia to settle near the Whorekill. He had applied for land from the deputies of Governor Lovelace in May of that year, but the men from Maryland had since surveyed the same land for Lord Baltimore.[22] Measures were taken by the authorities in New York to strengthen the defenses at New Castle, and probably in anticipation of impending trouble at the Whorekill, they appointed the following men, on August 1, 1672, to be in authority there: Hermanus Fredrick Wiltbank to be schout,[23] Otto Wolgast, William Claesan, and Isaack Savoy to be commissaries.[24] Then on August 12, 1672, Governor Lovelace sent a vigorously worded protest to Philip Calvert, Governor of Maryland,[25] about the unwarranted attack by Jones, ". . . who wth a Party as dissolute as himselfe took ye paines to ride to ye Whore-Kill, where in Derision and Contempt of the Dukes Authority bound ye Magistrates, and Inhabitants despitefully treated them, rifled & plunder'd them of their Goods. . . ." On the 27th of the next month, Captain John Carr

18 These two men were later victims of Capt. Thomas Howell and made the depositions previously cited for Penn.

19 *Minutes of the Executive Council of N. Y.*, II, 669.

20 *Ibid.*, I, 124–125.

21 *Ibid.*, II, 670–671.

22 *Ibid.*, 671–672.

23 The office of schout was introduced into the local governmental structure of the Dutch settlements on the South or Delaware River during their occupancy, 1655–1664, and in 1673. The duties of this public official combined those of chief law enforcement officer and public prosecutor. Later under English rule the law enforcement duties were fulfilled by the sheriff.

24 *Minutes of the Executive Council of N. Y.*, II, 677.

25 The letter is so addressed. *Ibid.*, 678–679.

wrote from New Castle to Governor Lovelace that from the news he had recently learned from Maryland, they had levied a large force to seize New Castle and the settlements along the Delaware River up to the fortieth parallel.[26] To this message the Governor replied that he had informed the Duke of York of Maryland's action, and he urged the defense of the settlements.[27] Although war was declared with Holland on April 3, 1672,[28] no action as a result of it was taken along the Delaware until early in 1673 when the Dutch seized their former colonies. It therefore becomes evident that since 1662 the Proprietors of Maryland had planned to annex the Delaware territory to their colony, and that Captain Howell's infamous raid was against native or naturalized English subjects who had seated their land and exercised authority under the Duke of York.

Even though little has been written about Captain Howell's raid or the events preliminary to it, the episode was not unknown. As early as 1676, a disgruntled anonymous inhabitant of Maryland addressed an appeal to the King and Parliament to take over the government of Maryland. His accusations included an account of this raid which was made ". . . by force and vyolence, contrary to the libberties and priviledges of the King's Maj$^{ty's}$ free born Subjects of England."[29] Less fruitful, but supplemental information on the plundering and burning of the Whorekill by Captain Howell is contained in the depositions of the nineteen witnesses who testified in the breviate of the boundary dispute between Pennsylvania and Maryland, dated 1736. A few of the witnesses knew of the episode at firsthand, others learned of it from their parents, and others heard of it from older inhabitants.[30]

When William Penn received from the Duke of York in 1682 the Lower Counties on the Delaware[31] to be annexed to the Province of Pennsylvania, he also acquired all of the boundary difficulties. It was in connection with these difficulties that Penn gathered documents

[26] *Ibid.*, 679–680.
[27] *Ibid.*, 680–682.
[28] *Ibid.*, 737–739.
[29] *Archives of Maryland*, V, 136.
[30] *Pennsylvania Archives, Second Series* (Harrisburg, 1890), XVI, 691–699.
[31] The original deeds and leases from the Duke of York to Penn, together with the royal charter from King Charles II to the Duke of York, are in the Delaware State Archives, Hall of Records, Dover.

to show that Baltimore had not seated certain lands, but had in some instances temporarily acquired them by force. The episode of the Whorekill was one with which Baltimore could be properly reproached, and one which would tend to reflect against his activities in the Lower Counties.

As far as is known, however, Penn and his descendants did not publicly use these depositions as evidence during the long course of the boundary dispute. Why they were not used remains unanswered.

Dover, Del. LEON DEVALINGER, JR.

Paper as a Critical Commodity During the American Revolution

THERE was a paper shortage in the American colonies even before the Battle of Lexington, but it grew more serious as the war progressed and the need for paper increased. Prior to 1765 most of the paper used in the colonies was imported, and the struggling colonial paper mills, mostly located in Pennsylvania, were not able to meet the needs of the growing colonies. Therefore, when the merchants and colonial assemblies passed nonimportation agreements following the passage of the Stamp Act in 1765 and the Townshend Acts in 1767, the shortage soon became serious.

By 1775 the residual of imported paper was nearly exhausted, and the fifty-three paper mills located in the colonies were soon found inadequate to the demands made upon them. Evidences of this shortage of paper are found in governmental documents, military orders and correspondence, publications of all kinds, and in the personal correspondence of the colonists.

To meet the need the paper makers, the colonial governments, and even the Continental Congress took action to augment the output of paper. On July 19, 1776, the Continental Congress passed a resolution "that the paper makers in Pennsylvania be detained from proceeding with the associators to New Jersey,"[1] where patriots were joining the armed forces. In the following month the Continental Congress faced an emergency in the shortage of paper for currency. The stock of paper at the Ivy Mills, built by Thomas Willcox and Thomas Brown in 1729 near Philadelphia, on which the Continental currency had been printed, was entirely exhausted. Even more serious was the fact that the English-made paper molds used at the Ivy Mills were so badly worn as to be worthless. Nathan Sellers was the one man on whom Willcox depended to reface the paper molds, and a search for him revealed the fact that he had

[1] Worthington C. Ford, ed., *Journals of the Continental Congress* (Washington, D. C., 1906), V, 593.

joined the Army and was on his way to Long Island. Realizing the seriousness of the situation, several paper makers joined Willcox in a petition to the Continental Congress asking that Sellers be ordered to return to construct the necessary molds and other tools of the trade. The petition was granted, and Sellers returned home on September first. Two days later he was busy brassing and watermarking the molds for Willcox's Ivy Mills. The emergency led to the decision of the Continental Congress to own the molds upon which the paper for the currency was made, and Sellers was therefore hired directly by the Congress to prepare them. A page from the account book of Nathan Sellers shows that he spent part of September, October, and November of 1776 on these molds.[2]

Paper for the currency of the Continental Congress continued to be made at the Ivy Mills, which also supplied the Congress with other types of paper for its records and correspondence. So far as could be ascertained, the Continental Congress did not again suffer for lack of paper. Meeting in Philadelphia, it was near the largest supply of paper in the colonies. Its order restraining the Pennsylvania paper makers from joining the Army was emphasized by the Council of Public Safety of Pennsylvania in a resolution passed on August 9, 1776, calling attention to this order of the Congress and notifying all officers of the State "to pay a strict regard to the same."[3] Hence the paper mills of the vicinity were not immediately faced with the problem of a shortage of skilled workers, as were the paper mills in most of the colonies.

As early as May 15, 1775, the Provincial Congress in Massachusetts acted upon a petition of James Boies and Hugh McLean, owners of the paper mills at Milton, Massachusetts, that the four apprentices recently enlisted in the militia be released from service and sent back to the mills, as they "have attained to so great a knowledge in the art of paper making that their attendance in the business is absolutely necessary to its being carried on." The Provincial Congress the following day

Resolved—that the prayer of the within petition—Be so far granted, that considering the small number of persons within the colony who carry on the manufac-

[2] Joseph Willcox, *Ivy Mills, 1729–1866* (Philadelphia, 1917), 11 f.

[3] Minutes of the Council of Safety of Pennsylvania, *Colonial Records* (Harrisburg, 1851–1853), X, 680; hereafter cited as *Colonial Records*.

tory of paper, and the great Demand and Necessity of that article for the use of the said Colony, that the petitioners be desired to apply to General Thomas, that he may order the within named four soldiers to serve the public in carrying on the manufactory of paper at the said petitioners paper works at Milton.[4]

On the same day, the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts ordered a prisoner at Worcester, who was a paper maker, to be released and sent to the paper mill.[5]

The paper makers in New York also petitioned the provincial government for the exemption of themselves and their workers from military service. Charles Loosley and Thomas Elms submitted a lengthy petition to the Provincial Congress of New York on May 29, 1776, for their personal exemption from military duty and particularly from the fines to which they were subject and the "penalty of being advertised and held up as enemies to the country." This petition was tabled while the whole problem of exemptions for several types of workers was being studied.[6] In August, 1776, John Holt joined Charles Loosley and Thomas Elms in renewing the petition, and the Provincial Congress, meeting at Harlem, August 12–21, passed a resolution exempting workers in certain industries from military service. Among those mentioned were "The Master workman, and two attendants at each papermill."[7]

In 1778 the Rhode Island Provincial Congress voted to exempt from military duty all persons engaged in the manufacture of military stores and other articles for the use of the colonies, and paper was classed under this head.

In New England and the southern colonies, where there were few if any paper mills, the colonial governments offered encouragement to anyone who would develop the industry. In Massachusetts, where there were four inadequate paper mills that were kept running only with the greatest difficulty, the delegates from Worcester County,

[4] Albert Kendall Teele, *The History of Milton, Mass., 1640 to 1887* (Boston, 1887), 377.

[5] William Lincoln, ed., *Journals of Each Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, 1774–1775* (Boston, 1838), 549.

[6] Peter Force and M. Clarke, eds., *American Archives, Fourth Series* (Washington, D. C., 1848–1853), VI, 615.

[7] *Calendar of Historical Manuscripts Relating to the War of the Revolution in the Office of the Secretary of the State of New York* (Albany, 1868), I, 459.

meeting in Worcester, enacted the following resolution on May 31, 1775:

> Resolved; That the erection of a paper mill in this county, would be a great public advantage, and if any person or persons will undertake the erection of such a mill and manufacture of paper, that it will be recommended to the people of the country to encourage the undertaking by generous contributions and subscriptions.[8]

In order to give wider publicity to the above act, Isaiah Thomas published a notice in his newspaper that "Any persons that will incline to set up that useful Manufactory the making of Paper, may hear of one who will undertake to give directions for building the Mill, and will carry on the business."[9]

In response to this appeal, Abijah Burbank of Sutton undertook to establish a mill. In June, 1776, he produced samples of ordinary coarse paper, and a little later he announced in *The Massachusetts Spy* that he had obtained the services of a skillful paper maker, "and hopes for the future (provided the good people of this county will be careful to save their Rags) to be able to supply them with as good Paper as any Paper Maker in the State and at least as cheap."[10] Burbank's mill was the first paper mill in western Massachusetts, and the fifth paper mill to be built within the present limits of the state. It was considered to be one of the best-equipped mills in the colonies, having two vats and two hollanders with rolls two feet long and twenty-six inches in diameter. Its capacity was between four and five thousand sheets of demy paper per day.

With the outbreak of the war, the people of New Hampshire found it increasingly difficult to get paper from the other colonies, and they had yet established no paper mill of their own. On November 28, 1777, therefore, the provincial government of New Hampshire heard and took action on the petition of Richard Jordan of Exeter, whereby £200 of "public monies" were lent to him "for the term of two years without interest for an encouragement to carry on the paper business within this State."[11] Before a year had passed,

8 Lincoln, 65.

9 *The Massachusetts Spy*, July 5, 1775.

10 Ellery B. Crane, "Early Paper Mills in Massachusetts, Especially Worcester County," *Collections of the Worcester Society of Antiquity*, VII (1885–1887), *Proceedings* (1886), 120.

11 Isaac W. Hammond, ed., *Provincial and State Papers of New Hampshire*, Vol. XVIII, *Miscellaneous, 1725–1800* (Manchester, N. H., 1890), 721.

the paper mill had been built and was in need of help in gathering enough rags to keep it going to full capacity.

Ebenezer Watson and George Goodwin, publishers of the *Connecticut Courant*, established the second paper mill in Connecticut at East Hartford in 1775. This mill not only supplied the paper for 8,000 copies of the newspaper per week, but also made most of the paper used in the state and sent paper to the army and the Continental Congress.[12] On January 27, 1778, the paper mill was completely destroyed by fire. Within a week, the General Assembly of Connecticut had met and approved a plan for raising the money for the immediate rebuilding of the mill. The resolution granted to Sarah Ledyard and Hannah Watson, owners of the paper mill at Hartford, the "liberty, and authority . . . to set up and cause to be properly drawn a lottery at their risque and charge, to raise a sum not exceeding fifteen hundred pounds, money, to be to the memorialists in proportion to their loss sustained in said mill. . . ."[13] The lottery was highly successful, and the paper mill was rebuilt in a few months.

In the southern colonies it is doubtful if there were any paper mills built before 1776, although in 1775 both North and South Carolina had offered bounties to anyone who would build such a mill within their provinces. A resolution to this effect was passed by the Legislature of North Carolina on Sunday, September 10, 1775:

> Resolved, That a premium of 200 and fifty pounds be given to the first person who shall erect and build a mill for manufacturing of Brown, whited Brown, and good writing paper, and which mill shall be actually set to work and Thirty Reams of Brown, thirty reams of Whited Brown, and thirty reams of writing paper, at least be produced to the Provincial Council, and approved of by the said council within eighteen months from this time. . . .[14]

A mill was built by John Holgan in 1777, in response to this offer, and public announcement was made of the fact in the issue of the *North Carolina Gazette* of November 14, 1777.

> By our unhappy contest with Great Britain, and the Necessary Restrictions on our Trade, Paper has been an Article for which we, in this State, have much suffered

[12] James Leander Bishop, *A History of American Manufactures from 1608–1860* (Philadelphia, 1864), I, 205.

[13] Charles J. Hoadly, ed., *Public Records of the State of Connecticut* (Hartford, Conn., 1894–1922), I, 503.

[14] William L. Saunders, ed., *State Records of North Carolina, The Colonial Records* (Goldsboro, N. C., 1886–1890), X, 217.

for though there are many paper mills in the Northern Colonies, where paper is made in great Perfection, yet, by the Interruption of the Colony Trade by water, the Southern Colonies have experienced a great Scarcity of the necessary Article. To remedy this Evil and throw in their Mite towards the Perfection of American Manufactures, the Proprietors of a Paper Mill just erected near Hillsborough, in Orange County, give Notice to the Public, that their Mill is now ready to work, and if a sufficient Quantity of Rags can be had, they will be able to supply the State with all Sorts of Paper.[15]

Since Holgan was unable to produce enough paper to meet the stipulated requirements for the premium, the state Legislature extended the time until the first of February, 1777.[16]

The Provincial Congress of South Carolina in November, 1775, offered £500 currency as a bounty to the first person who would erect a paper mill within the province, but there is no evidence that anyone accepted the offer.[17] On March 22, 1776, however, William Bellamy appeared and offered to build a mill for making paper and files if the Congress would lend him sufficient money. The matter was considered and the following resolution adopted:

Resolved, That the sum of three thousand Pounds, currency, be advanced to the said William Bellamy out of the Colony Treasury, on loan, for the term of five years, free of interest, in consideration and for the express purpose of his forthwith erecting a proper mill for making Paper and cutting Files, in as great perfection as in any part of Europe: he, the said Bellamy, giving undeniable security to . . . Commissioners of the Colony Treasury for the performance thereof, and for repayment of the same sum into the said Treasury, by the expiration of the said term of five years.[18]

In the same year the Maryland Convention, acting on the recommendation of a committee that had been set up to devise ways and means of developing the paper industry in the province, on Saturday, May 25, 1776, passed a resolution advancing "400 pounds, common money" to James Dorsett of Baltimore County for two years without interest to build a paper mill. The payment of the loan was to be made "either in cash or Writing or Cartridge Paper," as the provincial government should direct.[19]

15 *North Carolina Gazette*, Nov. 14, 1777.

16 Walter Clark, ed., *State Records of North Carolina* (Goldsboro, N. C., 1909–1914), XII, 875.

17 *American Archives, Fourth Series*, IV, 72.

18 *Ibid.*, V, 606.

19 *Ibid.*, 1600.

The provincial governments of three colonies also voted to have official rag collectors appointed to assist the paper makers in acquiring sufficient raw material to keep their paper mills in full production. In Massachusetts, the records of the House of Representatives include the following resolution for February 16, 1776:

> Whereas, the Colony cannot be supplied with a sufficient quantity of Paper for its own consumption, without the particular care of its inhabitants in saving rags for the Paper-Mills:
>
> Therefore, Resolved, That the Congress of Correspondence, Inspection and Safety, in the several Towns in this Colony, be, and they hereby are required immediately to appoint some suitable person in their respective towns, (where it is not already done) to receive rags for the Paper-Mills; and the inhabitants of this Colony are hereby desired to be very careful in saving even the smallest quantities of rags proper for making Paper, which will be a further evidence of their disposition to promote the publick good.
>
> In Council: Read and concurred.[20]

The Pennsylvania Committee of Safety, on January 30, 1776, sent an advertisement to the printers of Philadelphia announcing to the inhabitants "that in the course of next week persons properly authorised under the hand of the Secretary of the Committee will call at their houses to receive the rags that were so greatly needed by the papermakers of the vicinity."[21] And on November 11, 1778, the provincial Legislature of New Hampshire, having recently made a loan to Richard Jordan of £200 to build a paper mill in the province, passed a resolution for the appointment of rag collectors in the "several Towns and places in the State," similar to the resolution passed by the Massachusetts House of Representatives.[22]

Private citizens also endeavored to meet the problem of the paper shortage. At least six paper mills were built during the war years by private enterprise. Dard Hunter has established the fact that William Hoffman worked in a paper mill near Baltimore before 1776, when Dorsett established his mill by public loan. However, little information is available and it is probable that the mill was discontinued early in 1776.[23] A third paper mill was built in Connecticut, at New Haven, in 1776 by Thomas and Samuel Green, printers. Two paper

20 *Ibid.*, IV, 1308.

21 *Ibid.*, 1562.

22 Hammond, 802.

23 Dard Hunter, *Papermaking: The History and Technique of an Ancient Craft* (New York, 1947), 505.

mills were built in New Jersey. From an advertisement in the *New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury* of April 15, 1776, we learn that William Shaffer at the Spotswood paper mill "Wanted, One or two Journeymen Paper-Makers, . . . Also a new Paper Mill to let, with a Farm belonging thereto, for a moderate Rent." The other paper mill built in New Jersey was located at Trenton. It was "now nearly compleated" when Stacy Potts and John Reynolds, owners, advertised for rags on December 23, 1778.[24] In 1780 Samuel Thurber established the second mill at Providence, Rhode Island, and began advertising for rags.[25] John Waterman, who had established the first paper mill in the colony, died in 1777, and his mill was closed down for a time, but in 1779 John Olney Waterman, his son, was again advertising for rags.[26] The only other paper mill built during the period about which we have found any real evidence is a wallpaper manufactory built in Philadelphia, which was advertised in the *Pennsylvania Packet* on May 27, 1775, as "A New American Manufactory" by Ryves and Fletcher, paper stainers.

The owners of the paper mills had two almost insurmountable obstacles to overcome. Their most insistent need was that of obtaining a sufficient quantity of raw material—*i.e.*, rags, rags, rags!—to keep their mills in full production. Their second problem—that of obtaining skilled workers—was even more critical, for when the services of skilled paper makers could not be had, the paper mills had to be shut down.

In spite of the aid from bell carts, official and unofficial rag collectors, pronouncements from governing bodies and repetitious advertising in newspapers and almanacs, there seems never to have been enough rags. Advertisements for rags appeared in nearly every issue of every newspaper and almanac published in the colonies during the period of the war. Most of these were short advertisements of from four to eight lines, but when there was space enough or the need was particularly acute, the advertisements were more elaborate. Isaiah Thomas' advertisement in *The Massachusetts Spy* for March

[24] *New Jersey Archives, Documents Relating to the Revolutionary History of the State of New Jersey, Second Series* (Trenton, N. J., 1903), II, 604–605.

[25] *Providence Gazette*, Aug. 19, 1780, and subsequent issues.

[26] *Ibid.*, Feb. 8, 1777, Apr. 13, 1779, and subsequent issues.

18, 1779, is such a one. It evidently was well received, for it was copied in part by several other newspapers.

RAGS

It is earnestly requested that the fair Daughters of Liberty in this extensive Country would not neglect to serve their country, by saving for the paper-mill in Sutton, all Linen & Cotton and Linen Rags, be they ever so small, as they are equally good for the purpose of making paper, as those that are larger. A bag hung up in one corner of the room, would be a means of saving many which would otherwise be lost. If the ladies should not make a fortune by this piece of economy, they will at least have the satisfaction of knowing they are doing an essential service to the community, which with twelve pence per pound, the price now given for clean white rags, they must be sensible will be sufficient reward. Cash given for Rags by I. Thomas.

In the *North Carolina Gazette* of November 14, 1777, an appeal for rags was added to the announcement of the establishment of the paper mill.

. . . As this undertaking is Novel, saving of Rags may perhaps be thought too trifling, and below the Notice of the good Matrons of the State, but when they consider they are aiding and assisting in necessary Manufacture, and when the Young Ladies are assured, that by sending to the Paper Mill an old Handkerchief, no longer fit to cover their snowy Breasts, there is a Possibility of its returning to them again in the more pleasing form of a Billet Doux from their Lovers, the Proprietors flatter themselves with great Success. . . .

The price paid for rags varied from two to four pence per pound in most of the colonies. Abijah Burbank at Worcester, Massachusetts, however, continually raised the amount he offered for rags until he was paying ten shillings per pound in 1781.[27] Besides "hard cash," he offered "writing paper, Bonnet paper and pins" in return for rags. In Providence, Rhode Island, John Waterman offered to accept rags in payment "for debts in clothing," Fenner and White offered "Soap, Candles and any sort of paper," and Samuel Thurber offered "Sugar, Coffee, Tea, Chocolate, Indian and Rye Meal" and "Preference in Purchasing Paper."

The advertisements for skilled paper makers were not so numerous as those making an appeal for rags, but they were just as urgent. John Reynolds of Trenton, New Jersey, advertised for journeymen paper makers who would be entitled to "exemption from Military Duty" and would receive the highest wages.[28] The New Jersey paper

27 Worcester Society of Antiquity, *Proceedings* (1886), 120.

28 *Pennsylvania Gazette and Weekly Advertiser*, July 14, 1779.

mill located at Spotswood offered "Two and a Half Dollars per Week, and found in Meat, Drink, Washing and Lodging" to any paper makers who would work there, "Also a New Paper Mill to let, with a Farm belonging thereto for a Moderate Rent."[29]

In Maryland, Goddard and Oswald made a similar offer and suggested that "A German with a small family would be agreeable. There is a house and a pretty meadow contiguous and belonging to the Mill."[30] At Hartford, Connecticut, Sarah Ledyard and Hannah Watson, having rebuilt the paper mill from the funds derived from the public lottery, advertised in several newspapers in the vicinity for skilled workmen. Other paper mill owners continued to advertise for skilled workmen throughout the period, offering "constant employ and good wages."

The paper makers of the period were readily distinguished from other laborers by their large red hands and stooped, often slanted shoulders. These characteristics resulted from the hand processes of the period, for although water power was used in several of the processes, most of the actual work of forming the sheets of paper was done by hand. Each sheet of paper was formed separately on the mold and handled at least five or six times before it was ready for shipment. From rags to paper generally took three months or more. Little wonder, with such crude processes and the lack of skilled workers and raw materials, that paper became one of the most critical commodities in the fight for freedom.

As was indicated earlier, the shortage of paper was recorded in nearly all aspects of colonial life. The scarcity of paper available to the publishers and printers was quickly reflected in the newspapers of the period. Issues were often delayed due to lack of paper, and they were printed on smaller, frequently half size sheets of paper for which the printer generally apologized. Subscription rates were raised and subscription lists closed.

The colonial armies felt the paper shortage as seriously as did the publishers, and frequently appealed to the Committees of Safety to aid them in procuring paper for order blanks, correspondence, and cartridges. Muzzle-loading guns were in common use, and the first cartridges were for this type of firearm. The cartridges consisted of

[29] *New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury*, Apr. 15, 1776.
[30] *Pennsylvania Packet*, Nov. 30, 1779.

a tube of paper the same diameter as the bore of the gun, filled with powder, and the ball or shot. The tube was sealed at one end, but merely folded and crumpled at the other. The soldier tore open the folded end with his teeth, discharged the contents, together with the paper, into the muzzle of the gun, and rammed home the powder, ball, and paper either with the ramrod or by striking the end of the musket on the ground. Several cartridge makers accompanied each regiment.

The following action of the Council of Safety of Pennsylvania was characteristic of many. On August 27, 1776, it passed a resolution

> That Mr. Rittenhouse make application to the Paper Makers to supply the Commissary with a quantity of Musket Cartridge Paper.
>
> A present Scarcity of Cartridge Paper makes it necessary for this Board to recommend to the Printers of this State to spare a quantity of paper to our commissary, Robert Towers, Esqr, for the purpose of making Cartridges.[31]

In spite of the aid given them by the Committees of Safety, the colonial armies frequently did not have enough paper to make cartridges. Bishop, in his *History of American Manufactures*, records the story of a gift of paper made to the Army just before the Battle of Brandywine by the paper makers at Ephrata in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. "Messengers were dispatched to this mill for a supply of cartridges. The mill happening to be exhausted the fraternity who held their property in common generously placed at the disposal of their country, several two-horse loads of an edition of Fox's *Book of Martyrs*, then ready for the bindery. Samples of this 'literary ammunition' are still preserved in the neighborhood of the Battleground."[32]

In the following year paper was so scarce that when the Continental Army entered Philadelphia in June, an advertisement was inserted in the newspapers asking every resident in the city to send all scraps and waste sheets of paper to the military camp. Since very little paper was sent in, soldiers were ordered to search the homes of residents, as well as various places of business. One group of soldiers in July, 1778, found 2,500 copies of a sermon by Rev. Gilbert Tennant on "Defensive War" in a garret of a house Benjamin Franklin had recently used as his printing office. The copies were taken and

31 *Colonial Records*, X, 701.

32 Bishop, I, 199.

most of them used for cartridges expended during the Battle of Monmouth.[23]

Paper remained a critical commodity for a number of years after the Revolution, but with the coming of machine processes and the use of other raw materials, such as wood pulp, the industry grew rapidly. However, so essential is paper to the life of the nation, that World Wars I and II created serious shortages. Citizens were again urged to save every scrap of paper, newspapers were curtailed, magazine subscription lists were closed and many of the products of industry were diverted by governmental acts to the defense of our country—all of which is reminiscent of the part paper played in our first military struggle.

The Catholic University of America

EUGENIE ANDRUSS LEONARD

[23] J. M. E., "Cartridge Paper in 1778," *The Historical Magazine*, VIII (1864), 151.

Peter Kalm, Preceptor

AMERICA was a never-ending source of wonder to eighteenth-century Europeans, and no visitor of that period has written a clearer account of it than Peter Kalm. Although Kalm is well known for his extensive travels in North America and for his scientific papers on American subjects, little biographical material on him is available in English.[1]

He was born in Ångermanland, Sweden, in March, 1716, the son of Gabriel Kalm, pastor of "Korsnäs Kapell." His early education, said to have been completed with great difficulty, was received at Vaasa, Finland, and in 1735 he became a student at the University of Åbo, where he planned to study theology. Professor Johan Brovallius, impressed with Kalm's interest in the natural sciences, recommended him to Baron Sten Carl Bjelke, who proved a generous patron, financing Kalm's trip through southern Finland in 1740. The following year, while in central Sweden, he became acquainted with Linnaeus, who persuaded him to enter the University of Uppsala where he soon won recognition as one of its outstanding students.[2] Kalm became a member of the Swedish Royal Academy in 1745, and in the following year was appointed lecturer in natural history and

[1] Biographical information has been compiled from the following: A. B. Benson: "Peter Kalm's Journey to North America," *American Scandinavian Review*, X (1922), 350–355, *The American of 1750: Peter Kalm's Travels in North America* (New York, 1937), I; H. O. Juel and J. W. Harshberger, "New Light on the Collecting of North American Plants Made by Peter Kalm," Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia *Proceedings*, LXXXI (1929), 297–303; H. O. Juel: "Early Investigations of North American Flora, With Special Reference to Linnaeus and Kalm," *Svenska Linné-Sällskapets Årsskrift*, III (1920), 61–79, "A Revision of Kalm's Herbarium in Upsala," *ibid.*, IV (1921), 16–23; T. O. B. N. Krok, *Bibliotheca Botanica Suicanna ab Antiquissimis Temporibus ad Finem Anni MCMXVIII* (Uppsala, 1925), 337–339; P. A. Rydberg, *Scandinavians Who Have Contributed to the Knowledge of the Flora of North America* (Augustana Library Publications, Rock Island, Ill., 1907), 10–13; Spencer Trotter: "Notes on the Ornithological Observations of Peter Kalm," *Auk*, XX (1903), 249–262, "Peter Kalm's 'Travels,'" *Popular Science Monthly*, LXXI (1907), 413–419; J. E. Wikström, *Conspectus Litteraturae Botanicae in Suecia ab Antiquissimis Temporibus Usque ad Finem Anni 1831* (Holmiae [Stockholm], 1831), 113–114.

[2] J. M. Hulth, "Kalm som student i Uppsala och lärjunge till Linné Åren 1741–1747," *Svenska Linné-Sällskapets Årsskrift*, VII (1924), 39–49.

economics at the University of Åbo, although he had not yet received his doctorate. Promotion to a professorship of economics in 1747 made him Finland's leading scholar in natural sciences and economics.

Kalm communicated with Linnaeus on the development of the economic aspects of the natural sciences, and through their combined efforts the funds necessary for a journey in North America were obtained, contributions being made by the Swedish Royal Academy and the Universities of Åbo and Uppsala. While in England on his way to America, Kalm met Peter Collinson, whose "arboretum" at Pecham included a large collection of American plants in cultivation. Collinson had many correspondents in the colonies, including Benjamin Franklin, to whom he addressed the following introduction on Kalm's behalf[3]:

To Ben. Franklin, Philadelphia

London, June 14, 1748

Friend Franklin:

The bearer, Mr. KALM, is an ingenious man, and comes over on a purpose to improve himself in all rational inquiries. He is a Swede per nation; and is, as I am informed, employed by the Academy of Upsal to make observations on the pts of the world. I recommend him to thy favour and notice. By him I send the first volume of the Voyage to Discover Northwest Passage. I hope the pacquet, &c., sent under the care of HUNT and GREENLEAF is come safe to hand.

I am thy sincere friend,
P. Collinson

Kalm fully appreciated the helpfulness of such letters, noting in his journal, under entry of September 15, 1748[4]:

Letters of recommendation are both useful and necessary for one who travels in a strange country. Through letters he soon becomes known, loved and believed. How can one establish confidence with those one has never before seen or heard of? . . . Mr. Benj. Franklin, to whom Pennsylvania is so highly indebted for its development and well being and to whom the scientific world is indebted for many new discoveries in electricity, was the first to introduce me. He gave me all necessary information and showed me many favours.

Kalm arrived in America on September 4, 1748,[5] and remained until February 18, 1751. In October, 1748, he made a short trip to

[3] William Darlington, *Memorials of John Bartram and Humphry Marshall* (Philadelphia, 1849), 368.

[4] Peter Kalm, *Resa Till Norra Amerika* (Helsingfors, 1910), 118.

[5] Esther Louise Larsen, "Pehr Kalm's Observations on the Natural History and Climate of Pennsylvania: Excerpts from his Letter of October 14, 1748," *Agricultural History*, XVII (1943), 172–174. According to Kalm's statement in his letter, he arrived in Philadelphia on Sept. 4, 1748.

New York, during his sojourn, from September of that year until the following June, in the vicinity of Philadelphia. He spent the greater part of his time, however, at Raccoon, a Swedish village in New Jersey which no longer exists, but whose name has been perpetuated in that of a nearby creek. During these months, Kalm became acquainted with John Bartram, the most prominent American naturalist of the time, from whom he gained much information and advice.

The Swedish naturalist's American visit included a trip to Canada where he was received as the guest of the French government, which had been instructed to help him in every possible way in return for the hospitality the Swedish king had recently shown to certain French scientists. In 1750 Kalm explored western Pennsylvania and penetrated to Niagara Falls where he visited Fort Niagara and the Iroquois, before returning to Philadelphia to marry the widow Anna Margaret Sjöman.[6]

Kalm's initial interest on his return to Sweden in May, 1751, was the distribution of seeds for experimental cultivation. He also prepared several agricultural articles for the *Proceedings* of the Swedish Royal Academy, and in 1753 began the publication of his famous journal, *En Resa Till Norra Amerika* (*Travels in North America*), published in three volumes in Stockholm, 1753–1761. The journal was later translated into Dutch, English, German, and in part into French. Kalm eventually returned to Finland, where he spent the rest of his life at the University of Åbo as Professor of Economics. There he put the arboretum in order and experimented with the culture of American plants. His *Flora Fennica*, published in 1765, is the product of his mastery of the flora of his adopted country. He died at Åbo on November 16, 1779.[7]

Peter Kalm's writings contain a wealth of material for both the scientist and the historian. In addition to his own publications, moreover, Kalm, who frequently served as *praeses* at the University of Åbo, was the chief source of information for a large number of theses by his student *respondents*. As presiding officer, he should definitely be given credit for those which deal with American subjects, for as

[6] The story of Kalm's marriage is pleasingly told by Rebecca Harding Davis in "An Old-Time Love Story," *Century Magazine*, LXXVII (1908), 219–221.

[7] *Agricultural History*, IX (1935), 98–101.

Professor of Economics, he quite naturally directed the attention of his students to the economic significance of America to the colonial powers.

Two papers dealing with this subject were issued in small octavo pamphlets. One of these, "Nyttan som England kan hafva af sina Nybyggen i Norra America" (The Benefits which England could derive from her Colonies in North America), was presented by Sven Gowinius on June 20, 1763. This thesis is twenty-two pages long and bears the imprint, "Åbo, Tryckt hos [printed by] Johan Christopher Frenckell."

Gowinius attempts to present the gains realized by England by the Peace of 1763 which strengthened her power not only through an increase in empire, but also through the goods she now commanded from her colonies. The full benefits of her position, Gowinius points out, could be attained only through wise government and economic exchanges.

The paper follows generally the pattern of most of the foreign comments on America, discussing the physical characteristics of the country, its natural resources, and the opportunity for cultivating certain products advantageous to English consumption and trade. The problem of populating the New World empire is given some thought, and elicits the suggestion of incorporating the Indian population with the white settlements. The sparseness of their villages, the constant bickering among tribes, and the ungoverned use of "brandy," he feels, had so weakened the Indians as to make them ineffectual as enemies.

Gowinius admits his reliance on Kalm for much of his knowledge of the American colonies, but he also makes frequent references to the *Pennsylvania Gazette* and, on one occasion, cites statistics from *Poor Richard's Almanack*. He concludes his paper with the quesiton: might not the colonies, under this new and beneficial system, become powerful enough to separate from England and establish their own kingdom? Kalm earlier had reported great dissatisfaction in America arising largely from the curtailment by England of colonial manufactures. Gowinius notes that such an act of separation would destroy the present advantages enjoyed by the colonies, but wisely leaves the solution of the problem to England.

The second of the theses, which is printed here in translation,[8] is the earlier in point of time, having been presented by Daniel And. Backman on July 13, 1754. Entitled "Nyttan som kunnat tilfalla wart Kjåra Fådernesland, af Des Nybygge i America fordom Nya Swerige kalladt" (The Benefits which our Dear Fatherland might have derived from the Colonies in America formerly called New Sweden), it is fifteen pages in length and bears the imprint, "Åbo Tryckt, hos Directeuren och Kongl. Boktr. i [printed by the director and royal publisher in] . . . Finland, Jacob Merckel." Backman's paper is not as comprehensive as that of Gowinius, but his argument —the lost opportunities of Sweden in America—tends to make it the more interesting.

Crown Point, Ind. ESTHER LOUISE LARSEN

The Benefits which our Dear Fatherland might have derived from the Colonies in America formerly called New Sweden

(1)

The Almighty God has in His great wisdom created all things to the glorification of His name. There is an end to which holy Providence and divine guidance leads the living and the dead. Rational beings must ask God's blessing and seek guidance according to the laws of His infinite wisdom.

We will now ask the Creator's indulgence in order that we may show His goodness and wisdom in nature. If we look about this globe on which we live, we will be aware that each and every part has benefits which it possesses above all others. One country or one region abounds in treasures which are lacking elsewhere. Thus, nature hides her treasures by scattering them through all parts of the world. So unequally are her products distributed that something seems to be lacking everywhere. No place in the world is so rich that it does not have to seek goods from other regions. Therefore, the world's inhabitants are obliged to seek what they lack in their own countries and in return they must sell to others that which they have

[8] Both theses have been translated from the Swedish by Miss Larsen. Each paper cites Kalm as the supervisor of the study.

in abundance. It is only reasonable, that one nation serve others with the riches with which nature has endowed her. Incontrovertible evidence proves the benefit of such mutual service. Shrewd nations have gained riches through the establishment of colonies which supplement their needs. Colonies established by Europeans during the last three centuries in Asia, Africa, and America attest to this fact. It is obvious everywhere that these colonies have contributed to the growth and strength of the mother country. Lucky the government that considers the future as well as the present! I shall take into consideration only the outstanding benefits, when on these pages I shall present some simple ideas on the benefits our dear fatherland might have derived from the colonies in America, formerly called New Sweden, and to what extent they might have been useful, had they remained under the Swedish crown. Limited time prevents adequate examination of the material; therefore, kind reader, give these hastily uttered thoughts your indulgent consideration.

(2)

It seems feasible to discuss briefly the circumstances which caused our ancestors to go to these distant places. First, a short account will be given of the advantages to be found in New Sweden. Finally, the real benefits Sweden might have derived will be discussed. His Majesty, Gustav Adolph, was king of Sweden at the time European nations were vying with each other in search of gold and precious stones, in the quarter of the world to which Columbus had sailed in 1492 and Amerigo Vespucci in 1502. The continent received the name of the latter. Our monarch was indefatigable in doing all that the then powerless institutions of the fatherland would permit. Because of the prudence of His Majesty, sailors and traders were permitted to extend their trade to the most profitable regions. Mutual distrust and real neglect of trade were the reasons why Sweden appeared to be sleeping, while shrewder European nations obtained valuable lands in other parts of the world. However, a wise king and a crown supported by earnest lords brought about an awakening. A Hollander by the name of Willem Usselinx suggested to the king the need of establishing a West India Company, under royal jurisdiction with subsidies for outfitting ships to carry on trade. This plan would show the Swedes that they too could carry on trade in America when they

had the same advantages as other Europeans. Savages known to inhabit the land were not skilled in trade, partly because of ignorance and idleness and partly because of untrustworthiness and godlessness. They made no effort to enrich themselves by utilizing the natural resources. It was necessary to supply the country with intelligent Christian inhabitants before trade could develop. The king in an open letter offered his subjects permission to go to this country, try their luck and then return to Sweden, if they so desired. Because of this arrangement, quite a number of Swedes and Finns left for the unknown land. They landed safely at a place called Virginia, which the English had previously visited and deserted. Savage Americans occupied the land and they sold some of it to our colony. Because the English had first visited the region, they wished to lay claim to it, but negotiations by his excellency Count Joh. Oxenstierna caused the English crown to relinquish its claim in 1631. The Dutch living around that area got the same fever as the English, and because they had arrived in the country first, wished to usurp the right of ownership. The savages had been driven out before the arrival of the Swedes, but our colonists were so fair-dealing that they payed the hereditary claims on the acquired land to their unreasonable neighbors, who, like the dog in the manger, begrudged others that which they could neither own nor occupy. I know of no group in America with better right to its claims than our colonies. These rights were obtained by purchase and settlement and not by force of arms, which might have prevailed, since the Swedish nation was at that time the terror of the whole world. The colony remained under Swedish rule from 1630 to 1655, when the Swedish inhabitants were suddenly attacked by the Dutch who subjugated the region. They did not enjoy their illegal gains long and in 1664 were forced to give both New Sweden and New Holland to England, under whom they still remain.

(3)

Now I will discuss the country itself. It is quite large lying along the de la Ware River at about 30° 40′ latitude. The climate is milder than ours. The winters are neither as long nor as cold. The weather of the summer is temperate. It is considered the most desirable of all the English colonies in North America. It is neither as cold as those to the north nor as hot as those to the south. It is far more productive

than all others. For example, if there is a crop failure and food prices are high, the farmer can, because of the length of the summer, sow different grains at different times. Thus if one fails the other succeeds; weather unfavorable to one favors the other. This region is justly called the American granary. There are two kinds of mulberry trees[9] in the forest and several kinds of walnut trees,[10] some of which surpass the European in beauty and value, and still other trees which are fine for cabinet work. There are many medicinal plants which have been introduced elsewhere, such as *Polygala*,[11] *Aristolochia virg.*,[12] Wormseed,[13] *Lobelia*,[14] *Diervilla*[15] and *Sassafras*.[16] Wild grapes climb the trees. The entire country is traversed by navigable streams. The air is healthful. The inhabitants carry on a lively trade with the neighboring Americans, from whom they receive all kinds of valuable furs for a very low price, in exchange for brandy, coarse cloth, ribbons, brassware, hatchets, knives, chains, kettles, guns, gunpowder, shells, buckshot, etc. A large amount of grain and lumber is shipped south, for these products real gold and silver money is obtained, in addition to all kinds of dyes, indigo, brazilwood, sugar,

9 The red mulberry is the only mulberry native to eastern North America. Kalm's comprehensive discussion of the species (1776) has been translated: Esther Louise Larsen, "A Description of the North American Mulberry Tree called *Morus rubra*," *Agricultural History* (in proof).

10 Kalm wrote two papers on walnut trees: the first (1767) discussed the black walnut, *Juglans nigra* L., the second (1769) the butternut, *Juglans cinerea* L. These have been translated: Esther Louise Larsen, "Pehr Kalm's Observations on the Black Walnut and Butternut Trees," *Agricultural History*, XVI (1942), 149–157. A third paper (1778), discussing several species of *Carya*, has also been translated: Esther Louise Larsen, "Pehr Kalm's Report on the Characteristics and Uses of the American Walnut Tree Which is Called Hickory," *Agricultural History*, XIX (1945), 58–64.

11 Probably *Polygala Senega* L.

12 *Aristolochia Serpentaria* L., the Virginia snakeroot, is well known in medicine.

13 *Chenopodium ambrosioides* L. var. *anthelminticum* (L.) Gray.

14 Probably *Lobelia siphilitica* L. In 1750, Kalm published an article on this plant which has been translated: Esther Louise Larsen, "Lobelia as a Sure Cure for Venereal Disease," *American Journal of Syphilis, Gonorrhea and Venereal Disease*, XXIV (1940), 13–22.

15 Probably *Diervilla Lonicera* Mill., which is considered of medicinal value. It is plant number 40 in the translation of "Peter Kalm's Short Account of the Natural Position, Use, and Care of Some Plants, of which the Seeds were Recently Brought Home from North America for the Service of Those who Take Pleasure in Experimenting with the Cultivation of the Same in Our Climate," by Esther Louise Larsen, in *Agricultural History*, XIII (1939), 33–64. This pamphlet was published by Kalm in 1751, and constitutes a comprehensive summary of his observations on American plants which he considered had economic importance.

16 *Sassafras variifolium* (Salisb.) Ktze.

coffee, chocolate, expensive woods, and in fact everything of value produced in the West Indies. Cotton has been planted in several places and seems to be doing well. Incomparable in its class, Virginia tobacco is planted here and grows well. Pehr Lindstrom, engineer, in his Campanium in describing New Sweden on p. 35, writes of an American savage, who told the Swedish governor that he knew of a mountain of gold. However, no European has succeeded in finding it. No precious metals or stones have been found, but more iron has been discovered than might have been expected.

(4)

We will now consider the profit Sweden might have derived from what was formerly New Sweden, had it not been so shamefully lost. The reason the Swedish government scarcely bothered to inquire about these provinces, after they were taken by the enemy, is to be found in the fact that the area did not abound in gold and silver mines like Mexico and Peru. Sweden's great misfortune was that she considered only immediate profits and not future advantages. What, we may ask, are the profits from an American colony which does not produce silver and gold? Exactly the same question was asked by members of the French ministry a few years ago in relation to Canada which lies much further north in America. English privateers took nearly all of Canada in 1629. Some members of the French ministry were then of the opinion that France should not bother to get it back since it was a burden to the French crown. However, the more thoughtful officials were of a different opinion. We read with great satisfaction the ideas of these enlightened gentlemen in Charlevoix, Histoire de la nouvelle France T. 1. p. 269. Here the excellence of a great administrator is recognized. He not only has his eyes on the present and works for it, but is actively building a foundation on which the fatherland can continue to grow and prosper for centuries to come. Since France derives great profit from Canada, which lies so far north, what might we not have gained from the heart of North America? We will consider a few of the useful products of this region.

The mulberry mentioned in chapter 3. grows wild in great abundance in the forests. There is much evidence to confirm the fact that silk worms fed on the leaves of these American mulberry trees produce the very best silk. Could not the Swedes have used a large part

of the province for silk production? Think what money might thus have been saved! Cotton does well here; plantations could be established to advantage. As previously mentioned, this province is the granary of America. In exchange for grain and lumber the inhabitants receive products from the West Indies, such as sugar, coffee, etc. Trade with the neighboring Indians gives them valuable furs and hides. Might Sweden not have expected much good from such a rich land? The country gave its business to the Swedish subject. The great need was wise regulations for the use of the products of New Sweden in order to strengthen the old country. Our dear fatherland might have husbanded the colony as England now does. The colonists are permitted to run plantations and carry on trade, but it is understood that they will not manufacture that which the fatherland can produce. For example, the colony should buy all manufactured goods from Sweden, such as linen, cotton and iron goods and not attempt to manufacture them. All other countries would be forbidden, under threat of confiscation, to trade with the colony, unless the products passed through Swedish trade. Trade could have been so regulated between Old and New Sweden that the inhabitants on both sides would have been equally well satisfied. At that time it would have been easy for Sweden to obtain colonies in South and Central America. New Sweden could have furnished them grain and in return received from them what she otherwise received by foreign trade. How many people could have earned a living by this trade? How much greater would our trade and navigation have become? A strong and active navy would have resulted. The king's revenue would have increased and finances improved. An indirect benefit would have been the elimination of various heavy expenditures which we now have.

Since Sweden did not attain her goal in this country, I can not see why she did not do like the Dutch. She might have traded with the English for some piece of land in South America where sugar, chocolate, and other products which we can not do without are to be found. Thus it was that Holland obtained Surinam in place of New Sweden. You may be sure that England would have exchanged land in South America for New Sweden in order that all her colonies in North America might form a chain unbroken by a foreign power. At that time a great harmony existed between the two crowns, so such

treaties and exchanges could have taken place. Not to make the slightest effort to enjoy advantages to which one has every right and to allow them to be taken away without a struggle seems hardly reasonable.

(5)

The previous chapter discussed the large holdings lost by the transfer of our American colonies. The necessity for this loss was never questioned. Significant contemporary statements undoubtedly were made to the effect that he who visits this splendid land, with freedom for all, is so impressed that he never returns to his bleak fatherland, a danger so great that it threatens the kingdom. It would appear that there was real reason for this fear, since we know that countless masses of people left Europe to settle in America. Documents show that in 1680 there were between 1,000 and 1,500 inhabitants in Pennsylvania, which is part of what was formerly New Sweden. European immigration so increased the population, that at the end of the last war the same area had 80,000 men of military age. Of all the European powers, Spain should have profited most from America, but she is now completely impoverished. The fabulous quantities of silver and gold taken from Peru and Mexico never fostered a desire for colonization among the Spaniards.

Colonies, because of rapid growth, quickly become stronger than the mother country. Because of their strength it would clearly be difficult to get them to submit to any overlord.

I do not deny that this tendency might have been a factor in preventing the establishment of colonies in America, if it could not have been so readily overcome by wise regulations. Growth of population in the colonies is largely due to wise regulations, and has not been a drain on the controlling power. All kinds of people are attracted because freedom is granted to all. Wise regulations make law-abiding a privilege rather than a penalty. I might mention other objections which might have been raised to the establishment of colonies, but each and every one could easily be refuted, and I must shun prolixity. I have now submitted my ideas on the benefits which our dear fatherland might have derived from the colony in America, formerly called New Sweden. It is impossible to derive satisfaction from what has devolved, since all clear thinking individuals are

grieved at the loss. It is no longer possible for Sweden to regain the lost territory even if we grant the impossible, that England might be willing to return it. The inhabitants would never consent. They have obtained such a degree of freedom through shrewd arrangements of the wise Penn, that it would be almost impossible to improve their lot. Members of all creeds, so long as they recognize one God and do not oppose the government, have religious freedom and equal rights. Each and every man is a king in his own house. Taxes, in proportion to those of other countries, are so low that they hardly merit the name. The inhabitants would therefore readily defend their freedom and oppose any change. Now that the country is teeming with people and an army of 10,000 men could readily be raised, it is doubtful that force would be attempted. Sweden could still obtain another area in America, which would be just as desirable and profitable for trade as New Sweden, if only she comes to her senses in time. Much more could have been expected of the Swedes who would generally have benefited by the profits of colonization. It is my earnest desire that my dear fatherland may enjoy these benefits and blessings.

Charles and Eliza Leslie

IN early nineteenth-century Philadelphia, the family of Robert Leslie was considered one of genius. Robert himself was a remarkable man—a self-taught scientist, musician and draughtsman, and a ready writer on scientific subjects. He was in the clock-and-watch business[1] in the then seat of federal government, numbering among his patrons some of the most distinguished men of his time. It was through one of these patrons, Thomas Jefferson, that he was elected a member of the American Philosophical Society. In time, Leslie's business became so large that he took a partner, Isaac Price, in order that he himself might live in London and export clocks and watches to his concern in Philadelphia. Robert's two sons, Charles Robert and Thomas Jefferson, were born in London.

When Isaac Price died, the Leslies returned to Philadelphia. The business had been woefully mismanaged, and the long and complicated court settlement left them much reduced in circumstances. In 1803, Robert Leslie died. In order to support the family, Mrs. Leslie and her daughter Eliza kept a boardinghouse. They asked no favors, incurred no debts, and kept their difficulties to themselves.

Robert Leslie had long encouraged his children in drawing. His own drawings of ships and machinery always excited admiration, and four of his children, to a varying degree, developed real talent. Eliza Leslie became well known in Philadelphia as a copyist of works of the masters. As early as 1812, when she was twenty-five years old, she attracted much attention by the exhibition of her copy of Salvator Rosa's "Banditti in Ruins."[2] It was her brother Charles,

[1] In 1788, Robert Leslie was in business at Second and Market Streets. He advertised that he made and repaired "all kinds of Time-pieces, musical, chimney, quarter, and chamber CLOCKS, on an improved plan, entirely new, which prevents the different Changes of weather from affecting the Swing of the Pendulum." The long advertisement ended with an announcement that he would make "moveable Dial-work" for any purpose or fancy, and that he would make small machines or models "either for trying philosophical or mechanical Experiments." In 1789, he proposed to establish a museum in Philadelphia, for a collection of models of various kinds of machinery. *Freeman's Journal*, Aug. 27, 1788, June 24, 1789.

[2] John Thomas Scharf, *History of Philadelphia, 1609–1884* (Philadelphia, 1884), II, 1052.

however, who was to achieve considerable distinction in the world of art.

Some time after Robert Leslie's death, young Charles was bound as an apprentice to Bradford and Inskeep, booksellers. At that time, Thomas Bradford was encouraging Alexander Wilson to bring out his fine work on ornithology, and Charles Leslie helped Wilson color some of his first plates, working from birds that Wilson had shot and stuffed himself. Charles never forgot the beautiful accuracy of Wilson's drawings, how carefully he counted the number of scales on the tiny legs and feet of his subject.[3] In the evenings, young Leslie frequented the theater, going backstage to make sketches of the actors. His likeness of George Frederick Cooke was so striking that Bradford raised a fund to send him to London to study. Thomas Sully befriended him, and the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts voted him a hundred dollars. In 1811, at the age of seventeen, Charles went to London, carrying letters to artists of note from some of the most influential men in Philadelphia.[4]

The *Portfolio* carried a poetical tribute to the young genius, entitled "Lines Addressed to Master Charles R. Leslie, now on his voyage to England to perfect himself in the art of painting." There were two long stanzas, the first of which read, in part[5]:

> Go, child of genius! Go while youth remains,
> And Glory's pulses beat in all thy veins.
> Embrace the hour the Fates auspicious give;
> Make every sense, and *nobly learn to live.*
> No vulgar art thy rev'rence now commands,
> And beckons thee away to distant lands.

In gratitude to his American patrons, Charles sent some of his early paintings to Philadelphia, where they were exhibited. When his canvas, "The Trial of Constance," arrived in 1813, the Academy of Fine Arts passed resolutions of appreciation of "the rapid improvement made by Mr. Charles Leslie, now in London, in the prosecution of his studies." It was also arranged to have an engraving of the picture executed "in the best style which the talents of our country

[3] *Ibid.*; Charles Robert Leslie, *Autobiographical Recollections with selections from his letters*, edited by Tom Taylor (London, 1860), I, 245; hereafter cited as *Recollections*.

[4] Scharf, II, 1050–1051.

[5] Thompson Westcott, *History of Philadelphia* (extra-illustrated), XXX, 2367, Stauffer Collection, The Historical Society of Pennsylvania (HSP).

[could] afford," the net proceeds to go to Leslie. In 1816, Leslie's "Murder of Rutland" was exhibited in Philadelphia, and eventually became the property of the Academy.[6]

Within three years, Charles Leslie, still in his boyhood, was recognized by London artists as a genius. Benjamin West said that he excelled any young man "of his age and opportunities," he had ever heard of, or had ever known. Already, Leslie had sold his "Witch of Endor" to a baronet for a hundred guineas, and was exhibiting at Somerset House a full-length portrait of John Howard Payne in the character of Douglas.[7] In 1815, Charles painted "A Portrait of a Lady," and qualified for two silver medals. In London, as in Philadelphia, he haunted the theater, frequently sending drawings of his favorite actors to his sister Eliza.

By 1820, Leslie had a distinguished circle of friends in London—Samuel Coleridge, Charles and Mary Lamb, Peter and Washington Irving, and Gilbert Stuart Newton. With Washington Irving and Newton he had daily intercourse. They dined together at the York Chop House; they made excursions into the country, riding on top of a coach together.

In April, 1820, at a breakfast given in Scott's honor in London, Washington Irving introduced Charles Leslie to Sir Walter Scott. Charles had anticipated that event with great pleasure, and had promised his family in Philadelphia a full account of that important occasion. When the letter finally arrived, Eliza Leslie wrote all the details to her friend, Abbe Bailey, in Cincinnati.[8] Charles had found Sir Walter amiable, unaffected, polished in manner, as amusing and interesting as his novels. Sir Walter was neither fat nor thin. His Scottish face was not handsome, but it was agreeable and marked by "strong sense." With a painter's observing eyes, Charles noted the heaviness of the lower face, the high forehead, the short nose, the long upper lip. He observed, also, the shrewd, penetrating blue eyes, the fresh, clear complexion, the silvery hair, the pale eyebrows and lashes. Scott was dressed in "a brown frock coat, blue trowsers, and had on a black cravat." It was Leslie's opinion that all the portraits

6 Westcott, XXX, 2367, Stauffer Collection, HSP.

7 *Recollections*, I, 40, II, 319; Scharf, II, 1050–1051.

8 Abbe Bailey was the youngest child of Francis Bailey, editor of the *Freeman's Journal* and first publisher of Emanuel Swedenborg's works in America. The Baileys and the Leslies had been neighbors on Market Street.

of Scott were like him, but not strongly so; he had tried to make a sketch of him for Eliza, but could not do it from memory.

Scott's novels were creating considerable comment and criticism, generally, and Eliza's natural interest was sharpened by her brother's acquaintance with the author. Eliza and Charles agreed that *The Monastery* was inferior to all of Scott's previous novels, but Charles tempered his criticism by saying that there was much in the book that no one else could have written. Eliza, however, was grieved and vexed by the book. "Another falling off like this," she wrote to Abbe Bailey, "and he sinks to rise no more."[9]

In the year that he met Scott, Leslie made designs for *Kenilworth;* a gentleman wrote to the publisher Henry Carey, Charles' brother-in-law, that these drawings were the most beautiful things he had ever seen.[10] Also, in that year, Charles painted a portrait of Washington Irving[11] and made designs for new editions of Irving's *Knickerbocker History* and *Sketch Book.*

In the spring of 1821, Leslie was finishing his "May Day in the Reign of Elizabeth." Sir Walter Scott, then in London, called to see it. Not only did he praise it warmly and promise to return, but he asked where Leslie's "Sir Roger de Coverley Going to Church" (1819) was, that he might see it, too. Charles wrote to Eliza that he had been delighted with Scott's hearty manner and so overcome with pleasure at his visit that he was unable to paint for the remainder of the day. Scott did call again to see the "May Day." He advised the introduction of a few archers into the picture, a suggestion that Leslie followed. When exhibited, the picture brought an offer of three hundred guineas and attracted more attention than any other picture at the exhibition.[12] Eliza assured her friend Abbe that Charles considered Scott's visit a greater honor than if George the Fourth and his whole court had waited on him.

9 Charles Leslie to Eliza, London, June 28, 1820, in *Recollections*, II, 83–85; Eliza Leslie to Abbe Bailey, Oct. 8, 1820, in John H. James Manuscripts at Urbana, Ohio. All the Bailey correspondence is to be found among these manuscripts.

10 Eliza Leslie to Abbe Bailey, Mar. 6, 1821.

11 Washington Irving to Charles Leslie, Paris, Dec. 19, 1820, in *Recollections*, II, 102. Irving insisted that Charles paint him in a simple and picturesque costume, avoiding the "edges and corners and angles" of the then fashionable coat. Charles' sister Ann made an excellent copy of this portrait.

12 Eliza to Abbe Bailey, Sept. 12, 1821; Charles Leslie to Washington Irving, Apr. 2, 1821, in *Recollections*, II, 109; Leslie to Eliza, Apr. 20, 1821, *ibid.*, 111–112.

By the summer of 1823, a few of Charles' designs for the Waverley novels had reached America. The *Kenilworth* set of seven small plates was selling in Philadelphia at five dollars a set, although they were inferior to the proof impressions.[13] Charles sent more engravings of the Waverley designs to Eliza that fall, among them a very good one of King Charles saluting Lady Margaret. Eliza cherished every engraving her brother sent, and eagerly watched for the *Souvenirs* in which his prints appeared.

As the Waverley novels were printed at Edinburgh without a running title at the top of the page, Henry Carey seldom knew the title of the book he was publishing until the concluding sheets arrived. American publishers fought grimly among themselves to be the first on the market with the new novel. The Careys solved the problem by bribing someone in the Ballantyne printing shop to send them advance sheets. Scott meticulously revised his manuscripts up to the last moment, and since the Careys received the uncorrected galleys, their customers read Scott unrevised.[14]

It was in 1824 that Charles Leslie went to Abbotsford to paint Sir Walter Scott's portrait for George Ticknor of Boston. Sir Walter, finding Leslie already familiar with Scottish legend and song from a Scottish grandfather, delighted to read and recite the old ballads for him, and to show him the romantic and celebrated spots in the vicinity of Abbotsford. In a letter to Harriet Stone, his fiancée, Charles described the dogs in the Scott household. Around the fire in the evenings, there were "little ugly varlets of black terriers" named Ginger, Mustard, Spice, and Whiskey; there was a huge greyhound named Hamlet, a gigantic deerhound called Maida, Lady Scott's dog Risk, and sundry pointers belonging to Charles Scott. Sir Walter never left the house without at least two dogs at his side.[15]

Leslie painted in the library at Abbotsford. He always placed a chair facing Sir Walter, ready for a willing guest to drop into and engage his host in conversation. At the other end of the room there was generally a group around the piano or harp. Scott told many a delightful anecdote during those sittings. Sometimes he became rest-

13 Eliza Leslie to Abbe Bailey, June 10, 1823.

14 Eliza Leslie to Abbe Bailey, Nov. 25, 1823; Dave Randall, "Trade Winds," in *Saturday Review of Literature*, Dec. 25, 1948.

15 Sept. 12, 1824, in *Recollections*, II, 150 f.

less and would sit only a few minutes, jumping up and taking Charles off with him for a walk or a ride.

When the portrait was finished, it was a fine one. The editor of *Blackwood's*, a competent art critic, informed posterity that Leslie's was the best likeness of Sir Walter Scott ever achieved—face, figure, air, manner—all characteristically complete. In his opinion, Leslie was "a genuine genius." The portrait was eventually engraved by Mosely Isaac Danforth, an American artist, and printed in *Watt's Literary Souvenir*.[16]

When Charles returned to his London home, he was met at the door by his sister Ann in deep mourning. Their mother had died at West Point at the home of their brother. Ann had kept the sad news from Charles while he was executing that important commission.[17]

At this time, Ann was studying drawing and painting with her brother.[18] Not only did she observe his technique firsthand, but she acquired considerable skill by copying her brother's pictures, as well as some by Sir Joshua Reynolds. Among those of her brother's paintings which she copied and sent to Eliza was "Sancho and the Duchess," which *Blackwood's Magazine* had pronounced "very beautiful," but "a little lame" from undue caution. (Charles Leslie never overdrew anything, because of a delicate sense of the classical and because of his fear of extravagance and caricature.) Ann copied some of her brother's illustrations also, including those for Sir Walter Scott's *Bride of Lammermoor* and *Kenilworth*. It was her privilege to be with him when he designed the plates for a splendid edition of Burns's poems. A number of Ann's drawings were engraved in a popular American annual, the *Atlantic Souvenir*, and two of her best-known original works were the portraits of Mathew Carey and Benjamin Franklin.[19]

16 Cincinnati *Chronicle*, Feb. 14, 1829.

17 *Recollections*, I, 98.

18 In time, Ann came to like English life. Her brother was acquainted with the eminent public men of the country and knew many of the first families of England. Through Charles, Ann had an unusual opportunity to see how the nobility lived, and occasionally met members of "that exalted class." Westcott, XXX, 2376, Stauffer Collection, HSP; Eliza Leslie to Abbe Bailey, Apr. 9, Sept. 1, 1823.

19 Ann's sister Patty married Mathew Carey's son Henry. Patty, also, had a pronounced talent for drawing. Her floral drawings were exquisite. Emma Leslie to Henry Carey, May 3, 1855, Edward Carey Gardiner Collection, HSP. Ellen Bailey, in telling of a visit she made to Eliza Leslie in 1824, wrote: "She [Eliza] has hanging in the parlor in the U. S. Hotel where she

In 1824, Charles was busy finishing "Sancho and the Duchess," a scene from *Don Quixote*, which he mentioned in an affectionate letter to Thomas Sully. In that letter he urged his friend and benefactor to try to persuade some group to buy Benjamin West's pictures for the city of Philadelphia. Charles feared that the merchants of Philadelphia would think the price too high, but he thought the pictures well worth the money. After all, he reasoned, they would cost no more than an equal number of full-length portraits.[20]

After Leslie had finished "Sancho and the Duchess" he began a scene from *The Merry Wives of Windsor* for Philip Hone of New York City. He wrote to Hone that there would be three principal figures—Slender, Ann Page, and Shallow—with others in the background. The size of the picture would be about two feet by two and a half; the price to be two hundred guineas. However, he wrote, if Hone thought the price too high, he would paint him a smaller picture at any price he would name. Nevertheless, he would go ahead with the larger picture, for he could easily sell it.[21]

On April 11, 1825, Charles Leslie married Harriet Stone. After his marriage, he continued to paint portraits and pictures for the nobility and for Americans in England. Lord Egremont became his patron, inviting him and his family every year to spend a month at Petworth. It was for Lord Egremont that Charles painted "Sancho and the Duchess," "A Scene from the 'Taming of the Shrew,'" "Gulliver's Introduction to the Queen of Brobdignag," and "Charles II at Tillietudem Castle," besides portraits of members of Egremont's family.

Within the scant ten years since he had been in England, Leslie had made for himself an enviable reputation. He had been supremely happy when he was elected an associate of the Royal Academy in November, 1821, for, as Eliza once said, only "first-rate artists" received such recognition.[22] In 1824, he was listed with Allston, Copley, West, Trumbull, Morse, Sully, Stuart, Newton, and Chester

boards a portrait of B. Franklin taken by her sister also a very splendid engraving of Victoria's coronation she pointed out all the nobility to me, and informed me it was a copy from Charles painting taken on that occasion." Ellen Bailey to Abbe Bailey James, Philadelphia, March 14, 1848.

20 Leslie to Sully, London, Feb. 23, 1824, "Painters," Dreer Collection, HSP.

21 Leslie to Hone, London, Aug. 15, 1824, *ibid.*

22 Eliza Leslie to Margaret Bailey, Aug. 18, 1829. Margaret Bailey was Abbe Bailey's sister.

Harding in an article on American artists that appeared in *Blackwood's Magazine*. His portraits were said to be "beautiful and rich," his historical compositions "graceful, chaste and full of subdued pleasantry."[23] The capstone of recognition came when he was elected to full membership in the Royal Academy in 1826.

While Charles was making a place for himself in England, Eliza Leslie had embarked upon a literary career in America. So many people had asked for her "receipts," that she published them in 1827, under the title of *Receipts for Pastry, Cakes, and Sweetmeats*. This was her first book, "a most un-parnassean" work, she recalled in her old age. Of the *Receipts*, she wrote to Margaret Bailey in Cincinnati[24]:

> I send you a new book of receipts which may probably be useful in your family. It is in very general use in Philadelphia, in which city the art of making cakes and pastry has greatly improved within a few years. The book is in such demand that Henry Carey has to send every few weeks to Boston (where it is printed) for a fresh supply. If these receipts are exactly followed, I can assure you, by experience, that all the things made from them will turn out well; very superior to any that can be bought in the shops, while the expense will not exceed one half.

Such a book would have been dear to the heart of William Cobbett who ranted against "Sir Walter Scott's amusements for the dirty-necked daughters of Jews and Jobbers, and the lazy wives who almost rot at the fireside." No young girl with a head stuffed "with the amours of knights and damsels," said Cobbett, could think about directing a family and how to make good bread, pies, and puddings.[25]

The success of the receipt book caused Eliza's publisher to urge her to write children's stories, and at his instance she wrote *The Mirror: Juvenile Stories*. Eliza was a pioneer in juvenile literature. Her characters were genuine, speaking with the naïveté of real children; they were neither paragons of virtue nor demons of evil. *The American Girl's Book: or Occupation for Play Hours* (1831) had fourteen editions in eighteen years; her *Stories for Adelaide* and *Stories for Emma* were the first ever written by an American author in words of "one or divided" syllables. This idea had been derived from some juvenile stories which Charles had sent her from London.[26]

23 Cincinnati *Literary Gazette*, Dec. 4, 1824.

24 Aug. 18, 1829.

25 Cincinnati *National Republican*, Jan. 18, 1828.

26 Note written on the back of a sketch of Thomas Jefferson Leslie, E. C. Gardiner Collection, HSP. Adelaide and Emma were the small daughters of Thomas Leslie.

In her early years as a writer, Miss Leslie won four prizes from periodicals. Her first prize winner and best story, "Mrs. Washington Potts," was published in *Godey's Lady's Book* and reprinted in nearly every newspaper in the land. The immediate success of that story caused her to turn to writing in earnest.

Charles Leslie made unremitting efforts to find a market in London for Eliza's stories. Receiving little encouragement from publishers, in 1829 he went to Mrs. Hofland,[27] "a very amiable woman" who was always ready to serve other authors. Mrs. Hofland said that Eliza could get little more for her work in England than she could in America; too many English ladies of fortune, liking to see their names in print, gave their stories to the publishers, thus making it difficult for an author who had to be paid for her writing. Mrs. Hofland suggested that Eliza might have more success with the annuals.

In 1830, Charles took Eliza's "Alphonsine" to John Murray, and, as a special inducement, offered to design a plate for it without charge. But Murray politely declined it because it was a translation. Charles then took it to the London annuals, the *Gem* and the *Amulet*, with the same offer; they, too, declined. He had little better success with Harris and with Hurst and Chance, to whom he offered "Alphonsine" together with all the other tales then in his hands. Harris was not interested, but Hurst and Chance offered to print them at Miss Leslie's expense and divide the profits quarterly. Finally, Ann Leslie made some arrangement with Mrs. Hall[28] for their publication. In July, 1830, Charles wrote to Eliza that he was correcting the proof sheets of the "Traveling Tin-man," for which he had made a design that was already in the engraver's hands.[29]

Charles was as frank in his criticism of Eliza's stories as she was outspoken about his paintings. Both were respectful and sincere. Eliza did not hesitate to point out weakness in color and chiaroscuro, and Charles was quick to correct those faults.[30] Charles liked his sister's stories, but he thought they would be better if they "had not so much of the didactic cast" which was then fashionable.

27 Probably Barbara Hofland (1770–1844), English novelist and writer.

28 Probably Anna Maria Hall (née Fielding), English miscellaneous writer (1800–1881).

29 Charles to Eliza, Nov. 12, 1829, May 20, 1830, July 2, 1830, *Recollections*, II, 197–199, 207–211.

30 Charles to Eliza, London, Apr. 20, 1821, *Recollections*, II, 111–112.

But this is too hard a task [he wrote to Eliza] for the writers of children's books, who find it much easier to sit down and make a nature of their own, in which little monsters of virtue, sense, and fine sentiments are contrasted with caricatures of folly.[31]

While Charles considered Eliza's characters more natural than in most stories, he still thought her aim to instruct was too obvious. He felt that children's books should be written "with as much discrimination of real character as the novels of Le Sage, Fielding, Smollett, and the best of Sir Walter Scott." He anticipated Eliza's answer that such books would not sell. Then try a novel, he urged, taking nature and the best models for guides. Draw men and women as they really are, not consistently bad or consistently good.

Do not let all the events of a man's or a woman's life [he wrote] turn on one point of character, as Miss Edgeworth does, for the sake of supporting a theory, but divest yourself of every other intention than that of giving true *pictures of nature*. I would read none of the trash that is now published in the rage for universal improvement, but study, over and over again, the sterling authors of fiction, whose works will last as long as their language, because they are built on the rock—nature.[32]

If the novel were "a good one," Charles was sure that he could get a good price for it in London. In one of his letters to Eliza, he repeated what he had said before[33]:

I am glad you agree with me in distaste for the didactic class of works. . . . it seems to me to be a great mistake of their well-meaning authors to attempt to deceive mankind into virtue, which I have no doubt, if it has any effect, is only calculated to deceive them into hypocrisy. Truth never did, and never can do harm; and I feel sure that the really moral writers are those who describe characters *as they are*, and not as the authors think they *ought* to be. . . .

Charles Leslie himself had a fine talent for writing, but he never found time to complete more than two books—*Memoirs of John Constable* and *A Handbook for Young Painters*. His life of Sir Joshua Reynolds was never finished.

By 1832, Charles was so much in demand as a painter that he had pictures engaged for years ahead—the subject, the size, and the price left entirely to his discretion. In that year, he painted "a conversation picture," in which he introduced the whole family of the Marquis of Westminster.

[31] *Recollections*, II, 209.
[32] *Ibid.*, 209–210.
[33] *Ibid.*, 199.

In the following year, at the height of his career in England and after an absence of more than twenty years from America, Leslie was persuaded by his family and friends to accept a professorship at West Point. Even Washington Irving advised him to come to America. He was made to believe that he could save more money, have more security for himself and his sons, and still have plenty of time to paint. Eliza had pointed out that the clear bright days of American winters would give him twice as much time to paint as he had in gloomy London.

The Leslies sailed on the ship *Philadelphia* on September 21, 1833, arriving at New York five weeks later. They went on to Philadelphia to visit Eliza and Ann.[34] There Charles was literally besieged by his friends who wished to do him honor, receiving more invitations than he could accept. In declining one of these invitations, he wrote[35]:

> I trust I shall have many opportunities of renewing that intercourse with my early friends among you which I have never ceased to remember with unmingled pleasure; and of becoming known to the many who have distinguished themselves and done honor to our country by the successful cultivation of the Fine Arts during my absence.

On November 20, 1833, Eliza wrote to Abbe Bailey James that Charles and his wife and five children were pleasantly situated near her brother Tom at West Point. With deep satisfaction she continued:

> Charles is literally enraptured with America—He says had he known exactly what America now is, he could not have stayed away from it half so long. . . . He is not the least English, either in looks or ways. I never saw a man who had less coldness, reserve, and fastidiousness. He is full of amusing anecdotes of things and people that he has seen, and tells them so well that to hear and see him is almost equal to a performance of Mathews. And having had more or less personal acquaintance with most of the distinguished public characters of England, he has much to relate that is well worth knowing. In feeling and opinions he is a most determined American. In leaving England, he of course made many sacrifices, but he was willing to give up all the advantages . . . as soon as he could see his way clear in returning home. He says that from the time he became a father, he felt it impossible to become reconciled to the idea of bringing up his children as English children, and making Englishmen and Englishwomen of them.

This enthusiasm for America was not shared by Charles Leslie's wife. Fearing that she would make Charles dissatisfied, his friends

[34] *Ibid.*, I, 125.

[35] Leslie to Thomas Sully, William Strickland, C. J. Childs, James B. Longacre and William E. Tucker, Phila., Nov. 2, 1833, Dreer Collection, HSP.

made strenuous efforts to secure for him an adequate painting room and an increase in salary. Without Leslie's knowledge, his old friend and employer, Thomas Bradford, went to Washington to try to influence Congress to make provision for these things at West Point. At this time, however, there was a faction in Congress seeking to destroy the Academy. Colonel de Russey, the Superintendent, was anxious to build the painting room and submitted a plan for it to the Secretary of War. But because of the opposition to the school, the application for funds to build the room was never sent to Congress.[36] Charles wanted no special favors. He felt that he could make no complaint, for a raise in salary from a thousand to fifteen hundred dollars had not been definitely promised. But the painting room had been pledged, and he felt a keen disappointment when that pledge was not fulfilled. As for the school itself, Charles thought it a good one, admirably managed. But he had a poor opinion of Congress, whose members sent their sons and favorites to West Point and blamed the school when those sons and favorites were sent home because of deficiency in brains or character.[37]

Before the year was out, Charles decided to return to England. His wife had been ill, his studio was inadequate, there was too little time for painting, living expenses were high, and he could not see that his sons would do any better in America than in England. He missed his European artist friends, and he could make his wife happy by returning.[38] The Leslies and the Careys, of course, were greatly distressed by this decision. Ellen Bailey, visiting in Philadelphia, heard all about it, and in a letter to her sisters in Ohio, she wrote (April 26, 1834):

> Betsy [Eliza] . . . can think and talk of nothing else. She says it is too bad that Charles should be blamed when it is his most ardent wish to remain here but for the sake of domestic peace he was compelled to return his wife gave him no rest until he consented to resign and leave this horrid country. Betsy says she believes she was disappointed that she did not find the Americans in a savage state. When she discovered her error she railed out against their extravagance and ungentility. To think they eat with their knives and break their eggs in a glass. Oh shocking! Betsy says she cannot imagine what possessed Charles to marry such a woman. She is not pretty accomplished or sensible nor does she possess one qualification to render

[36] *Recollections*, I, 127.

[37] Charles Leslie to Henry Carey, West Point, Feb. 3, 1834, E. C. Gardiner Collection, HSP.

[38] *Recollections*, I, 125–127.

printed copious extracts, including Washington Irving's "An Unwritten Drama of Lord Byron."

In 1843, Eliza began to edit her own magazine—*Miss Leslie's Magazine*—with T. S. Arthur, who a decade later wrote the widely read *Ten Nights in a Bar-Room*. It was launched as a "Home Book of Fashion, Literature and Domestic Economy," and included as a special feature, "Miss Leslie's valuable information on household and domestic interests." At the end of the year, however, the magazine was taken over by Arthur, and renamed *Arthur's Ladies' Magazine of Elegant Literature and the Fine Arts*.[41]

In 1833, 1835, and 1837, respectively, three series of *Pencil Sketches* by Miss Leslie had been published. Of the first series, Eliza wrote to Abbe Bailey James[42]:

> I hope you have derived some amusement from my Pencil Sketches. I believe "Uncle Philip" is generally considered the best—The French characters are from people I have met with. . . . I frequently see and hear things that I would not dare put into a book. . . . they would by nine-tenths of my readers be considered impossible.

The letter continued:

> My next work, a little volume of about three hundred pages, is designed for children, and will be published in a fortnight. The title is "Atlantic Tales." The concluding Story, "Russel and Sidney, or the Young Revolutionists," I am myself better satisfied with than with anything I have ever written. . . . This winter, I shall probably write another volume of the Sketches, or perhaps I may be able to "screw my courage to the sticking-place" and attempt a novel. . . .

In 1837, Miss Leslie brought out the *Domestic Cookery Book*, and in 1840 the *House-Book*, both meeting with immediate success. By 1840 forty thousand copies of the *Cookery-Book* had been sold, and by 1851 it was in its forty-first edition, no edition being less than a thousand copies. As early as 1842, Eliza began to collect materials for a life of John Fitch, and although she devoted much of the last years of her life to it, it was never completed. In 1846 she published a new cookbook under the title of the *Ladies' Receipt-Book*, and about this same time, the *Indian Meal Book*, which had a great sale during the Irish famine, came out. In 1853 she published her *Behaviour-Book*

[41] Cincinnati *Gazette*, Jan. 4, 1844; Bertha Monica Stearns, "Philadelphia Magazines for Ladies, 1830–1860," in *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, LXIX (1945), 212–213.

[42] Nov. 20, 1833.

which also sold in great numbers. A British biographical encyclopedia (1856) remarked that the *Behaviour-Book* was "a work apparently much required in some parts of America."[43] It was during this period, many years after her brother had urged her to, that Eliza Leslie "screw[ed her] courage to the sticking-place" and wrote a novel, *Amelia: or a Young Lady's Vicissitudes*. It appeared in *Godey's Lady's Book* in 1846, and was published in book form in 1848. Although this was her only novel, she continued to write shorter pieces, enjoying the largest sale of any woman writer of her time.

By 1847, Eliza Leslie had become such a celebrity that a visitor from New Orleans paid fifty dollars to Mrs. Steele, a fashionable artist staying at the United States Hotel, to paint her miniature. In a letter to one of her nieces, Eliza gave an animated account of Mrs. Steele and the miniature[44]:

> . . . Mrs. Steele, originally Miss Adeline Redfield of Onandaga County, Western New York. She is the widow of a painter well-known in the southern part of the Union. He taught her to do miniatures and since his death, she had been travelling round, and supporting herself in that way. . . . During the short time she has been here, she has painted Mr. Mitchell, Miss Nicholson, and myself; and is now doing Mrs. King the wife of an ex-member of congress. She finished my miniature yesterday, and it is considered very good. It is painted for Mr. Pierce of New Orleans, . . . and by desire of [his daughters, he] requested me to sit to Mrs. Steele for him. . . . It was their desire that I should be painted in mourning-dress—as they had seen me in no other. I would rather, myself, have been represented in my gray merino coat with the black velvet pelerine; and the white bonnet I wore last winter and which looks as white nearly as when new, having always kept a cake of white wax in the bandbox. . . . The miniature . . . is an oval, and the corners of the frame are filled up with crimson velvet according to the present fashion; . . . These frames cost twelve dollars, but Mr. Pierce desired Mrs. Steele to get one of the handsomest and newest style. It goes to New Orleans next week by Mr. and Miss Nicholson. . . . It is by no means as handsome as Sully's portrait of me, and therefore a more correct likeness. . . .

Some people feared Eliza Leslie, because of her penetrating sarcasm, but her admirers loved her for her candor and almost quixotic benevolence. That she had eccentricities that were hard to live with is evident in the family correspondence. She was loved by her family, but they could not cope with her peculiarities in her last years. She

43 S. Austin Allibone, *A Critical Dictionary of English Literature and British and American Authors From the Earliest Accounts to the Latter Half of the Nineteenth Century* (Philadelphia, 1899), I, 1086.

44 Eliza Leslie to Gertrude Leslie, Oct. 10, 1847, Conarroe Papers, VI, 45, HSP.

held very strong prejudices, but she always stood for right principles and aimed to be useful to society. Her long and busy life, a span of seventy-one years, ended in Gloucester, New Jersey, on New Year's Day, 1858. She was buried in St. Peter's Churchyard in Philadelphia.

One year and four months later, on May 5, 1859, Charles Leslie died in London, at the age of sixty-five.[45] Like Eliza, Charles had scorned affection and notoriety, and had held strong convictions. He was milder in speech and temperament than Eliza, and more brilliant. While Eliza ruthlessly laid bare the follies of fashionable society, Charles painted pictures that made people happier and gentler, pictures that helped them to love good books more and to regard their fellow creatures "with kindlier eyes." He painted scenes from the books his father had loved—Shakespeare, Cervantes, Le Sage, Molière, Addison, Sterne, Fielding and Smollett. A great deal of Leslie's best work embodied the thought of others; as an interpreter of "other men's conceptions," he ranked among the foremost English painters.[46] Tom Taylor,[47] his friend and biographer, said of him: "What painter has entered so completely as Leslie into the mind of Shakespeare and Cervantes, of Molière and Addison?"

Oxford, Ohio OPHIA D. SMITH

[45] Charles Leslie's pictures were sold at auction in London, according to his request, for a larger sum than was expected. Harriet J. Leslie (Charles' daughter) to Henry Carey, St. John's Wood, Sept. 3, 1859; Emma Leslie (Tom Leslie's daughter) to Henry Carey, New York, June 18, 1860, E. C. Gardiner Collection, HSP.

[46] The English claimed Charles Leslie as their own, in view of the fact that he had done most of his work in their country and had become so completely identified with English life. Leslie, however, always thought of himself as an American painter, and certainly he was so considered by his own country.

[47] Thomas Proclus Taylor (1817–1880), English playwright and journalist, editor of *Punch*. He was much interested in art, and wrote biographies of Robert Haydon and Sir Joshua Reynolds. He edited Charles Robert Leslie's *Autobiographical Recollections* in 1860, the year after Leslie's death.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Atlantic Civilization: Eighteenth Century Origins. By MICHAEL KRAUS. [Published for the American Historical Association] (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press, 1949. xi, 334 p. Notes, bibliography, index. $3.75.)

American colonists reshaped the European culture that they brought with them. They originated ideas and practices suited to the new environment. And the resulting colonial cultures had their effects on those of the mother countries. With a quantity of evidence resulting from many years of research, Professor Kraus has written a judicious description of many of these cultural borrowings, reshapings, and repercussions. He has explored new material, both American and foreign, and added his findings to those of previous scholars in chapters on social, scientific, religious, artistic, educational and intellectual relations between western Europe and America. A great many well-chosen quotations give the pages life and authority.

While the study leads to no new conclusions of major importance, it greatly and justifiably emphasizes the effect of British-North American civilization on Europe. American influence reached a peak between the American and French Revolutions, when the "American experiment" became the hope and ideal of European radicals. As a basis for these trans-Atlantic interactions Professor Kraus contributes a fresh account of many aspects of British-colonial culture. He gives support to Henry Adams' belief that the last generation of the aristocratic colonial elite had a deeper interest in art, letters, and religion than their more democratic descendants of the young republic. Lacking some of the self-satisfaction of later nationalists, colonial leaders like Benjamin Franklin worked as missionaries to American taste and learning.

It seems unlikely that critics will quarrel with what Professor Kraus has written. Few would be qualified to do so. But even the general reader may think that the analysis falls short of the promise of the title. Both "Atlantic" and "civilization" are large inclusive terms, and no attempt is made to define them precisely. The concluding statement of the book, that the "true meaning of the Atlantic civilization" is "that North America has long been the biggest fact in Europe," suggests no scheme of analysis. Surely there were some major differences between the northern and southern areas of the civilization, but Spanish-American culture is referred to only incidentally. How did the Atlantic civilization differ from that of the rest of Europe? Was Hanover, for example, a part of the Atlantic region?

Even within the Anglo-American sphere the lack of an elaborated concept of what the author is discussing causes difficulties. In point of numbers,

merchants, sea captains, supercargoes and sailors were the chief eastward carriers of the common cultural elements, yet neither their activities nor correspondence has any substantial place in Professor Kraus' description. Government administrators and military and naval officers are also slighted.

One hesitates to criticize too severely these variations between title and content which are common to all historical work. The source materials inevitably put their own stamp on the finished product. But even were the title more closely fitted to the material, the reader might ask the author for more guidance in concepts and interpretations.

University of Pennsylvania THOMAS C. COCHRAN

The American Mind. An Interpretation of American Thought and Character since the 1880's. By HENRY STEELE COMMAGER. (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1950. ix, 476 p. Frontispiece, bibliography, index. $5.00.)

Henry Commager has lent his able and eloquent pen to many worthwhile causes. This latest book, written in his usual brilliant style, presents his evaluation of the mind of our nation from 1890 to the present.

The interpretation rests upon the assumption that there is such a thing as "a distinctively American way of thought, character, and conduct." The author, on the basis of a group of essays on significant individuals and topics, attempts to generalize about that elusive thing, the American mind. He frankly admits the subjectivity of his treatment. Indeed, he agrees that he has ignored or slighted many aspects which should properly be considered a part of the mind of the nation. If these limitations be true, then it would seem that the author has unnecessarily handicapped himself in his search for the national mind. This book leads the reviewer to question whether any such thing as the American mind exists. And if such a mind does exist, whether it can be explained in such a way as to be meaningful. However, admitting for the moment that the main premise and the selective methods of the book are valid, the test of the volume must rest upon the competence with which the author has handled the individuals and topics he has selected.

The handling of two figures of the past seems to the reviewer to be unnecessarily subjective and even contradictory. For instance, in his treatment of William Jennings Bryan the author makes claims that will hardly bear scrutiny. It is doubtful if Bryan had "a firm grasp on political and economic realities," or that he was the "most astute politician of his day." It is even more difficult to believe that Bryan was the first major political figure "to understand that the problems of politics were primarily economic" (p. 347). Indeed, the author contradicts this flattering evaluation a few pages later when he comments that Franklin D. Roosevelt had none of the "intellectual flabbiness" of Bryan (p. 354).

Similar subjectivity and contradiction are revealed in the author's evaluation of the historian Charles A. Beard. He comments that Beard was largely responsible for the "widespread acceptance of economic determinism by younger scholars" (p. 303). He points out that Beard made history less splendid by exposing fallacies and puncturing pretensions, implying that Beard was responsible for much of the cynicism of many of the followers of history. It is unfortunate that the author commends Bryan for his astuteness because of his understanding that political problems are mainly economic, and by implication condemns Beard for a similar understanding of the forces that make up history. Mr. Commager concludes with the point that the real objection to Beard's historism is that it was "sterile and, in a literal sense, inconsequential" (p. 309). Yet Beard's ideas on the meaning of history and his historical writings quite obviously were of consequence if Beard was responsible for a widespread acceptance of economic determinism among younger scholars. Surely an attitude of iconoclasm and cynicism among historians and many of their followers is consequential. Finally, the best test of this evaluation of Beard's historism is Beard's own work after his explicit formulation of a philosophy of history. Can one say that *America in Midpassage*, *The American Spirit*, *American Foreign Policy in the Making* and *President Roosevelt and the Coming of the War* are products of a sterile historism? Nor can the reviewer accept, as does the author, S. E. Morison's essay on Beard's later writings as "astute criticism."

This reviewer does not claim that these two interpretations are typical of others in the book. But such treatments force the reader to be skeptical of other particular analyses. If the particular interpretations are subject to skepticism, then what can be said of the generalizations about the American mind which rest upon such analyses?

University of Wisconsin JOHN N. STALKER

The American Historical Novel. By ERNEST E. LEISY. (Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1950. x, 282 p. Appendix, index. $3.75.)

Professor Leisy introduces his book, *The American Historical Novel*, with a preface entitled "History Vivified," and therein one may find his apologia for this particular brand of fiction, as well as a very general discussion of our historical novel from its early stirrings to the present day. After this preface, which comprises but twenty pages, Professor Leisy's volume becomes a compendium of titles, dates, facts, résumés and brief comments on hundreds of novels—a monument indeed to the author's indefatigable research, and an excellent handbook to the student in search of a bibliography in this field. In the main body of his book Professor Leisy divides the novels into five specific historical periods: Colonial America; The American Revolution and its Aftermath; The Westward

Movement; The Civil War and Reconstruction; and National Expansion. Besides this classification, he remarks in the preface that there are three more literary ones: "the historical novel proper, a work like Willa Cather's *Death Comes for the Archbishop*, which admirably integrates character and setting. Then there is the period novel, a novel more concerned with detailed background than in presenting the whole of life, as, for example, Walter Edmonds's *Drums Along the Mohawk*. Last in importance is the romance of adventure, written by Cooper and Simms in an earlier period, and illustrated at its best by Churchill's *Richard Carvel* and Johnston's *To Have and To Hold*." The discussions in the book are not limited to the "historical novel proper," but to the novels in the other two groups as well. In his preface, the author is surprised that so little attention has been paid to the historical novel, and near the end of the book he lists a dozen or so ill-assorted authors, "Fenimore Cooper, Nathaniel Hawthorne, John Pendleton Kennedy, William Gilmore Simms, Stephen Crane, S. Weir Mitchell, Winston Churchill, Mary Johnston, James Boyd, Kenneth Roberts, Walter Edmonds, Le Grand Cannon, Burke Boyce, Willa Cather, Hervey Allen," who have failed to receive sufficient critical attention. To this reviewer it seems that Cooper, Hawthorne, Crane and Cather have received more than a "passing mention"; perhaps the rest do not deserve it, for they were busily writing what the late Carl Van Doren so aptly called the "rococo romance."

Professor Leisy, although he has decried the lack of discriminating critical attention devoted to the historical novel, fails to compensate for this dearth in his own book. Instead of detailed analysis, he has substituted, for the most part, a brief résumé of the action of many of the novels, followed by a few short lines of general comment which he calls evaluation; for example:

> "The story [*Israel Potter*] has possibilities, as shown in Israel's meeting with the King and in the interlude with Franklin, but Melville seems not to have been in the mood to develop them"; "The book [*Conceived in Liberty*] written in a tense, emotional style, inclines toward the use of modern ideological sentiments"; "Kenneth Roberts's passion for justice, as much as his vivid narrative talent, serves to make *Oliver Wiswell* a memorable historical novel"; and finally, "The story [*Gone With the Wind*] for all its length and over-embellishment, moves swiftly, with all sails set in the best tradition of historical fiction. *Gone With the Wind* offers no profound reading of life, but the balance between the historical and the psychological forces is nicely kept. It is above all an entertaining story."

Professor Leisy's book, therefore, is not the critical analysis the very lack of which he so deplores, but a compilation of plots, a competent guide to the number and type of historical novels printed in America from 1821 to 1947. There is also an impressive appendix containing some six hundred and forty-odd titles of additional historical novels, all dated, all classified according to the five historical periods.

Few will deny that the historical novel is popular and that it is popular for the reasons stated by the author: "that it satisfies many tastes," "attracts us to the past, to history," and "satisfies a desire for national homogeneity." On the other hand, few will agree that historical fiction, especially of the second and third types, is not escape fiction; few will agree with Hervey Allen's statement, quoted by Professor Leisy in apparent acquiescence, that "by presenting it [the real past] dramatically, the novelist may give 'the reader a more vivid, adequate, and significant comprehension of past epochs than does the historian.' " That statement seems to me a dangerous generalization, for immediately comes the question: what American novelists do this and in what novels? Can any fiction present a past more terrifyingly real than Carlyle's *History of the French Revolution*, or can any "realistic" tale of scalping and sortie match Francis Parkman's *The Conspiracy of Pontiac* for "significant comprehension"? Even if this matter were resolved and the few titans of American historical fiction were agreed upon, there would remain some hardy souls to whom history would always be history, to whom Parkman and John Fiske would always be more pertinent than the glittering pages of the American historical novel.

Wilson College JOHN N. YARNALL

Quaker Social History, 1669–1738. By ARNOLD LLOYD. Introduction by Herbert G. Wood. (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1950. xv, 207 p. Illustrations, appendices, index. $5.00.)

"It has been somewhat cynically suggested that organizations exist for the painless extinction of the ideas which gave them birth," writes Herbert G. Wood in introducing this first-rate study of the beginnings of the Quaker movement as a religious society now approaching its tercentenary. From simple stirrings in the middle of the revolutionary seventeenth century, Quakerism evolved into an organization that has kept some of the enthusiastic fervor that helped it overcome persecution and survive as a unique body in the family of religions.

Non-Friends do not realize that Friends from the start have always conducted their business meetings in an original fashion. Based on pure democracy, the Quakers in their assemblies seek to reach "the sense of the meeting" without taking votes and with the Clerk acting as the servant of the Meeting rather than as chairman or president. Lloyd traces the growth of this practice wherein individual freedom is woven into group authority.

Not having any hierarchy, it was essential at the start of Quakerism to send questions to local groups asking about persecutions, sufferings, convincements, situations of necessitous circumstances, and the condition of the spiritual life. That system worked and grew into the Queries which persist today as a method of keeping Friends and Meetings striving to live

up to their principles and their faith. Without this device individual Friends would be going off at all tangents in their profession of Quakerism.

Arnold Lloyd has read widely in the Minutes and records of Friends all over England. He has portrayed the development of church government, the care for the poor, their relations with the Church of England, their affording equality to women by establishing Women's Meetings long in advance of the emergence of women from male subservience, their tremendous activity as publishers of tracts and writers of journals, and their concern for education and the welfare of youth.

No similar account has yet been written of the growth of Quakerism in America where the movement paralleled chronologically the historical growth in the mother country. Isaac Sharpless has shown that Quakerism and politics did not mix in the colonial era in Pennsylvania, and the Quakers withdrew from government after a seventy-five-year period of control. During that same period social advances were made by the Friends which have borne fruit down to the present day.

Here is the story of a Christian society which, though small in numbers, carried the Protestant Reformation to its logical conclusions and survived. The integrity of its members, the testimonies of its society, the services of its agencies for education, relief, rehabilitation and reconciliation indicate that back in the seventeenth century keys to living were discovered that still remain an open-sesame to the abundant life we seek in the twentieth century. It all may seem to be "too simple a presentation of the gospel, but its very simplicity was part of its attraction and power in the seventeenth century."

Overbrook, Pa. RICHMOND P. MILLER

Andrew Bradford, Colonial Journalist. By ANNA JANNEY DEARMOND. (Newark, Del.: University of Delaware Press, 1949. ix, 272 p. Illustrations, bibliography, index. $3.00.)

The author has written a useful though not an important volume. As a biography the work has no large significance, since less is known relatively concerning Andrew Bradford than about his illustrious father, with whom Andrew maintained a close association even after he came to Philadelphia. Like his father, Andrew became the official printer of the Friends, but unlike him, he maintained amicable relations with them for many years. He published the *American Mercury* from 1719 until his death in 1742, with some competition during his later years from Franklin's *Gazette*, but with relatively few controversies. He prospered through his paper, his shop, his real-estate investments, and through his connection with the Durham Iron Works and other commercial activities. His fame must rest, however, upon the *Mercury*, to which the author devotes the major portion of her study.

The *Mercury* was a representative colonial newspaper, and the author's painstaking analysis of its contents exhibits clearly the nature and status of

eighteenth-century American journalism. Timeliness was both the key and the obstacle of the newspaper. In quality the *Mercury* compared favorably with its contemporaries. It exhibited, however, little innovation either in format, material, or practice. Its accent was upon news—as up to date as possible. Plagiarism was anything but a vice; indeed, a large portion of every issue was lifted, with or without acknowledgment. Foreign news, principally of English origin, saturated the paper, and personalities were as newsworthy as events. Intercolonial news also was in demand, especially that contained in the more readily accessible New York and Boston papers, though some pieces originated in Maryland and Virginia. Again, this type of news presented variety calculated to appeal to the widest reader interest. Philadelphia and Pennsylvania news constituted a third segment, though hardly a dominant one.

Bradford was conservative, generally pro-proprietary, yet he had several tiffs with the authorities; a controversy with Alexander Hamilton, Speaker of the Assembly and of Peter Zenger fame; and some altercation with his rival, Benjamin Franklin, over their abortive ventures, although even their relations were remarkably amicable. Since the *Mercury*, like its contemporaries, was put together largely by the use of paste and scissors, it differed little from the rest. The editorial page as such did not exist; the publisher occasionally commented apologetically upon the news, particularly when news was scarce, as was frequently the case. The winter was usually a bad season since there was little shipping and the land post, too, was apt to be delayed. Indeed, the premium on timeliness was so great that the paper went to press at the last possible moment.

The author has rendered a faithful account of the *Mercury*, together with what biographical material she was able to assemble. She makes much of the Bradford-Hamilton controversy, perhaps too much, since personalities rather than issues seemed to be involved. There is an authoritative chapter on the *American Magazine*, which scooped Franklin's *General Magazine*, owing to the defection of John Webbe, whose idea it was. Franklin, himself, is frequently alluded to, but not always to his favor. The author's pages are crowded and too extensively documented, but the research is commendably meticulous.

College of William and Mary JOHN E. POMFRET

The Colonial Craftsman. By CARL BRIDENBAUGH. (New York: New York University Press, Washington Square, and London: Geoffrey Cumberlege, Oxford University Press, 1950. xii, 215 p. Illustrations, notes, index. $4.25.)

Through years of undeviating interest in the colonial scene, Carl Bridenbaugh is slowly bringing together the background and incident for a representation of rural and urban American life in which variety and movement are dominant characteristics. *The Colonial Craftsman*, successor to his

Cities in the Wilderness and *Rebels and Gentlemen*, is a lavishly documented collection of the six lectures Mr. Bridenbaugh delivered at New York University on the Anson G. Phelps Lectureship on Early American History. The volume has been handsomely printed by the New York University Press, and in lieu of satisfactory contemporary American pictures has been interestingly illustrated by seventeen plates of craftsmen at work, reproduced in collotype from the Diderot *Encyclopédie* of Paris, 1762–1777.

Mr. Bridenbaugh's approach to his craftsmen is social rather than antiquarian. He is interested in their achievement as part of the common life of the American community, rather than in the tools and methods by which the achievement was effected. His scope is so broad, indeed, in the number of trades and crafts considered, that a technical discussion would have been impossible in a series of lectures. That is something which still needs doing for most of the crafts, because full understanding of men as social and political beings is advanced by knowledge of the tools and materials they employ and of where and how they procure them.

In the Bridenbaugh lectures the broad subject is given division through the separate consideration of the rural craftsman, north and south; the urban craftsman (chiefly of Charleston, Philadelphia, New York, the Connecticut towns, Boston, and Newport); the craftsman at work; and the craftsman as a citizen. The author makes sharp and definite the reasons for the failure of manufacturing under the plantation economy of the South in comparison with its high success under the urban economy of the North. Occasionally one feels in reading that the generalization thus set up is too inflexibly employed, but as a generalization it is illuminating.

Because of the broad scope and relatively brief presentation of this study of the American craftsman, it is inevitable that there should be found in it certain inequalities of treatment both of the trades and the places considered. Naturally each reader will weigh it to some extent in the balances of his own special interests. To this reviewer, for example, it seems that printing, engraving, and the book arts in general are not adequately represented in view of their wide dissemination among the colonial cities and towns and their importance in the life of the local communities and of the community at large. But for any inadequacies of treatment that may be singled out there is compensation in the form of multiplied instances of activity in the exercise of a great number of crafts in many places. The Moravian communities in North Carolina and the large enterprise of Isaac Zane in the Shenandoah Valley are representative of rural organizations which cared for themselves and built up a surplus for outside sale. The varied production and the ingenious inventiveness of the Connecticut craftsmen are made a matter of emphasis, as are the native developments in style of the Philadelphia and Newport cabinetmakers. Particularly informing and pleasing are Mr. Bridenbaugh's accounts of such local adaptations to purpose as the Conestoga wagon and the Pennsylvania rifle. But the value of the book is found not so much in the accounts of these manu-

factures of special and romantic interest, as in its broad general consideration of the activities of shoemakers, hatmakers, carpenters, tailors, buttonmakers, and all the minor craftsmen who worked for the well-being and comfort of their communities.

The tapestry of an important aspect of colonial American life which Mr. Bridenbaugh has created for us is crowded with vigorous, animated figures. It is the record of an expanding economy and of expanding political, personal, and class ambitions. The picture is an exciting one, high in color to the sensitive observer, a very different thing from the still, flat monochrome which all too often presents itself to one who looks back through the mists of the years.

The John Carter Brown Library LAWRENCE C. WROTH

Some Early Tools of American Science. An Account of the Early Scientific Instruments and Mineralogical and Biological Collections in Harvard University. By I. BERNARD COHEN. With a Foreword by SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1950. xxii, 201 p. Illustrations, appendices, references and notes, index. $4.75.)

This book, as the subtitle suggests, began as a catalogue of the early scientific instruments in the collections of Harvard University. In addition, Dr. Cohen has written an introductory section about science teaching at Harvard during the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries. This historical part, which takes up about half the book, supplies the background necessary for appreciation of the instruments.

Harvard College offered courses in the physical and biological sciences from its beginning. Dr. Cohen describes the development of these courses through the years. He proves that, contrary to popular opinion, most Puritans in New England were not opposed to science, but followed their English coreligionists in encouraging learning that was "in touch with life." He also proves that science was an important subject at Harvard, as shown both by the large number of instruments used and by the rapid acceptance of new discoveries made in Europe. In fact, these new advances were presented to the students more promptly than was the case in some European universities.

The latter half of the book is taken up with several appendices. The first of these gives a list of the Hollis Philosophical Apparatus, which was nearly all lost in the Fire of 1764. Pictures are included of similar instruments. In the second appendix, the post-fire collection is described as it existed in 1779. A third appendix describes and illustrates other interesting apparatus. The final appendix is a catalogue of the chemical laboratory in 1821. The beautiful plates of this book make it well worth the purchase price.

The text of the book is somewhat uneven in composition. The physical separation of the reading matter from the introduction of each new topic

makes it very choppy and gives it the appearance of having been composed in haste, with sharp distinctions between ideas taking the place of connecting sentences. The material presented is extremely interesting and valuable, much of it based on manuscript sources not readily available. The footnotes, unfortunately, are hidden away at the end of the book, making them hard to find and inconvenient to use.

This book is written in an interesting style and it contains new historical material, but it leaves one with the impression that a little more time for digestion of details would have made it possible to emphasize the novel conclusions in such a way as to make them more forceful.

Rochester, N. Y. PHYLLIS ALLEN RICHMOND

John Adams and the American Revolution. By CATHERINE DRINKER BOWEN. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1950. xx, 699 p. Frontispiece, bibliographical note, index. $5.00.)

No other practitioner of the new art of writing fiction-flavored history can equal Mrs. Bowen. Indeed, few historical novels can hold the reader to his chair the way this work does, in spite of the fact that the author sometimes, for a dozen pages at a time, devotes herself to history with never a mention of her hero. The book does not have the dragging feet of a historical work, but proceeds with a sprightly step that often leaves the reader wondering whether some of the author's statements are based on Adams' contemporary diary, on his descriptions written a half century after success had sanctified the Revolution, or are fiction. The percentage of fiction is much higher than the ordinary reader would suspect.

It is not Mrs. Bowen's purpose, she says, to add to the sum of the scholar's knowledge of Adams and the Revolution: rather, she proposes to bring them to the reading public. This she does well. Through this book hundreds of thousands of people will for the first time catch the true flavor of the eve of the Revolution in Massachusetts, and will for the first time discuss Adams through the incense of the worshipers of Jefferson. Her picture of Adams is a reasonable one, painted with warts and all, and so serves the better to redress the balance of public opinion.

The historical novelist sketches charcoal outlines of the period with which he deals, but Mrs. Bowen tries to provide photographic detail of the background of her subject, with the result that her book contains literally hundreds of small and unimportant errors such as incorrect dates, misspelled proper names, geographical slips, and anachronisms. A few of the errors may mislead, as when she says (pp. 16, 80) that "nearly every preacher in New England" opposed inoculation (quite the reverse was true), and when she greatly exaggerates the number of slave advertisements in the Boston papers and (p. 207) the importance of slavery in the New England economy.

More serious is the fact that Mrs. Bowen fails, as John Adams did before her, to comprehend the causes of the Revolution. Adams recognized the problem of colonial unity when many other radical politicians saw only their own colonies, but he did not share Thomas Hutchinson's comprehension of the Empire as a whole. Many of his arguments about British policy are, in view of the purposes of imperial policy, simply irrelevant. The new British colonial policy, which was adopted to deal with the issues brought to a head by the victories of 1760, was an honest effort to deal with the greatest problem in political science which any nation had ever faced, and was not, as Mrs. Bowen assumes, a betrayal of the ideal of a British Commonwealth by stupid London politicians. The absence from her bibliography of such standard works on British colonial policy as those of G. L. Beer explains her bias.

Mrs. Bowen does not solve the fundamental problem which the young John Adams presents: how could such a distillation of American Protestantism as he so dull his sense of duty to logic that he would give his support to a popular movement which, in order to achieve its political ends, resorted to violence and terror and snuffed out all criticism with the efficiency of Hitler and Stalin? She explains his attitude by saying (in regard to Independence): "This matter was not to be settled by logic and reason. The division was deeper—a matter of emotional bias. . . ." True, but that does not explain why Adams followed his emotions rather than his logic. It does not explain why "Honest John" in the course of political controversy, made statements which he must have known were not true. It does not explain his raising the cry of "slavery" to whip up public emotions against the revenue laws. It is no answer to point to modern labor leaders and their similar cry against the "slave labor law"; we expect more of an Adams. Until we do better understand the young John Adams, we cannot dismiss the scornful charge of the Loyalists that he became a rebel because of his sense of social inferiority and his wounded vanity.

It is sincerely to be hoped that Mrs. Bowen writes a supplementary volume carrying this biography through the presidential years, for which there is a wealth of material which will give her talents full play. It would be a joy to see her get her pen into some of the figures of that era.

American Antiquarian Society CLIFFORD K. SHIPTON

The Muhlenbergs of Pennsylvania. By PAUL A. W. WALLACE. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1950. ix, 358 p. Illustrations, notes, index. $4.00.)

Although no lovers of dynasties, Americans have a peculiarly kindly feeling for distinguished families, especially if they represent a tradition of public service. The Adamses, the Du Ponts, the Roosevelts, the Lees have had their chroniclers. Pennsylvania, perhaps because she has had no landed aristocracy, as Albert Gallatin remarked, since the time of the Penns has

had few great families. The Muhlenbergs are an exception, and in Dr. Wallace's gracious tribute they are given proper historical treatment.

The patriarchal Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, father of the Lutheran Church in America, has not failed of some recognition. Two published volumes of his *Journals* (1942, 1945)—to be followed by a third volume—provided much material for the early chapters of this book. But other distinguished members have long wanted an adequate treatment. The sons of Henry Melchior were John Peter Gabriel, Revolutionary general; Henry Ernest, preacher, college president, and scientist; and Frederick, the legislator and first Speaker of the House of Representatives. Daughters likewise played their parts—Peggy, the wife of a distinguished theologian, J. C. Kuntze; Polly, the wife of Francis Swaine, man of affairs; Betsy, wife of Pastor Emanuel Schultze and mother of John Andrew Schultze, Governor of Pennsylvania; and Sally, wife of Matthias Richards, saddler and member of Congress. All of these people were interesting and their doings and writings provide entertaining reading. Henry Melchior and John Peter were outstanding figures in the history of their country; the others were on the periphery of national affairs and their activities are interesting marginalia.

Dr. Wallace has been well advised in making this the story of the family—not of individual members—in which the interrelations of father and children, of brothers and sisters, and the strong parental influence are always apparent. Dominated by the religious force of his mission from Halle and by the violent controversies in settling the "Confusions" of colonial congregations, Henry Melchior was the "Lords Sheep dog." No gentle missionary for souls, he was a militant churchman. Passions raged and titanic physical exertion attended his labors in the wilderness of America. His sons were destined for the ministry and were all so enrolled; but, with the same vigor and independence as their father, they sought other fields. Their correspondence and Henry Melchior's *Journals* outline the conflicts which these careers stirred in the family circle. And the girls and their spouses were also drawn into these arguments. The Revolution, Independence, and service for America, all seem to have been tested on the patriarch's stern rule of filial Christianity. To him government was always inferior to the church, the priestly calling was better for anyone than that of war or politics. His distinguished sons still had to apologize for their worldly interests.

Our author must needs set right his subjects' places in history. Henry Ernest was well known in his day as the "American Linnaeus" for his work in descriptive botany. Frederick's career in Congress was not without distinction, and General Peter has been denied his due as a Revolutionary general. As the pastor who threw off his robes and declared there was a time to pray and a time to fight, he has become a figure of folklore—whose story has been much embroidered in the retelling. But, we are told, he was denied his proper glory as the commander of the assault at Yorktown. Adulatory biographers of Alexander Hamilton threw General Peter in the shade as

they acclaimed the heroism of the leader of the assault. There seems no doubt of General Peter's distinguished role as a soldier in this and other engagements; but it seems hardly appropriate to berate Hamilton as "glory thirsty" ("For Alexander Hamilton Yorktown was a good publicity stunt," p. 241), when the historical injustice was due to others. Certainly, the immortality of Hamilton did not rest on Yorktown.

Family history is bound to be filled with unimportant details—of illness, finances, quarrels and other minutiae, bulking large in contemporary thought. But these must support and bring out the fullness of the portrait. Herein this book succeeds, for intimate details are well chosen to elucidate and not befog the picture. It is not all light and darkness; there are shadows, faults, and failures. The author is not uncritical, and his appraisal, while friendly, is judicious. The work is illuminating for church history, and for the story of America and Pennsylvania; and it is especially noteworthy for that warmth of feeling which makes good history good reading.

University of the State of New York MILTON W. HAMILTON

The Republicans and Federalists in Pennsylvania, 1790–1801: A Study in National Stimulus and Local Response. By HARRY MARLIN TINKCOM. (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1950. viii, 354 p. Frontispiece, notes, bibliography, index.)

Students of Pennsylvania history will welcome this study of state political activity in the 1790's. As the Constitution of 1790 brought an end to the Revolutionary years, it also introduced a new era. Thomas Mifflin, all things to all men, sat in the governor's chair through the decade while the legislature followed in the wake of Federalist principles. But the Republicans, inheritors of the Anti-Constitutionalist traditions of the earlier age, kept up their opposition, capitalized on their opponents' mistakes, elected Thomas McKean governor in 1799, and completed their victory by capturing the legislative branch of government.

The author investigates the details of this story and presents the results so as to emphasize two general facts which he finds present through the whole period. The first general fact is that state politics was no more than a tail to the national political kite. The significant issues which aroused the people were national in their origin and implication: the Genêt episode with its upsurge of Pro-Gallic sympathy, the growth of the Democratic Societies, the Whiskey Rebellion, the attempted development of Presque Isle, the Alien and Sedition Acts, and Fries' Rebellion. Herein lies the significance of the subtitle of the book, for it was the local response to these issues which constituted the fabric of state political activity during the decade. Each issue the author explains clearly and succinctly, with one eye on the national aspects and the other on the response of the electorate.

The second general fact is the evolution of amorphous factions into political parties during the decade. In addition to the struggle over the

issues mentioned above, Republicans and Federalists also battled over procedures in nominating candidates for office and in choosing state senators and presidential electors. By the middle of the decade the former factions seemed to achieve a semblance of party organization and cohesiveness, which the press now openly recognized by applying distinctive labels to the two groups.

This volume represents a happy combination of detailed research and clear presentation. While the subject is admittedly political in scope, one might wish for more interrelation of economic, racial, and religious factors with the main political story. Maps also would emphasize more graphically the vote on crucial issues. But it is perhaps ungrateful to ask for these things when one considers what the author has achieved. For his facts he used not only the printed sources, but also generously tapped the pertinent manuscript collections. He presents his findings in admirable fashion: he keeps the details well under control; he organizes his chapters skillfully; and in turn he marshals his chapters logically into three chronological periods, each emphasizing an important turn in the story. He introduces commendable summaries and biographical sketches which help the reader to find his way through the tangled issues of the decade. The clear, incisive style of writing should make this book appeal to a wider audience than is common with monographs of this nature. May we have studies of other decades of Pennsylvania's political history as illuminating and readable as this one.

Drew University ROBERT L. BRUNHOUSE

Charles Brockden Brown, American Gothic Novelist. By HARRY R. WARFEL. (Gainesville, Fla.: University of Florida Press, 1949. xiv, 255 p. Frontispiece, bibliography, index. $4.50.)

The career of Charles Brockden Brown, America's first professional novelist, is of particular interest to Pennsylvanians. Philadelphia born and bred, Brown studied law in that city, used its environs as the scene for a number of his novels, joined his brothers in a brief mercantile venture, edited his last periodical in Joseph Dennie's shadow, and finally died of consumption in the city of his birth. In this biography, Harry R. Warfel has given us the most satisfactory study to date of this much neglected literary figure.

Warfel, who is best known for his definitive biography of Noah Webster, has written a careful, concise account of Brown's life, including at appropriate intervals descriptions of the political, intellectual, and literary scene of the 1790's out of which Brown emerged. He has woven into his story critical comments on each of Brown's novels and has made heavy use of the author's letters and notebooks scattered through libraries in this vicinity, the most important collection of which is in The Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

Warfel is at his best in examining Brown's style and in measuring his literary influence. His summaries of *Ormond*, *Arthur Mervyn*, and *Edgar Huntly*, Brown's major works, leave little to be desired. He indicates the novelist's indebtedness to the European Gothic school of writing and duly emphasizes his concern for establishing a truly national native literature. Warfel also draws in clear lines the close relationship that existed between William Dunlap, Elihu Hubbard Smith, and Brown, re-evaluating the influence each had upon the others. He manages to convey through his pages something of the tragedy and loneliness of the struggling, prolific, unrecognized novelist.

The work falls short, however, in assaying the significance of *Alcuin*, Brown's plea for the social, economic, and political equality of women and his contribution to the Federalist-Republican debate in the closing years of the eighteenth century. Warfel devotes a scant five pages to this work. Similarly, he gives insufficient attention to Mary Wollstonecraft's influence on Brown's early radical ideas. He passes too rapidly over Brown's editorship of the *Monthly Magazine and American Review* and the *Literary Magazine and American Register* and does not consider his contributions to the development of the American periodical. Furthermore, while Warfel devotes considerable attention to the Friendly Club in his biography, he fails to indicate fully how Brown's associations with this society influenced his shift from a radical to a rabid anti-Jeffersonian.

Minor omissions mar what is otherwise a delightful little volume. Warfel does not give an adequate picture of Brown's wife and children. He omits tracing the Philadelphian's brief career as a merchant, opening a store of his own after the partnership with his brothers was ended. His attention to the novelist's last published work, *The American Register or General Repository of History, Politics and Science*, is all too scant. Finally, the scholar will deplore the absence of footnotes and the incomplete bibliography.

In general, however, Warfel has done much to restore Charles Brockden Brown to his position as one of the foremost literary pioneers of the early nationalist period. That he has not had more attention from our literary historians is an unfortunate oversight. The English critic John Neal best described Brown's tragedy when he wrote: "He was the Godwin of America. Had he lived here—or anywhere but in America—he would have been one of the most capital story tellers, in a serious way, that ever lived."

Columbia University CHARLES C. COLE, JR.

Backwoods Utopias. The Sectarian and Owenite Phases of Communitarian Socialism in America, 1663–1829. By ARTHUR EUGENE BESTOR, JR. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1950. xii, 288 p. Appendix, bibliography, index. $3.50.)

In the late nineteenth century, several historical works were published concerned with the communitarian phase of American socialism, the most

important being that by John Humphrey Noyes. For the most part these were factual accounts with little or no interpretation, and in many cases the facts were distorted or inaccurate. Since then until recently no significant work on the subject has appeared, and, as a result, Arthur Eugene Bestor's *Backwoods Utopias* can be recognized as a genuine contribution to American cultural history. It is a scholarly work, which automatically corrects errors previously committed and which presents a mass of new material. It is a historian's book for historians.

Mr. Bestor deals with the earliest religious communities in the seventeenth century through the Owenite settlements in the nineteenth, and he places his emphasis on this latter phase. To this he brings fresh material as well as new interpretations. Perhaps most valuable is his careful account of the development and changes in Robert Owen's doctrine, which, for instance, clarifies the academic problem of Owen's view on common property and also partially explains the difficulties Owen experienced once he came to America and tried to put his ideas into practice. Mr. Bestor further suggests that this failure to formulate doctrine was instrumental in the weakening of the New Harmony project.

But *Backwoods Utopias* does more than present a detailed account of Owen's life, of his visits to the United States, and of the history of New Harmony; it also attempts to solve some general historical problems in connection with the subject as a whole. For example, it has long been recognized that in the nineteenth century American educators were particularly receptive to communitarian socialism, whether it was that of Owen or Fourier. Mr. Bestor explains the reason for this through a precise analysis of the impact of the Pestalozzi School on American thinking and of the resulting theories which he believes to have been of such character that their supporters naturally considered community living as the best means for their implementation.

Moreover, Mr. Bestor attacks the important problem of why the systems of Owen and Fourier were adopted by Americans more wholeheartedly than by the citizens of any other country. He offers the explanation that this was true because of the early religious communities which, through their very existence, had established a communitarian tradition. Communitarian experiments had been widely discussed, and, as a result, Americans of the nineteenth century were accustomed to the concept. In support of this thesis, Mr. Bestor presents an impressive list of late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century pamphlet literature concerned with the communities. And he suggests that this outburst of literary interest was caused by the communities, when in the late eighteenth century they discarded their predominantly religious character and became increasingly concerned with economic and social matters. However, he offers little evidence to support this suggestion. Since the thesis is interesting as well as important, it would seem preferable if the author had divided his emphasis more evenly between the early groups and the Owenites, if he had analysed more

thoroughly the theological background of the earlier associations, and had traced more carefully the changes in their character. Such treatment would have given additional weight to his thesis. Nevertheless, the fact remains that Mr. Bestor has presented an important historical theory, and it is believed his work will not only attract the attention of all scholars interested in American cultural history, but will inspire many to work in this particular field.

Vassar College JOANNE L. NEEL

John C. Calhoun: American Portrait. By MARGARET L. COIT. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1950. ix, 593 p. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. $5.00.)

John C. Calhoun, Nullifier, 1829–1839. By CHARLES M. WILTSE. (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1949. 511 p. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. $6.00.)

Miss Coit's biography shows imaginative insight into the personality of a remarkably reserved and complicated historical figure. Indeed, she has written the best account of Calhoun's private life that we have. Particularly discerning is her portrayal of Calhoun's relations to women—his strange attitude toward his mother-in-law, his tribulations in regard to his wife, and his beautiful companionship with his daughter, Anna Maria. The discussion of Calhoun's public career is less satisfactory than the warm, sympathetic picture of his domestic life. The most important contribution of this study toward understanding the political behavior of Calhoun is its vigorous denial of a dichotomy in his career, which historians have frequently divided into a nationalist phase and a sectionalist phase. Yet Miss Coit weakens her case by showing Calhoun's regrets in later life for some of the nationalistic acts of his earlier life.

Mr. Wiltse's study is a continuation of a previous work which describes Calhoun as a nationalist. In this second volume he essays to explain the Carolina statesman as a Nullifier. But the real interest in this volume lies in the coldly dramatic portrayal of the petty intrigues which blasted Calhoun's ambition to become President. The author has demonstrated more clearly than previous scholars how powerful was the influence of Van Buren over Jackson. He carefully traces the developing plot by which Van Buren and the President isolated Calhoun. He makes a contribution in showing that "the revelation" of Calhoun's "treachery" to Jackson in the 1818 episode was a sham. The author also has ably described internal political conditions in South Carolina during and after the nullification crisis. Mr. Wiltse's study is concerned primarily with the political aspects of Calhoun's life and it has the virtue of being based on a critical study of sources. He is biased somewhat against Jackson and the enemies of Calhoun.

Nevertheless, this close student of Calhoun has uncovered a crafty, highly prejudiced, and autocratic side of Jackson which hero worshippers have ignored.

Both authors, I believe, have taken too serious a view of the influence of constitutional dialectics on men's decisions. The great forensic debates of Calhoun, Webster, Clay and Benton seem to have the artificiality of sword play in a Dumas novel. The quiet wire-pulling Van Buren prevailed over the logical lucubrations and oratory of Calhoun. Mr. Wiltse has presented the Carolina statesman as a mighty champion opposed to totalitarian government, a defender of State rights and minority rights; Miss Coit has presented him as the thinker who recognizes federalism as the kingpin of a correct government. Neither has clearly perceived that Calhoun's greatest weakness was that he fought for the master class rather than for the underprivileged white and black men of his section. Calhoun's cherished minority was the minority of the black belt. He built up a hegemony in South Carolina, a machine that purged all dissenters just as ruthlessly as Jackson's executive machine crushed all opposition.

Mr. Wiltse writes with the apparent objectivity and the unornamented style of the scholar; Miss Coit writes at times artistically, but occasionally her style becomes overlush and highly colored. In view of the prevalent stereotype of Calhoun as "the cast iron man," the detached brain, it is understandable that she strives hard to humanize him. In Miss Coit's luminous mirror Calhoun appears as a finer intellect and a nobler character than any statesman of the period.

University of Kentucky CLEMENT EATON

Captain Sam Grant. By LLOYD LEWIS. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1950. viii, 512 p. Frontispiece, notes, bibliography, index. $6.00.)

Once, when urged by his enemies to remove Grant from command, Lincoln said, "I can't spare this man, he *fights;*" in the death of Lloyd Lewis and the loss of the volumes which were to follow *Captain Sam Grant*, we might paraphrase the remark to say, "We can't spare this man, he *writes.*" As the reader finishes this book with Grant's famous "speech" on taking his first regimental command in the Civil War—"Men go to your quarters"—his admiration of the loving skill and artistry of Lewis in creating a living Grant is mingled with the tragedy that the work could not have proceeded to a triumphant conclusion.

Shiloh—Vicksburg—Wilderness, all lay ahead and Lewis would have made them not descriptions of battles, but victories of the spirit and dogged courage of Grant the man. Although never in his book is the word "psychoanalysis" used or intimated, the dual personality that was Grant's is brought to light and shown in all its extraordinary contrast. On the one hand was a man too bashful and timid to make a speech, so filled with an

inferiority complex that he doubted his capacity to command a regiment, so sensitive to suffering that he preferred to lie under a tree in a pouring rain at Shiloh rather than to stay in a building in which the wounded lay; a man who hated war and all its trappings, who hoped Congress would abolish West Point so that he would not have to graduate, and who on arriving at Washington to take command of all the armies of the United States would come so unheralded and unknown that a room clerk sent him to a back room on the fifth floor before he saw in the register, "U. S. Grant and Son, Galena, Ill."

This was the same man who could order thousands of men to their deaths without a qualm, provided he could win a battle and shorten the war, who never knew when he was beaten and would fight on when all seemed lost, who never would turn back when he had set his hand to a military project, and heartened his army and his country with such phrases as: "I propose to fight it out on this line if it takes all Summer"; "I propose to move immediately upon your works"; "Unconditional Surrender"; and the like.

It is not necessary to read the bibliography at the end of this book to sense the intensive research that made this work possible. Lloyd Lewis toiled for years in getting a true Civil War background not only of Grant but of other leaders of the "irrepressible conflict." His *Sherman, Fighting Prophet* of some years ago was an indication of his biographical ability and insight.

Were Grant's life to be reduced to a statistical chart the curves would be astounding to behold. First came the slow climb to the end of the Mexican War, with a good military reputation, marriage, and life in the army in time of peace. Next there was the depression curve when everything seemed gone, with drinking, poverty, failure in every job he held, dependence, the vain effort to support his wife and family, and middle age coming on with no foreseeable future. Then a meteoric rise to promotion after promotion, general of all the armies, victor at Appomattox, President of the United States; this to be followed by financial ruin for a man discredited by his countrymen, dying of cancer with the knowledge that his family would be penniless, and finally, with sublime courage, writing his *Memoirs* while death looked over his shoulder.

Here was an epic waiting the master hand of a literary artist, and until Lewis undertook the task, no one had been capable of its proper portrayal. Lives of Grant have been written by the score, but none of them, including Grant's own *Memoirs*, have given such a picture of struggle, defeat, and triumph as does this book which will take its place with Freeman's *Robert E. Lee* and Henderson's *Stonewall Jackson* as source books of American military biography.

Paoli, Pa. KENT PACKARD

The Confederate States of America, 1861–1865. By E. Merton Coulter. [A History of the South, Vol. VII] (Baton Rouge, La.: Louisiana State University Press, 1950. xiv, 644 p. Illustrations, bibliographical essay, index. $7.00.)

A book from the pen of Dr. Coulter on any phase of southern history is certain to be interesting, informative, authoritative and stimulating. The volume under consideration is no exception; in fact, from many points of view, it is perhaps one of Dr. Coulter's most important productions. Its inclusion in the History of the South Series, of which the author is one of the coeditors, will gain for it deserving attention from the general reader as well as the student.

In this single-volume account of The Confederate States of America, Dr. Coulter has placed his emphasis on the social, economic, and cultural phases of the short-lived Southern Confederacy, subordinating its military history to less than one hundred pages in all, or one sixth of the text. This has made it possible to bring together in one book accounts of various activities usually only considered briefly, if at all, and more frequently scattered through a variety of monographs and articles in obscure periodicals and little-read books. No subject of importance is omitted, although the extent and variety of materials used in the writing of the book, as indicated by the footnotes and the bibliography, are prodigious. The fine arts and the press; money, bonds, and taxes; women, hospitals, and relief; prices, profits, and taxes; literary activities, education, and religion, as well as other important activities of the Confederate people and government, are each considered briefly and informatively.

Newspapers are relied on to furnish the contemporary "feel" and "reaction" to events and government personalities; letters, diaries, and memoirs are used to support the newspapers—all presented against an interpretative background of critical studies in monograph or book form. Much of this constitutes a distinct and valuable contribution to the history of the period.

The subordination of military history to the various phases of civilian activity tends to present "Hamlet" with Hamlet left out. Little or no attempt is made to relate military success or failure to the stream of life behind the lines. Thus civil life and military life tend to move along in parallel but unrelated columns, neither seeming to have any important relation to the other, whereas the independence of the one depended upon the success of the other.

Dr. Coulter's account has little of the usual "moonlight and roses" romanticism, but rather is a factual presentation of life and events during the four-year conflict. The high hopes and enthusiasm of the first months soon gave way to stark realism and to discord within the South, both among its people and its leaders. Morale came to depend upon military successes and, when these were lacking, internal discord increased, enlistments fell

off, desertions increased, speculation and swindling became widespread and the inherent weaknesses of the Confederacy made it impossible for the armies in the field to continue the unequal contest.

Dr. Coulter is of the opinion that the Confederacy collapsed because "the people did not will hard enough and long enough to win." It is doubtful, however, if the South could have won in any case. The economic and military cards were stacked against it. In any rebellion or revolution, final success is, almost without exception, a product of military victory. As the South weakened the North grew stronger both in economic and military power and in the quality and ability of its military leadership. Southern internal morale and the will to win were both of them affected by this growing superiority of the North, which in time became obvious to the most rabid "fire-eater."

In spite of the subordination of the military history of the Confederacy to an irreducible minimum, a compression that is open to serious question, Dr. Coulter yet finds space for a valuable appraisal of Jefferson Davis who "though not the ideal leader . . . [yet] showed fewer weaknesses than any other" who might have been chosen. The author, on the other hand, accepts the common appraisal of such men as Bragg and Hood without attempting to understand them.

Dr. Coulter has written an important book, one that helps to a clearer understanding of the Southern Confederacy and the reasons for its failure. No student of the period can afford to neglect it. The forty-page "Critical Essay on Authorities" is in itself a significant contribution. The book is well illustrated; there is a good railroad map and a good index.

Locust Valley, N. Y. THOMAS ROBSON HAY

The Most Reverend Francis Patrick Kenrick, Third Bishop of Philadelphia, 1830–1851. By REVEREND HUGH J. NOLAN. (Philadelphia: American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia, 1948. xx, 502 p. Frontispiece, appendix, bibliography, index. $5.00.)

When Francis Patrick Kenrick came to Philadelphia in 1830 as Coadjutor Bishop, he assumed the responsibilities of a diocese small in numbers, vast in area, and torn with "trusteeism." At first glance, Kenrick seemed scarcely fitted for the task. Irish-born and Roman-educated, he had from the first showed a preference and a real talent for the scholarly life. So strong in fact was his leaning toward theology that, despite the duties of administering a growing and often turbulent diocese, he managed in his twenty-one years at Philadelphia to turn out several works, including two large treatises on dogmatic and moral theology long standard in American Catholic seminaries. He has been chiefly remembered for these, yet Father Nolan shows conclusively that he achieved even more as a working bishop.

The trustees of a few Philadelphia Catholic churches, seeking to establish a form of church rule insupportable under Catholic polity, had precipitated a conflict in the twenties that the bunglings of two bishops had only aggravated. Handicapped by his doting and fretful predecessor, Bishop Conwell, who retained his title but not his powers, Kenrick moved cautiously. A quiet, kindly man, patient to a fault, if that is possible in bishops, he gradually regained control of his diocese. His patience was no mask for weakness, as the trustees learned, and his dispassionate insistence that title to the churches be in his name enabled him to settle the troubles with a minimum of bitterness. In recording Kenrick's triumph, Father Nolan has also written the best and fairest discussion of "trusteeism" with which this reviewer is acquainted.

The author's treatment of the Philadelphia nativist riots of 1844 is of interest to all American historians. While he does not differ vitally from it, he corrects certain details of the standard account in Billington's *The Protestant Crusade* (e.g., the seminary was not burned; the county of Philadelphia eventually paid for St. Michael's Church, destroyed by the mob; the defenders of St. Philip's Church had the governor's permission to arm themselves). Nolan disagrees with Billington as to who touched off the riots, not so significant a difference as it seems, since both place the blame largely on the nativists and agree that the underlying causes were less religious than economic and racial. Nolan astutely contrasts Kenrick's dignified nonresistance and total lack of bitterness with the free-swinging Bishop of New York's public threat to defend his churches. No New York churches were burned, but Kenrick's stand probably did more to discredit the nativists than John Hughes' bluster.

Father Nolan has written a work that is readable, except for an occasional surfeit of detail, and thoroughly documented. Unmarred by misplaced filial piety or distortion of character to fit some episcopal stereotype, it is a permanent contribution to church history.

State University of Iowa JAMES EDMUND ROOHAN

Pillars of Maryland. By FRANCIS SIMS MCGRATH. (Richmond: The Dietz Press, Inc., 1950. xx, 580 p. Illustrations, appendices, bibliography, index. $5.00.)

Queen Anne's County, Maryland: Its early history and development. A Series of Sketches based upon Original Research. By FREDERIC EMORY. (Baltimore: The Maryland Historical Society, 1950. xii, 629 p. Illustrations, appendices, index. $5.00.)

"The idea that all children are born equal in body and mind and change only because of environment is harbored by a number of well-meaning people, but obviously, the laws of heredity apply in the nursery as well as

in the paddock, even though environment may influence a child more than a horse." With this stud-farm point of view, Mr. McGrath has set out to show that there was practically no one in the colonial history of Maryland who was not in some way related to him. To do this he goes back to the days of Wycliffe, sketches the events of both the Continental and English Reformations, and follows the outline of English history to Charles I. From the granting of the Maryland charter until after the American Revolution that colony is the center of the account, but Virginia and Philadelphia are also found to be important in establishing the best blood of a good pedigree.

A few quotations will suffice to show more of the point of view of the author. "Experience shows that might makes right in the laws of men as it does in the laws of nature" (p. 47). In writing about the Maryland-Pennsylvania boundary claims he says: "The losses to Pennsylvania and Delaware were due largely to the wily behavior of Penn and his influence at court, but the lack of shrewdness and skill of the third and fifth Lords Baltimore contributed to the unholy result. . . . all of which suggests that justice did not prevail in colonial boundary disputes and that the strong man took what he could even though he was a Quaker." Again, ". . . but it all happened so long ago that one year makes little difference" (p. 66). This flamboyant attitude to dates likewise appears with regard to the difficulties of Thomas Gerard and the Protestants in St. Mary's, for all this occurred in 1642, not 1650.

Despite the point of view, *Pillars of Maryland* is an interesting book and one cannot escape the fact that the ruling class in colonial Maryland was a very close-knit social group in which the political quarrels of the day were apt to be family animosities carried on to the public rostrum. Anyone interested in the minutiae of colonial Maryland will find a fund of intimate detail which will enlighten and enliven his study of the period. The illustrations, largely photographs of contemporary paintings, enhance the value of the book.

Queen Anne's County presents a different side of the picture. While *Pillars of Maryland* has to do primarily with a group of people within the colony, *Queen Anne's County* has to do primarily with a small section of the Eastern Shore. The work is a series of sketches concerning that county—sketches of the topography, the Indian tribes, the first settlers, the roads, the schools, the churches, and such like—which appeared in the *Observer*, a weekly paper published in Centerville, Maryland. First published in 1886–1887, it is now published in book form to fill the gap in Maryland county histories (only three counties remain with no historical book about them).

If one is interested in a general account of Queen Anne's County this work will supply the need, but it is not to be compared to Torrence's *Old Somerset*. The general reader may welcome the lack of documentation, but the serious student of Maryland history will find little in the work which he does not already know, for it is based in large measure on Scharf's

History of Maryland; the ecclesiastical sections are largely selections from the manuscripts of Dr. Ethan Allen. A great deal has been published concerning the men and events of Queen Anne's County since this work first appeared in the *Observer*, and it is to be regretted that the editors did not see fit to bring the material up to date on the basis of these researches.

Rehoboth Beach, Del. NELSON W. RIGHTMYER

Bulwark of Liberty: Early Years at Dickinson. [The Boyd Lee Spahr Lectures in Americana, Vol. I: 1947–1950] (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1950. 174 p. Illustrations. $3.50.)

This volume of seven essays on the early history of Dickinson College provides further evidence of the significance of the "frontier" college in the cultural life of an expanding nation, and, as well, that all learning and academic endeavor were not confined to institutions along the Atlantic seaboard. Humble and crude as its beginnings were, with problems seemingly insurmountable, Dickinson College captured the interest of men of influence, and, in turn, influenced men who were later to make their mark in many fields. These essays are devoted largely to a few of these individuals —men like Benjamin Rush, Charles Nisbet, Hugh Henry Brackenridge, Roger B. Taney and James Buchanan. Two papers discuss the original College library and the College as a frontier experiment in higher education.

The book is an attractive one and constitutes a well-written addition to the cultural history of the early years of the nation. It is a fine tribute to Boyd Lee Spahr who has devoted so much of his interest to Dickinson College, particularly through his efforts in collecting and presenting to the College the materials of its history.

L. V. G.

Pennsylvania Agriculture and Country Life, 1640–1840. By STEVENSON WHITCOMB FLETCHER. (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1950. xvi, 605 p. Illustrations, bibliographical notes, reference notes to chapters, index. Paper, $2.50; cloth, $3.00.)

Agriculture has played an integral part in the history of Pennsylvania, and during the period covered by this volume, the colony and state were foremost in the production of food. The scope of Mr. Fletcher's work is broad, covering all aspects of agriculture and those who practiced it—land and soil; the farmer and his equipment, his home and life; labor; transportation; crops, horticulture, and animal husbandry; financial considerations. Because of the range and integration of topics covered in this book, it becomes a social and economic history, as well as an agricultural history.

Ohio Newspapers . . . A Living Record. By ROBERT C. WHEELER. (Columbus, Ohio: The Ohio History Press, 1950. 257 p. Illustrations. $6.50.)

This collection of facsimile newspapers from the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society and other institutions, is presented in a folio volume in offset reproduction. In order to make clear the origins of the Ohio press, the ideals and eccentricities of pioneer newsmen and the typographical style and newspaper make-up of early newspapers in the eastern colonies are included. The newspapers discussed (although not fully reproduced) date from the *Publick Occurrences* of 1690 to the *Lancaster Eagle Gazette* of 1946. Ohio's first newspaper was *The Centinel of the North-Western Territory*, Cincinnati, November 9, 1793.

The Lincoln Encyclopedia. The Spoken and Written Words of A. Lincoln Arranged for Ready Reference. Compiled and Edited by ARCHER H. SHAW. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1950. xii, 395 p. $6.50.)

This is an encyclopedia of quotations. The familiar and not-so-familiar words of Abraham Lincoln, both written and spoken, are here gathered for easy reference under many subject headings, alphabetically arranged. In each instance the source of the quotation is given.

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